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The
American Historical Review

THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF THE TIME OF RICHARD II.

IN the history of the king's privy council the reign of Richard II. has generally been noted as a time of transition and change. By one writer it is asserted that the council was at that time first recognized as a separate institution,¹ by another that it then underwent a complete reorganization.² While these statements are overdrawn and must be modified, it is true that the council to a great degree then emerged from its former obscurity and came into a position of unusual prominence. There are two reasons why the period may be regarded as especially fruitful for a study of the council: the first, that beginning in the reign of Richard II. we have the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, a noted publication.³ This collection, while it is not to be understood as including the earliest of council records,⁴ is yet of the highest value for the information it contains. The second reason is that with the minority of the reigning king the council became a virtual board of regency and of necessity played a political part. It is by the controversies which therefore were waged in Parliament, when the organization, powers, and actions of the council were brought into question, that our knowledge of this body is made most complete.⁵

It is well known that at various times previously, most recently in the fiftieth year of Edward III., attempts had been made on the

¹ Dicey, *Privy Council*, p. 25.

² "The privy council, from the reign of Richard II. onwards, although it inherited and amplified the functions of the permanent council of Edward I., differed widely in its organisation." Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 274.

³ Edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, London, 1834-1837.

⁴ This phase of the council's history was the subject of a former article, "Early Records of the King's Council", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, October, 1905 (X. 1-15).

⁵ The rolls of Parliament, which have heretofore contained little, now furnish an abundance of material concerning the council.

part of Parliament in one way or another to control the king's council, but never before had the efforts been made with so great persistency and effect. Not only under Richard II. but also to some extent during the succeeding reigns of Henry IV. and of Henry VI. was the same policy asserted. So that those years extending from the attempt of the Good Parliament to reform the council of Edward III. in 1376 until 1437, the close of the later king's minority, may be marked as a special period in the history of the council, a period when it was most under Parliamentary pressure. The powers of Parliament were exercised mainly in three ways: (1) by appointments and removals, (2) by regulative legislation, and (3) by judicial prosecutions. It will be seen that its actions taken together reveal a fairly consistent plan or policy as to what the council should be. What this policy was and to what extent it was effective may now be explained.

1. In the first place the councils of these years were frequently said to have been "named", "elected", or "ordained" in Parliament. How was the choice and sanction of Parliament actually made? Usually there was a petition of the commons that a suitable council be chosen and that they should be informed of the names of its members. While the commons might state some of the qualifications of councillors, the actual choice was made by the prelates and lords, or by the king himself. Thus in the fiftieth year of Edward III. the commons petitioned that a new council of lords, prelates, and others be appointed, and the duke of Lancaster afterward read the names before them.¹ The first council of Richard, named July 17, 1377, was chosen by the king and magnates, with the special connivance, we are told, of John of Gaunt, who succeeded in placing therein Lord Latimer and others of his friends.² When Parliament met in October, this council was required to be reconstituted at the instance of the commons, who petitioned that the councillors be elected by the lords in Parliament, and for the special purpose of excluding Lord Latimer passed a resolution that none who had been removed from the council in the time of Edward III. be restored.³ A proposal that the new councillors and officers receive their charges in the presence of the commons was not acted upon, for they were sworn in the presence of the lords.⁴ Again, in the second year at the Parliament of Gloucester the commons

¹ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II. 322.

² Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 1863-1864), I. 339-340.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 14, 16. Sir Richard de Stafford, however, who was equally disqualified by the resolution, was permitted to remain.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 14.

asked to know the names of those who were to be the great officers and councillors of the king, and it was answered that they should be so informed.¹ But as the Parliament ended abruptly, the names were not read, nor were they placed upon the Parliament roll. For this omission apologies were made to the commons at their next meeting.² The council nevertheless was said to have been "chosen with the assent of the prelates and magnates at the parliament of Gloucester". In other years when Parliamentary councils were chosen, the procedure was not far different except as the king himself took a larger part.

2. As regards the composition of the council, it was the intention of Parliament that it should be a smaller and more definable body than heretofore. In the reign of Edward III. its membership had extended to a large number; it included several honorary members, minor officials, clerks, and even foreigners, while in practice it fell largely into the hands of royal favorites, to the great disgust of the nobles. In combating this tendency the commons supported the nobles, as in the Good Parliament of 1376, when they petitioned that "the council be enforced with the presence of lords, prelates, and others to the number of ten or twelve".³ In the reign of Richard II. the number desired ranged from twelve to fifteen. This number included as *ex officio* members at least three great officers, namely, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the keeper of the privy seal. Although there was once a suggestion that the steward of the royal household be added,⁴ and once we are told that the chief chamberlain was likewise a member,⁵ it was not until the next reign that the five officers were regularly included. As to the personnel, the men now preferred were of Parliamentary rank, with a strong preponderance in favor of the lords. Thus the council named in the fiftieth year of Edward III. included three bishops, three earls, and three lords, besides the three officers.⁶ Generally with a view to balancing the estates, there was a representation also of knights if not of commoners. The first council of Richard was composed of two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights,⁷ which was changed in the same year to consist of three bishops, two earls, two bannerets, and two knights, besides the officers.⁸ In the

¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

² *Ibid.*, 55.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 322. In the same year twelve cushions were provided in the council chamber for the lords there to consult. Issue Roll (Pells), 50 Ed. III., Mich., m. 22.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 221.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁶ *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series, 1874), lxviii.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 386; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1 Ric. II., 19; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II. 463.

⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 6; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 465.

second year there were similarly chosen two bishops, two earls, two bannerets, and two knights.¹ In the tenth year, which is the next time that a complete list is certain, appointments were made of two archbishops, two bishops, an abbot, two dukes, an earl, a baron, and two knights.² In the Parliamentary councils, therefore, there was a signal elimination of the minor men, such as are in considerable numbers found attached to the council in the previous period.

Another question of membership determined at this time was in regard to the barons of the exchequer, the justices of either bench, and the serjeants-at-law. As to their standing in the council, heretofore it is uncertain whether they are to be counted as *ex officio* members or not. But in the first year of Richard II. a petition of the commons asked that Magna Charta be confirmed, and that if any point be obscure it should be declared "by those who shall be ordained to be of the continual council, with the advice of all the justices and serjeants and other such men, whom they shall see fit to summon".³ Henceforth the relation to the council of these men as advisors or assessors, who were summoned when points of law were in question, is sufficiently clear.⁴

3. It was furthermore the evident plan of Parliament that the councillors should be appointed annually and with constant change. This plan Parliament was persistent enough to carry out continuously for the first three years. In the instance of the first council, which was inaugurated July 17, 1377, and which was reconstituted in the following October, the term of service was until October 30 of the second year, as is shown by the wage accounts of one of the members.⁵ On the election of this council it was resolved that none should be re-eligible for two years.⁶ This requirement was observed, for in the second year at Gloucester an entirely different group was selected. Their tenure was from November 26 of the second year until December 3 of the third year.⁷ Dissatisfied with the work of this body, the commons then demanded that the king dismiss the lords of the council without filling their places.⁸ At all events, for several years the plan of annual elections in Parliament was permitted to lapse. From 1379 until 1386, then, while

¹ *Infra*, in connection with the subject of wages.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., 244. ³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 15.

⁴ Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 80, 191; III. 151, 313, etc. They might be considered as belonging to the *consilium ordinarium*, but the distinction between the privy council and the ordinary council was not as yet made.

⁵ The accounts of Hugh de Segrave, *Accounts Exchequer*, K. R. 96/14.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 6.

⁷ See wage list, *infra*.

⁸ The commons requested that the king retain for his council only the five great officers, then to be chosen, declaring that at his accession he had no other councillors. *Rot. Parl.*, III. 73.

the attention of Parliament was drawn to other things, the council was left as in other times, with the king as a self-controlling body. Even so early as this the king's preference for the counsel of courtiers rather than of his nobles was unfavorably observed.¹ Again in the tenth year, stirred to action by the abuses of the government, Parliament confirmed the selection of a body "to be of his great and continual council", with a commission to reform and manage the government throughout.² In their petition the commons asked that this council last for a year and until the next ensuing Parliament, but the king consented that it should last for a year only.³ How this council was not permitted fairly to begin its term, but found itself thwarted and set aside by the king is too well known to repeat. In 1388 after the victory of the lords appellant one more attempt was made to name a council in Parliament;⁴ but its career also was interrupted when on May 3, 1389, the king, entering the council chamber, declared himself of age and removed certain of the councillors.⁵ After this no attempt was made again in this reign to appoint a council in Parliament. It was therefore a bold exaggeration when at the time of Richard's deposition in 1399 it was stated to have been a policy that the officers, justices, and others of the king's council should be chosen each year, and that this policy the king had violated.⁶

4. It was another feature of the Parliamentary scheme that the councillors be regularly paid for their services. Whereas previously men of the council had received wages or annuities only in individual cases and as signs of royal favor, it was now the intention that all should be paid, great men as well as small, in proportion to their rank and services. For the payment of councillors there were two methods, the one by yearly salaries, the other by daily wages. It was usual for the greater men to be paid salaries, while men of lower rank received daily wages. The granting of life annuities, which was a characteristic practice of Edward III., was for the present quite suspended. How systematically councillors now were paid is shown by the records of the exchequer. Thus in the first year they received money as follows:

¹ In 1384 one complains of the king consulting, not peers or great men of the realm, but his accustomed councillors, namely, two clerks of the chapel. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II. 113.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., 244; *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 40; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 499.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁵ Walsingham, *op. cit.*, II. 181.

⁶ "Statutum erat, quod in singulis annis Officiarii Regis, cum Justiciariis, et aliis de Consilio Regis . . . eligantur et nominarentur Domino Regi." *Rot. Parl.*, III. 419.

The bishop of Carlisle ¹	400 m.
The bishop of London ²	200 l.
The earl of March ³	200 l.
Lord Latimer (removed after 3 months) ⁴	40 l.
Lord Cobham (removed after 3 months) ⁵	40 l.
Richard de Stafford, banneret ⁶	200 m.
Roger de Beauchamp, banneret (removed) ⁷	40 m.
Henry Lescrope, knight ⁸	200 m.
Hugh de Seagrave, knight, ⁹ at 6 s. 8 d. a day....	113 l. 6 s. 8 d.

Of the men appointed in the second year at the Parliament of Gloucester, little would be known but for the wage accounts of its members. As their names do not appear upon the Parliament roll, they can be ascertained only from the exchequer statement of their wages. This time the experiment was tried of making all payments by daily wages instead of by salaries, bishops and earls receiving two marks a day, bannerets one mark, and knights one-half mark. The list so far as the accounts show is as follows:¹⁰

	Rate of Wages.	Days of Service.	Amounts Received.
The bishop of Winchester.....	2 m.	276	368 l.
The bishop of Bath.....	2 m.	278	370 l. 13s. 4d.
The earl of Arundel.....	2 m.	155	206 l. 13s. 4d.
The earl of Suffolk.....	2 m.	171	228 l.
Robert de Hales, Prior of the Hospital of St. Johns Jerusalem, banneret.....	1 m.	238	158 l. 13s. 4d.
Roger de Beauchamp, banneret.....	1 m.	277	184 l. 13s. 4d.
Alvredo de Veer, knight.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ m.	113	37 l. 13s. 4d.
Robert Rous, knight.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ m.	80	27 l.

This list is noteworthy as showing the only instance in which the system of wages by the day was applied to all of the council. It may be observed that by fairly regular attendance the men earned more in this way than they would by yearly salaries. This method was soon discarded entirely. That the regular payment of salaries and wages to councillors was distinctly a matter of Parliamentary rather than of royal policy is further shown in the ordinances for the governance of the council which were framed in 1390. It was then enjoined that lords of the council should have reward according to their work and expenses, and that bachelors should

¹ Issue Roll, 1 Ric. II., Pasch., Aug. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, m. 24.

² *Ibid.* (Pells), Easter, m. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, m. 22.

³ *Ibid.* (Devon), p. 207.

⁷ *Ibid.*, m. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.* (Pells), Mich., m. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Pasch., Aug. 5.

⁹ Accounts Exchequer, K. R., 96/14.

¹⁰ Issue Rolls, 3 Ric. II., *passim*. There may of course have been others whose wages are not recorded.

have reasonable wages for their time.¹ Again, a petition of the commons in 1406 expresses it, that the councillors be "reasonably guerdoned for their labor".² Certain it is from the rolls of the exchequer that the payment of councillors was never so consistently carried out as in the years of the Parliamentary councils.³

5. Still another concern of Parliament was that the councillors approved by it remain unchanged and unsuperseded. This proved to be a difficult matter to control, for once Parliament had adjourned there was nothing to prevent the king's changing or overthrowing the council elected. The commons, indeed, more than once recognized that removals should be made for cause, and in the first year allowed that any vacancies which might occur between Parliaments be filled by the king and council.⁴ At the same time, with some inconsistency, they passed a resolution that the estate and power of the councillors were not repealable except by Parliament.⁵ But with more care in the tenth year, when the noted reform council was appointed, the utmost precautions were taken to prevent its being set aside. It was resolved by the commons that none should be associated with or assigned to the council other than the lords named, and that if in any way the lords were prevented from carrying out their powers, the validity of all grants should cease.⁶ A further clause was put into the statute that no person privily or apertly should give to the king counsel to repeal the power thus given, under penalty.⁷ Yet it is familiar history that all efforts on the part of this council to govern⁸ were thwarted by the king and his "false counsellors".⁹ The status of these false or evil counsellors, as they are called, might be considered doubtful, did it not appear that one of them certainly, if not the others, was formally retained and sworn a member of the council.¹⁰ How they superseded the

¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 18 b.

² *Rot. Parl.*, III. 577.

³ With the subject of councillors' fees and wages in a more general way I have dealt in "Antiquities of the King's Council", *English Historical Review*, January, 1906 (XXI. 1-20).

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 333; III. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6, 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 221; Close Roll, 10 Ric. II., m. 22.

⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 221; *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 42.

⁸ Evidences of their efforts to govern are seen in a series of articles stated in the manner of a council agenda (Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 3), and in allusions to certain letters of the great seal issued by them (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 376, 381).

⁹ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 501.

¹⁰ In the impeachments of the traitors in 1387, it was said, "firent le dit John Blake estre retenu du Councell le Roi . . . Et sur ce il jurra de conseiller en mesme le Purpos, et le celer." The fact Blake himself admitted, but claimed that the king had a right so to retain him (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 240).

men named in the Parliamentary commission is declared in the appeals of treason made against them in the following year: that they did not suffer the good councillors to approach or speak with the king except in their presence; that they caused the king to remove himself to distant parts so that the lords appointed could not counsel him; that they even procured an opinion of certain judges that the Parliamentary commission was unlawful.¹ After the impeachments and condemnation of the traitors in 1388, to safeguard the next council it was enacted with severe penalties that no person of whatsoever estate or condition, except those assigned and ordained in the present Parliament, should interfere with the government in any way, unless it be by order of the continual council and with the assent of the king.² The lords of the council were made to swear not to suffer any act of that Parliament to be annulled, reversed, or repealed. Yet this council too was summarily changed on the king's declaring himself of age. In 1399, with these events remembered, it was Richard himself who was accused of refusing to be guided by his duly chosen councillors and of selecting men according to his own pleasure.³

6. The personal conduct of councillors also became at this time a matter of supervision in Parliament. That councillors should not have personal interests in suits before the courts was an old and recurring subject of legislation.⁴ In the first year of Richard II. it was once again declared that no councillor should sustain by maintenance any quarrel in the country or elsewhere, under penalty.⁵ Likewise earlier acts against bribery were renewed with increased stringency. In the fiftieth year of Edward III. it was declared that whoever of the council be found taking a bribe should render the party from whom it was received double and the king six times the amount.⁶ In the first year of Richard II. with great particularity it was ordained that no councillor should receive any gift of escheat, wardship, marriage, rent, or other thing, except by consent of all the council or the greater part of them; and that none should take anything from any party by promise or otherwise, except what was to eat and drink of small value, under the same penalty as before.⁷ That councillors did use the opportunities of their positions for private gain is shown in the several cases of Parliamentary impeachment that were held. In 1376 Lord Latimer, at the time that he was chamberlain and a member of the privy council, was accused

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 232.

² *Ibid.*, 246.

³ *Ibid.*, 399.

⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 95, 256; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 10, 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 6; *Nicolas, Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 86.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 6.

of procuring patents and writs licensing the carriage of merchandise contrary to the ordinance to other ports than to the staple of Calais.¹ He was declared removed from all his offices and from the privy council for all time, although in the next year he was restored.² In the same peculations Richard Lyons was accused of being in collusion with certain of the privy council to their own profit.³ In the impeachment of Lord John de Neville in the same year it was charged that while he was an officer and member of the council he purchased tallies of assignment made by the king to various parties to whom he was debtor, and then received full payment and allowance for them at the exchequer.⁴ In 1380 Ralph de Ferrers, a knight of the council, was held under suspicion, when certain treasonable letters were traced to him revealing secrets of the government.⁵ He was mainperned before Parliament. In 1386 one of the charges against the earl of Suffolk was that while sworn of the council he had accepted or purchased great estates of the king below their value,⁶ an act which would be a direct violation of the councillor's oath. The accusation was not denied, but it was decided by the king and lords that, as his guilt was shared by others of the council, the earl should not be condemned alone. It may be needless to say that the exhibition of private interests and corrupt practices in the council is not peculiar to this time.

7. In the Parliamentary legislation of the period may be found many attempts to regulate the council in its actions, the most comprehensive being the ordinances of 1390 "for the governance of the council". While some of these are of mere temporary significance, others are of value as suggesting modes of council procedure. Of some interest in the latter way are the statements made at various times, that the council meet as early as eight or nine in the morning;⁷ that six or four members be continually in residence and be counted a quorum;⁸ that in cases of disagreement the majority decide;⁹ that business of the king should have precedence of all other matters;¹⁰ that all matters requiring the consent of the king should be reported to him;¹¹ that to carry messages between the council and the king there be two or three authorized reporters;¹² that answer should be given to matters first brought to the council

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 325.

² *Ibid.*, 372.

³ *Ibid.*, 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 328.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 6; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 10 Ric. II., 244.

¹⁰ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 a.

¹¹ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322; Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 a.

¹² *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322; Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 85.

⁶ Walsingham, *op. cit.*, I. 447.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 219.

⁷ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 a.

⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322.

before proceeding to other business.¹ Of greater significance in the development of the council were the persistent efforts that were made to define its power against the common law. The tendency of the council to encroach upon the sphere of the common-law courts, to try cases between suitors, to summon parties by writs of privy seal, was ever a subject of grievance and petition. It was already law that no freeman should be compelled to answer for his freehold before the council.² In the first year of Richard II. it was conceded that no suits between parties should be ended before the council.³ To most of the petitions evasive answers were given.⁴ So that all that was accomplished further is contained in one of the ordinances of 1390, that business touching the common law which came before the council should be sent to be determined before the justices. This did not suffice, for the complaints and petitions still vainly continued.⁶

8. It remains to test the effectiveness of the Parliamentary programme by the events of the mature years of Richard after 1389, when his personal government fairly began. For a while in certain ways the council still bears the imprint of the influence of the previous régime. This influence is seen for a time among the older members, for in the thirteenth year as many as eight of them had been in one or another of the previous councils, while four were lords appellant.⁷ The fear of impeachment is expressed when the council refused and could not be persuaded to accede to a request of the king, lest in the first Parliament it should be imputed to them that they had burdened the kingdom with a larger sum of money than was necessary or honest.⁸ Their responsibility to Parliament was again acknowledged when the chancellor, treasurer, and councillors offered to resign their places, that charges might be brought against them.⁹ Again, the ordinances of 1390 for the governance of the council, whether they were passed by Parliament or not, were evidently forced upon the king by the Parliamentary party. The hand of the Gloucester faction in particular is seen in the requirement that no gift or grant to the decrease of the king's profit be made without the advice of the council and the consent in particular of the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester and the chancellor, or two of them.¹⁰

On the other hand, a quite contrary influence in the manage-

¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 b.

² *Rot. Parl.*, II. 228; *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 321.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, 267.

⁵ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 b.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 323, 446.

⁷ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I., *passim*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 c, 17.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 258.

¹⁰ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 18 b.

ment of the council is seen in the policy of the king, which tended to gain ground. This royal policy shows a reversion in some ways to the usages of Edward III. which Parliament had sought to counteract. For one thing, to offset the power of the older nobles the king added many new men, so that the membership, which had been limited to twelve or fifteen, immediately became larger. At one meeting of the thirteenth year there were twenty-one present,¹ while during the year as many as thirty-four councillors may be counted. Of these a larger proportion than before were bannerets and knights, whose usefulness was plainly enhanced. On one occasion a series of ordinances was passed by the king in the presence of a council of thirteen, seven of whom were of knightly rank.² At another time may be noted the presence of a clerk of the rolls, and again that of a baron of the exchequer. It was upon these men of minor estate that the royal policy in hostility to the nobles came more and more to depend. In the matter of salaries and wages, in distinction from the policy of Parliament and in contravention of the ordinances of 1390, which required the equitable payment of all members, stands the king's policy of making payments only in special cases, and with greater generosity to the men of lower rank. To some of these, reviving a practice of his predecessor, he even granted life annuities. The character of the king's council in this phase can best be shown by a few personal instances.

Edward Dalyngrugg was a knight connected with the council from the thirteenth to the sixteenth year. For his attendance he was granted a life annuity of one hundred marks,³ which he received in addition to wages of ten shillings a day.⁴ How assiduous a councillor he was is shown by his accounts, which state that from January 8 of the fifteenth year to February 21 of the sixteenth year he served 207 days. Upon the council records no name appears more frequently than his. For his good service in continually attending the council, as it was said, he received also a grant of two tuns of red Gascon wine each year.⁵

Richard Stury, a knight of the king's chamber, was one of the councillors "familiar with the king" who had been removed by the Good Parliament of Edward III., and was reinstated by John of Gaunt.⁶ He was reputed to be a patron of the Lollards. In the council of Richard II. from the fourteenth to the eighteenth year he received wages of ten shillings a day.⁷ His faithfulness

¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

² *Ibid.*, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴ Accounts Exchequer, K. R. 96/1.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 15 Ric. II., 37.

⁶ "*Chronicon Angliae*", *Archaeologia*, XXII. 226.

⁷ Issue Ro'ls, 14—18 Ric. II.

at the council is shown by his receipts at the exchequer,¹ and the king's favor by the grant of Gascon wine which he received as well as Dalyngrugge.² More frequently than any other persons are these two found employed on royal commissions.³

Lewis de Clifford, another knight of the king's chamber, formerly a mainpernor of Lord Latimer, and patron of the Lollards, was only less active than the former in Richard's council from the thirteenth to the fifteenth year. For this service he received an annuity of one hundred marks.⁴

The presence of a foreigner occurs in the case of Master Peregrino de Fano, a doctor of laws from Aquitaine, who in the seventeenth year came to England to attend the council and to serve as an envoy in treating of peace between the king of England and the king of France. For this he received a fee of forty pounds.⁵

It was in the last two years, during what is called the king's career of absolutism, that government by courtiers in defiance of the nobles and Parliamentary party was carried to the fullest extent. It is only fair to observe that some of the so-called favorites were men of ability and faithfulness. Among the royalist councillors of this time were the dukes of Aumâle, Norfolk, and Exeter, and the earl of Wiltshire. Of the greater men John Gilbert, bishop of St. David's, was the only one receiving a salary. He had been in the council from the thirteenth year and was at one time treasurer.⁶ In the twenty-first year at twenty shillings a day he served 164 days,⁷ and in the twenty-second year, which was the last, 128 days.⁸ Richard de Waldegrave was another king's knight, once speaker of the House of Commons, who served the council from the seventeenth year. Faithful to the last, he received one hundred marks each year.⁹ Lawrence Drew, a king's esquire, had been retained of the council in the seventeenth year with a life annuity of one hundred marks.¹⁰ In the eighteenth year he acted as a "reporter", being entrusted by the council with money to distribute in the expenses of the war in Ireland,¹¹ and returning with messages from the king to the council.¹² In the twenty-first year he

¹ In the sixteenth year he is recorded as attending the council at London for 159 consecutive days (Issue Roll (Pells), 16 Ric. II., Mich., m. 18), and in the eighteenth year similarly for seven months (*ibid.*, 18 Ric. II., Easter, m. 22).

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 15 Ric. II., 37.

³ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁴ Issue Roll (Pells), 14 Ric. II., Mich., m. 14; 15 Ric. II., m. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 Ric. II., Mich., Dec. 3. ⁶ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 508.

⁷ Issue Roll (Pells), 21 Ric. II., Mich., m. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 Ric. II., Easter, m. 11.

⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., 415; Issue Rolls, 17-22 Ric. II.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., 391.

¹¹ Issue Roll (Pells), 18 Ric. II., Easter, m. 14.

¹² Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 57.

was declared a member of the council for cases at law only.¹ He served to the end of the reign.²

Master Ralph de Selby, a baron of the exchequer and doctor of laws, besides his salary of forty marks for his office in the exchequer, in the seventeenth year was granted a fee of fifty marks a year.³ This fee, which was once declared renewed,⁴ he received through the twenty-second year.⁵ Other knights of the council were John Bussy, Henry Greene, William Bagot, and John Russel. It was once declared that for the arrangement of certain fines none should be present in the council but the chancellor, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, Bussy, Greene, and Bagot.⁶ For promoting the king's schemes in the second Parliament of 1397 these men have been given a special notoriety.⁷ They appear among the councillors trying cases in chancery, and were in attendance finally when Richard's council came to its tragic close. On the invasion of the duke of Lancaster in 1399, the duke of York, then guardian of the realm, hastily called together the chancellor (the bishop of Chichester), the treasurer (William le Scrope), the earl of Wiltshire, and the knights Bussy, Bagot, Greene, and Russel. Fleeing from their enemies, Scrope, Greene, and Bussy were forthwith captured at Bristol and hanged.⁸ Bagot lived to be apprehended in the next Parliament as an evil counsellor.⁹ The accusation therefore made against Richard on his deposition, that he had selected for his council according to his pleasure favorites and others who would not resist him,¹⁰ was certainly well founded.

One other cause of offense was the proneness of the council to supersede the courts of common law, removing cases from their jurisdiction, trying cases between suitors, and issuing summary writs of privy seal. The records of the council contain a few instances of such procedure.¹¹ That there were many cases of the kind is suggested in one of the first petitions of the commons in the next reign, when they asked that all purely personal actions, to which the king was not a party, be tried by the common law

¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

² Issue Roll (Pells), 22 Ric. II., Easter, m. 12.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Ric. II., 328.

⁴ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 75.

⁵ Issue Roll (Pells), 22 Ric. II., Easter, m. 12.

⁶ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 76.

⁷ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II. 519.

⁸ Walsingham, *op. cit.*, II. 232; "Annales Ricardi Secundi", in Trokelowe, 243.

⁹ "Annales Henrici Quarti" (*ibid.*), 303.

¹⁰ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 399.

¹¹ Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I. 76-78; *Select Cases in Chancery* (Selden Society), No. 34.

and not before the council, and that all actions of the kind before the council of Richard which were still pending be annulled and adjourned to the common law.¹

Of the history of the council during the reigns of Henry IV. and of Henry VI., when again Parliamentary pressure was brought to bear, there is no need at present to speak. The conclusions now to be drawn would not be much affected thereby. The first part of the reign of Richard II. shows, to a fuller extent than at any time before or since, the aims of Parliament to elect the council and to direct its organization. Even then the will of Parliament was only intermittently and with no consistency asserted. Moreover the council was already too mature and well-established an institution to be readily changed by legislative enactments. In the king's personal government during the later years of the reign we see the whole Parliamentary policy brought to naught. That the council was normally within the sphere of the royal prerogative and depended not upon statutes for its power or usefulness was destined again to be proved. Yet there are results which may be attributed to the influence direct and indirect of lords and commons. The privy council was never again so large or so heterogeneous a body as heretofore; its members were more generally of respectable estate; the councillors felt something of a responsibility for their actions; while as a governing body it was drawn more into the light and its actions were better understood and noted. Of these results the latter has afforded the material from which in the main the present article has been constructed.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 446.

THE OFFICE OF INTENDANT IN NEW FRANCE

A STUDY IN FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY

As one dips into the voluminous documentary data available for the study of French colonization and French colonial institutions in North America, one's initial impression is that of prodigious official activity. The hand of authority appears everywhere, restlessly thrusting itself into every department of colonial life—ordering, directing, or restraining. A hierarchy of officials, formidable in number, is seen issuing edicts, ordinances, declarations, decrees, and judgments with a profusion that is ominous and bewildering.¹ It is not strange, therefore, that students of the French régime in the New World have recoiled from the task of attempting to define precisely the position and powers of the various administrative officials; for the multitude of their jurisdictions appear at first sight to be inextricably dovetailed, and the limits of their several activities hopelessly overlapped. The sage De Tocqueville has somewhere remarked that in the days of the old dominion the administration took the place of Providence. One might add that at any rate it seemed almost as omnipresent if not always as omniscient, and that its ways were frequently as inscrutable.

This paternal system had its myriad of agents of all ranks, jurisdictions, and qualities, all vying in the activity of their administrative energies, and encroaching upon the apparent jurisdictions of one another in a way which seems almost to preclude any exact definition of their proper positions and functions. Against this somewhat kaleidoscopic background, however, one figure stands silhouetted with tolerable clearness—that of the intendant, at once the most active and the most characteristic royal officer of the prerevolutionary era. In New France as in Old, this special custodian of the royal absolutism filled a post which is capable of being described with some exactness, and exercised powers which are susceptible of definition.

For a proper understanding of the position and functions of the colonial intendant, a word or two must be said as to the origin

¹ The *Registres du Conseil Souverain et du Conseil Supérieur de Québec*, from September 18, 1663, to April 8, 1760, fill no less than fifty-six ponderous manuscript volumes; the *Ordonnances des Intendants du Canada* make up the contents of forty-four more; and there are in addition thirty-six volumes of minor decrees and judgments.

and importance of the intendency in France. During the century and a half preceding the Revolution the main administrative division of France was the *généralité*, a unit usually but not necessarily coextensive with the province. At the head of this division was placed a royal official, the Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finance, armed with very extensive administrative powers, distinguished by his loyalty to the interests of the king, and in a sense reflecting the absolutism of the monarchy. Within his *généralité* the intendant was bound by no hard and fast statutes or regulations, and he owed no obedience to any local authorities: he was appointed by, removable by, and responsible to the king alone. When he took office his powers were given him in the form of a royal commission; and these powers might be widened or narrowed from time to time by special instructions from the crown. Usually, however, both the commission and the instructions were couched in very general terms; and, reliance being placed upon the judgment and fidelity of the official, he was left to carry out their spirit as local conditions might seem to dictate.¹ To an outsider the intendant's powers might well appear portentous, as they did to the observant Scotchman, John Law, who remarked to D'Argenson, "Let me tell you that this kingdom of France is governed by its thirty intendants . . . on whom, so far as the provinces are concerned, welfare and want, prosperity and adversity, absolutely depend."

But how, one may ask, came this centralization of local administration into the intendant's hands? By a somewhat curious but very persistent error the origin and early development of the intendant's office has been commonly attributed to Richelieu.² Such an attribution was once not without reason; for even by some of his contemporaries the great cardinal was regarded as sponsor for the system of provincial intendancies, and the idea that he created and developed the office would fit very nicely with his well-known

¹ Charles Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, 1901), ch. II.

² The error may be found even in the most recent publications. "Ces fonctionnaires firent leur apparition durant la première moitié du XVII^{ème} siècle. Ce fut Richelieu qui les créa" (Thomas Chapais, *Jean Talon, Intendant de la Nouvelle-France*, Quebec, 1904, p. 18). "An even more effective instrument of royal control was afterwards created in the form of the intendants. Dating in their beginning from the middle of the sixteenth century, reintroduced by Henry IV: in his reconstruction of France after the religious wars, these officials were settled upon by Richelieu in the period between 1624 and 1641 as the principal agents and representatives of royal power" (E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, New York, 1904, p. 117).

general policy of administrative centralization.¹ Furthermore, the so-called "Édit de Création des Intendants" (1635), published in Isambert's *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises*,² seemed definitely to indicate the genesis of the office. Almost half a century ago, however, a careful investigator demonstrated beyond question that the edict of 1635 had been printed under a misleading title by the editor of the collection in which it was contained; that the intendency was in existence long before the time of Richelieu; and that its powers were so well developed by the first quarter of the seventeenth century that the cardinal-minister could have found but little to add to them.³ On the contrary, if the *Testament Politique* is to be regarded as Richelieu's legacy of political theory, he would seem, far from having created or developed the office, to have had in truth a very poor opinion of it and to have been actually in favor of curbing its jurisdiction.⁴

The provincial intendency was, therefore, no spontaneous and arbitrary creation, dating back, as some writers have supposed, only three decades before its transplantation to New France.⁵ It was a very old post, and in its origin a not very important one, the jurisdiction of which grew slowly but surely in a general atmosphere of centralization, its widening powers simply reflecting with fidelity the steadily increasing fusion of administrative functions under the direct control of the crown.⁶

The office of intendant first made its appearance in connection with the affairs of New France in the spring of 1663. The colony had just been taken away from the Company of One Hundred Associates; and the king, on the advice of Colbert, had decided to provide it with a new framework of government modelled in general upon that of a French province. To this end an elaborate edict constituting the new administration was issued in April, 1663.⁷ By its provision was made for the establishment in New France of a Sovereign Council (*conseil souverain*), to be composed in the first instance of seven members: a lieutenant-general and governor

¹ Cf. the *Mémoires* of Séguier and of Omer Talon, cited by Gabriel Hanotaux in his *Origines de l'Institution des Intendants des Provinces* (Paris, 1901), 152-153.

² Paris, 1822-1833, XVI. 442 et seqq.

³ Jules Caillet, *De l'Administration en France sous le Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, 1857), 44 et seqq.

⁴ Richelieu, *Testament Politique* (Amsterdam, 1688), pt. 1., ch. iv., §§ iii, iv.

⁵ James Douglas, *Old France in the New World* (Cleveland, 1905), 507.

⁶ Allen Johnson, *The Intendant as a Political Agent under Louis XIV.* (Lowell, Mass., 1899), ch. 1.

⁷ "Édit de création du conseil supérieur de Québec", *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 37-39.

appointed by the crown, the bishop or other head of the church in the colony, and five other members, presumably colonials, appointed jointly (*conjointement et de concert*) by the governor and bishop.¹ The council was to have the assistance and advice of an attorney-general, but as to the right of this officer to a seat at the council-board the edict is not clear.

Contrary to the common assertion of historians, the edict of April, 1663, made no mention of a colonial intendant; but there is good reason to believe that the king and his ministers intended to send such an official to Canada, and had in fact already selected the first appointee. About a month before the edict was issued, one M. Robert had been duly commissioned as intendant of New France. The commission of Robert was never enregistered in the records at Quebec, and it is certain that he never came out to the colony. In fact, I have found no evidence that he ever performed any official act. There was, however, sent out to New France in 1663 a special royal commissioner, the *Sieur Gaudais-Dupont*, who was directed by the terms of his commission to study closely the administration of justice, the methods of maintaining law and order, and the existing arrangements for the raising of revenue.² The commission of this official gave him a seat and a vote in the Sovereign Council, where he was to take precedence immediately after the bishop.³ Gaudais remained at Quebec but a short time, returning in the following year to France, where he made a report of his investigations to the king.

It was at this point that colonial affairs took a new and sudden shift. The royal administration had no more than firmly established itself in the province when, under the auspices of Colbert, a powerful commercial company known as the Company of the West Indies was organized, and to this company was given a trading monopoly throughout all the domains of France in the western world.⁴ In these territories the new company was empowered to appoint "such governors" as might be deemed "requisite",⁵ and "to name judges and officers of justice wherever need be";

¹ As the governor and bishop found themselves unable to agree in the selection, the king soon took the appointment of councillors into his own hands. In 1675 the number of appointive councillors was increased from five to seven (*ibid.*, 83), and in 1703 a further increase to twelve was ordered (*ibid.*, 299).

² "Commission octroyée au *Sieur Gaudais* pour aller examiner le pays de la Nouvelle-France", May 7, 1663, *ibid.*, III. 22-23.

³ Gaudais never, as Kingsford (*History of Canada*, I. 306) seems to suppose, had the title of intendant.

⁴ "Établissement de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales", *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 40-48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § xxvi.

and it was also expressly authorized "to establish sovereign councils" in such places as might be "necessary".¹ Although the company was thus clearly invested with jurisdiction over the territory of New France, it does not appear to have exercised any of its political powers. It is said to have prayed the king to make the political appointments himself; but of such action the commissions of the officials give no evidence, and it is altogether probable that the company was not even consulted with reference to any of the colonial appointments.² The attitude of the intendant Talon toward the company would seem to show that he was under no obligation to it for his nomination to the post which he held.³

Thus it was that, during the ten years intervening between the establishment and the fall of this company (1664-1674), the situation in New France presented a strange dualism. By its charter the company had been authorized to name the officials of administration and of justice, but as a matter of fact the king kept this power jealously to himself. By its charter it was empowered to make land grants, but in practice such grants were made only by the royal officials. In short, the Bourbon monarch took away with one hand what he gave with the other; and the company, with all its portentous charter powers, secured little more than a monopoly of the colonial fur-trade. The failure to realize clearly this curious divergence between the law and the facts of the situation has served to mislead more than one student of the institutions that existed under the old régime.

The first intendant actually to enter upon the duties of his office in New France was Jean Talon, whose commission bears date of March 23, 1665; and from this time down to the period of the French withdrawal from Canada the post was filled continuously, with the exception of the three years intervening between the departure of Talon in 1672 and the arrival of Duchesneau in 1675.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, § xxxi.

² Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), I. 379-380, says that the king appointed the first governor and intendant at the suggestion of the company; but this assertion scarcely tallies with the fact that M. de Mézy and M. Louis Robert were appointed governor and intendant respectively by commissions dated almost a year before the company was chartered. See *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 33; III. 21.

³ In one of his despatches Talon wrote, "If His Majesty wishes to make anything of Canada, he will never succeed unless he withdraws it from the hands of the company . . ." (Talon to Colbert, October 14, 1665, Correspondance Générale, II. 248).

⁴ The list of intendants of New France, with the dates of their commissions, is as follows:

Louis Robert, of whose commission no record has been found, but who must have been appointed prior to March 21, 1663, for his name appears as intendant

Each intendant received from the king a commission of appointment setting forth his jurisdiction and powers; this he presented at the first meeting of the council after his arrival, when it was

in a royal edict of that date (*Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 33). M. Robert, as has been stated, did not come out to the colony.

Jean Talon, commission dated March 23, 1665, registered at Quebec on September 23 following. Talon left the colony in the autumn of 1668 and remained in France until the summer of 1670. He went back to France again in the fall of 1672, the king having accepted his request to be relieved of his post.

Claude de Bouteroue, commission dated April 18, 1668, registered at Quebec on October 22 following. As Bouteroue was sent to the colony to act as intendant during the absence of Talon, he gave up his post on the return of the latter in 1670.

Jacques Duchesneau, commission dated June 5, 1675, registered at Quebec on September 16 following. Duchesneau was recalled, leaving the colony for France on May 9, 1682.

Jacques de Meulles, commission dated May 1, 1682, registered at Quebec on October 9 following. Meulles left the colony during the first week of October, 1686.

Jean Bochart de Champigny, commission dated April 24, 1686, registered at Quebec on September 23 following. Champigny went home to France in October, 1702.

François de Beauharnois, commission dated April 1, 1702, registered at Quebec on October 15 following. Beauharnois left Quebec in the autumn of 1705.

Jacques Raudot, commission dated January 1, 1705, registered at Quebec on September 17 following. On the same date Antoine-Denis Raudot, his son, was commissioned "to serve as adjoint and to act as intendant in case his father should be ill or otherwise incapacitated or should be absent from Quebec a distance of more than ten leagues". The younger Raudot returned to France in 1710, whither his father followed him a year later.

Michel Bégon, commission dated March 31, 1710, registered at Quebec on October 14, 1712. Bégon's departure for the colony was delayed by the death of his father. After twelve years' service he was promoted to the intendency of Havre, and left Quebec in 1724.

Edmé-Nicolas Robert, commissioned February 22, 1724. M. Robert died at sea en route to his post; hence his commission does not appear on the council registers at Quebec.

Guillaume de Chazelles, commissioned in the spring of 1725. Chazelles left Rochefort in July of the same year on board the frigate *Le Chameau*. The vessel, however, getting badly out of her course, was wrecked near Louisburg, whence news of the disaster was sent to Quebec, and thence to France.

Claude Thomas Dupuy, commission dated November 23, 1725, registered at Quebec on September 2, 1726. Dupuy returned to France in October, 1728.

Gilles Hocquart, commissioned commissary-general and acting intendant of New France on March 8, 1729. Two years later, February 21, 1731, he was promoted to the intendency by a commission registered at Quebec on August 20 following. Hocquart returned to France in 1749, having been appointed intendant at Brest.

François Bigot, commission dated January 1, 1748, registered at Quebec on September 2 following. Bigot left the colony, with the other officials and the troops, in 1760.

During the interval between the departure of Jacques Raudot and the arrival of Bégon, M. d'Aigremont performed the duties of the intendency; and later, on the departure of Dupuy, d'Aigremont again assumed charge, but died before the

ordered to be enregistered.¹ The commissions differed somewhat from one another, but in general they disclosed a broad line of uniformity. The phraseology was strikingly similar to that adopted in the commissions of the provincial intendants in France during the same period, but there were some important differences in the nature and scope of the powers conferred.² Invariably the commissions were couched in such general terms that, were one to judge solely by the wording, one would be quickly forced to the conclusion that the intendant was the real agent of administration in the colony, and might well question what scope could possibly be left for the numerous other officers. To Talon, for example, was given the somewhat comprehensive authority to order everything as might seem "just and proper".³ With the commission, however, usually went a letter of instructions from the minister, which, together with subsequent instructions that might be sent out from time to time, gave specific directions on various matters. Not infrequently these instructions limited the powers conferred in the intendant's commission of appointment; and occasionally they were quite inconsistent with the terms of the commission. They were not registered, but were kept privately by the intendant for his own guidance.⁴

The intendants of New France were not appointed for any definite term of years; they held office during the royal pleasure. In practice the terms varied considerably. Talon held his post for five years only, Meulles for four, Bouteroue and Dupuy for but two years each; on the other hand, Bégon was intendant of New France for twelve years, Champigny for sixteen, and Hocquart for eighteen. There seems to have been no aim to make the term a fixed one; for elasticity and complete dependence upon the will of the king were in the colony, as at home, the essential features of the office. During a period of almost a century (1665-1760) eleven intendants assumed their duties in the colony; hence the

arrival of Hocquart. In the meantime M. de Silly acted as intendant. Between the departure of Hocquart and the arrival of Bigot, M. Michel exercised the functions of the office.

The foregoing list is given in full because, so far as I am aware, no complete and accurate table of the intendants of New France, with the dates of their commissions and of their departures, has hitherto been printed.

¹ The various commissions are printed in *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 21-81.

² Cf. the typical intendant's commission printed in Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.*, 455-458.

³ "Et de tout ordonner ainsi que vous verrez être juste et à propos." *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 34.

⁴ Many of these letters of instruction are preserved in the Correspondance Générale.

average term of tenure was about eight and one-half years.¹ Some of them might have remained in office longer had they so desired—as, for example, Talon or Raudot; others, as Duchesneau and Dupuy, were recalled by the king because of some dissatisfaction with their work in office.

In every case the intendant was sent out from France: no colonial was ever named to the post.² The office does not seem to have been regarded as a lucrative or an agreeable one, for the work was heavy and the responsibilities were great. The remuneration too was so ridiculously small—usually twelve thousand livres per year—that various intendants complained bitterly of their inability to make both ends meet on this allowance, especially in view of the high cost of living at Quebec.³ Down to 1685 the intendant provided his own living quarters, and usually transacted his official business in the council-room at the palace of the governor; but this arrangement was so unsatisfactory that, at the urgent solicitation of Meulles in 1685, the king furnished funds with which the intendant might secure quarters of his own. A large building which had been originally built by Talon as a brewery was accordingly purchased, and, after being partly rebuilt, was called by the pretentious name of Palais de Justice.⁴ Henceforth the intendants lived in this roomy structure, and here the council usually held its sessions. The abundant opportunities which the intendants had of supplementing their meagre stipend by private trade was naturally a severe tax upon their integrity. Most of them, however, seem to have looked upon the colonial post as a stepping-stone to something better at home, and consequently strove so to conduct themselves as to win the favor and reward of the crown. In this hope those who served the king well were not disappointed: Bégon was promoted to the intendency at Havre in 1724, Hocquart to the same post at Brest in 1749, and several others were continued in the royal service after their return to France.⁵

Without exception the intendants of New France were men who had served their king in some civil capacity before coming to

¹ During the same period there were twelve governors, with terms ranging from three to twenty-three years.

² Of the governors only one, Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, was born in Canada. Most of the minor positions, however, were given to residents of the colony.

³ The remuneration was not fixed in a lump sum, but was made up of different items.

⁴ The building was burned in 1713, but was promptly rebuilt. The king sent Bégon three thousand livres to recompense him for personal losses sustained in the fire.

⁵ Régis Roy, "Les Intendants de la Nouvelle-France; Notes sur leurs Familles", in Société Royale du Canada, *Mémoires*, 2e Série, IX. 63-107.

the colony. France had at this time no colonial civil service, but chose her colonial officials from among the members of the royal service at home.¹ Usually those appointed to the Canadian intendancy were drawn from the ranks of the lesser nobility, the *gens de robe*, or the *bourgeoisie*.² They were men who had entered the service at an early age, and had been promoted as the result of tested fidelity to the interests of the monarchy and of industry shown in office. As no one, with the single exception of Talon, seems to have held a provincial intendancy in France before coming to Canada, it may be presumed that the post of intendant in New France was less to be desired than the headship of a small *généralité* at home. Of the other colonial intendants, Bégon had been director of stores at Rochefort, Raudot a member of the board of excise (*cour des aides*), Duchesneau royal treasurer at Tours, Dupuy advocate-general of the royal council, and Bigot commissary of the military forces at Louisburg. The others are referred to in their respective commissions as having served the king faithfully "in the various offices" heretofore held by them.³ All of them proved to be men of more than ordinary ability, and some of them displayed unusual qualities of administration and statesmanship. While one of the number may justly be pilloried as a rogue, none showed himself incapable—a statement which can scarcely be made with truth in regard to the dozen governors of the old régime.⁴

We have the word of De Tocqueville that the duties and powers of the Canadian intendant were far wider than those of his prototype at home.⁵ In one sense the philosopher-historian is probably correct; for, while the authority given to the intendant of New France was not, judged by the terms of his commission and instructions, so extensive as that given to a provincial intendant at home, the distance of three thousand miles which separate Quebec from Versailles necessarily involved the exercise of wider discretionary powers by the colonial official. In France protests against the action of an intendant could be laid before the higher authorities and a decision be rendered within a few days, or at most a few

¹ To this fact a later student of French colonial policy attributes many of the capital errors of the old régime. See Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes* (Paris, 1891, 4th ed.), 450-451.

² Five of the colonial intendants were born in Touraine, two each in Bourgogne and Orléanais, one each in Hainaut, Poitou, Auvergne, Champagne, and Guyenne; cf. Roy, "Les Intendants", 66.

³ See the various commissions in *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 21 et seqq.

⁴ Governors De la Barre and De Denonville may be singled out as strikingly incapable.

⁵ "An intendant far more powerful than his colleagues in France". De Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (New York, 1876), 299, note f.

weeks; but from any act of the colonial intendant appeals could be forwarded only by the ships which left in the autumn of each year, and the royal decision could not be had until the year following. The independence enjoyed by the colonial intendant was therefore much greater than that allowed to any similar officer at home.

Owing to the broad scope of the duties and powers of the intendant of New France, it is not easy to summarize them succinctly; but it may simplify matters somewhat to group them under two main heads: (1) those which he had as a member of the council, and (2) those which he had as an independent official.

I. As has been pointed out, the edict creating the council made no provision that the intendant should have a seat in the new body; but the commissions of the various intendants supplied this omission. From 1663 to 1675 the governor presided at the meetings of the council, the bishop ranked next to him, and the intendant third; but in the latter year the king, for some unexplained reason, ordered that henceforth the intendant should preside at the meetings, although retaining the third place of precedence on all other official occasions.¹ The new intendant, Duchesneau, however, who came out to Quebec in the same year, complicated the matter somewhat by bringing with him a commission which gave him the right to preside only when the governor happened to be absent.² Governor Frontenac therefore refused to yield his place at the head of the table to the new intendant, especially since the king and the minister continued to address him in their instructions as "chief and president of the council".³ Pending a reference of the matter to the king, a somewhat undignified squabble ensued between governor and intendant. The king, however, promptly decided in favor of the intendant's contention, pointing out that the wording of the edict of 1675 was perfectly plain, and reprimanding Frontenac severely for having "set up pretensions entirely opposed" to this royal decree.⁴ Henceforth the intendants presided at the council meetings and exercised the usual powers of a presiding officer, taking the votes, signing the records, and calling special meetings.

Although possessing but a single vote in a body of ten (and

¹ "Nous voulons que l'intendant de justice, police et finances, lequel dans l'ordre ci-dessus aura la troisième place comme président du dit conseil . . . jouisse des mêmes avantages que les premiers présidents de nos cours . . ." *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 84.

² "Présider au conseil souverain en l'absence du dit sieur de Frontenac." *Ibid.*, III. 42.

³ Colbert to Frontenac, May 12, 1678, *Correspondance Générale*, IV. 144.

⁴ King to Frontenac, April 29, 1680, *ibid.*, V. 190. See also *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 238.

later of fifteen) members, the intendant had really a very considerable power at the council-board; for the members of the council usually grouped themselves into two factions, one of which looked to him as its leader. This was especially true during the first three or four decades following the establishment of the conciliar administration, when the interests of religion and commerce in the colony came into conflict, and the question of the liquor traffic with the Indians split the colonial population into two hostile camps. With a majority of the councillors behind him, the intendant was in a position absolutely to dominate the civil affairs of the colony.

2. More important, however, were the duties and powers of the intendant as an independent administrative and judicial officer. In this field he was not a subordinate of the governor, nor were his actions subject to review by the council; his responsibility was to the king alone.¹ His communications and reports did not have to pass through the hands of the governor, but were made directly to the minister—a privilege which was looked upon as affording a good link in the chain of checks and balances. One result was, of course, that when the governor and the intendant quarrelled they flayed each other unmercifully in their despatches to their common superiors.² While it was essential to the progress and quiet of the colony that the two officials should not come into a too violent antagonism, it may reasonably be inferred from the tenor of their instructions that the complete harmony of the two officials was neither

¹ The respective jurisdictions of governor and intendant in the colony were never precisely defined by any royal edict, though the issue of such would have prevented many of the disagreements which arose from time to time between the two officials. In the *Correspondance Générale* is preserved an interesting document entitled, "Difficulté qu'il plaira à M. le Marquis de Seignelay de décider sur les fonctions de gouverneur et intendant de Canada". This document comprises a list of questions evidently submitted to the king in 1684, with the answers of His Majesty written in the margin. One of these answers is as follows: "Sur le fait de la guerre et des armes le gouverneur doit ordonner ce qu'il estimera a propos. Et pour ce qui est de la justice et de la police a l'égard des sauvages meslez avec les François l'intendant et le conseil souverain en doivent connoistre. Sa Majesté ne veut pas que l'intendant donne aucun ordre aux gouverneurs, mais quand il'y a quelque choses qui regarde le bien de son service il peut leur escrire et les gouverneurs a cet egard doivent suivre ses avis" (April 10, 1684, *Correspondance Générale*, VI. 322). The governor, nevertheless, sometimes claimed the right to intervene in purely civil matters. On one occasion Governor Courcelle wrote on the margin of an ordinance passed by the council, and relating wholly to a civil matter, the following terse comment: "Cette Ordonnance estant contre l'autorité du Gouverneur et bien public, je ne l'ay pas voulu signer" (*Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*, Quebec, 1885, I. 448).

² See the despatches of Frontenac and Duchesneau during the years 1678-1682, in *Correspondance Générale*, V.

expected nor regarded as desirable.¹ This system of using one official as a check or spy upon his colleagues is abundantly characteristic of the general spirit of the period of French dominion in Canada.

During the earlier part of the period it was the custom of the intendant to send home by the returning ships, in the autumn of each year, reports on the general condition of affairs in New France. These papers dealt with almost every phase of colonial life and were frequently of formidable length. Single despatches not infrequently covered thirty or forty closely-written folio pages, and it sometimes happened that an intendant would send three or four reports by the same vessel. These numerous "*Mémoires sur l'État présent du Canada*", as they were called, form an invaluable source of data for the study of French colonization in North America. The minister or his subordinates went carefully through them, and, in case of the more lengthy ones, made abstracts for the personal perusal of the king. His Majesty then made marginal comments, which formed the basis of despatches sent by the minister to the intendant in the following spring. These marginal notes testify not only to the deep personal interest which Louis XIV. took in even the minor affairs of his colony beyond the seas, but also to the industry and patience of the Grand Monarch.²

As the colony grew in population and interests the policy of sending reports once a year was abandoned, and shorter communications on special topics were sent by the intendant whenever opportunity afforded. About once a year, or perhaps less frequently, he supplemented these special despatches by a comprehensive "*Mémoire*" on colonial affairs in general; and very frequently he united with the governor in a joint report. After the death of Louis XIV. the communications of the colonial officials appear not to have received the same careful attention as formerly; but the successive intendants continued their despatches of piteous length, filling them with details of colonial progress amidst difficulties which they in no wise minimized, with suggestions, criticisms, requests, and, not infrequently, with rather curious laudations of their own personal services. Often interesting, but more often thoroughly tiresome, these despatches con-

¹ Cf. "*Instructions au Sieur Talon*", March 27, 1665. A copy of this document may be found in the Parkman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² When the French left Canada in 1759 they took with them the confidential archives. These were deposited in the Ministère de la Marine. At the present time this enormous mass of manuscript documents, comprising substantially all the instructions, despatches, abstracts, etc., is preserved in the Archives of the Minister of Colonies, Pavillon de Flore, in the south wing of the Louvre in Paris. A considerable portion of the whole has been transcribed by the Canadian Archives Branch at Ottawa, and constitutes the collection known as the Correspondance Générale.

tain a wealth of data which no student of the institutions of France in America can afford to neglect.

Apart from his duty of reporting to his superiors on all matters of interest in the colony, the intendant, as an independent royal representative, had a plenitude of special duties and powers. A convenient method of classifying these is suggested by his exact title, Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finances.¹ Under the general heads of judicial, police, and financial powers, then, some approach to a definite analysis of the intendant's prerogatives may be made.

Judicial Powers.—The intendant's powers and duties in relation to the administration of justice in the colony may be grouped into two subdivisions, which may be termed general and special judicial authority. In the first place, he was by the terms of his commission entrusted with a general supervision over the hierarchy of colonial courts. The power of appointing or of removing the regular inferior judges and judicial officers was not, indeed, vested in his hands. The royal judges at Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers held their appointments from the king, as did the attorneys and clerks connected with these royal courts;² and seigniorial judges were appointed by the seigniors. The intendant was, however, by the terms of his commission instructed to keep close watch on the doings of all these officers, and was authorized to intervene whenever it was necessary to prevent miscarriage of justice. This was not an easy thing to do, especially since the officials of justice were not responsible to him. One intendant complained bitterly of his real lack of authority over the royal judge at Quebec: "I can do nothing with him", he wrote, "for he keeps on good terms with the governor and council and pays no heed to me."³ By the terms of his commission, moreover, the intendant was empowered to call before him litigation from the lower courts; but when Meulles undertook to do this he received from the king a sharp reprimand, and was instructed that for the future this policy was not to be pursued.⁴ This frequent contradiction between the commission and the instructions of the intendant is one of the confusing obstacles to any clear and precise definition of his judicial powers. The intendant might, moreover,

¹ The full title of the intendant was "Intendant de la Justice, Police et Finances en Canada, Acadie, Isle de Terrebonne et autres pays de la France Septentrionale". This title was uniform in the commissions of all the intendants except the last, Bigot, whose commission designated him as "Intendant de la Justice, Police et Finances en Canada, la Louisiane et dans toutes les terres et isles dépendantes de la Nouvelle-France". See *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 75.

² The commissions of these officials may be found *ibid.*, 82 et seqq.

³ Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1684, *Correspondance Générale*, VI. 273.

⁴ "Instruction pour le Sieur de Meulles", July 31, 1684, *ibid.*, 39.

have the attorney-general call a case before the council and have it there adjudicated; but the attorney-general did not always hold himself at the beck and call of the intendant in such matters. Meulles on one occasion complained bitterly that this official had become "bold to insolence", and that there was need of teaching him his proper place and duties.¹ At the same time, there were a good many removals of cases from the lower courts to the higher in order to prevent delays or denials of justice.

More definite were the special judicial powers of the intendant. He took cognizance, in the first instance, of all criminal cases of a serious nature, especially of treason, sedition, or counterfeiting, and of those in which the crown was supposed to have a special concern. He had charge of all contestations relating to trade and commerce, exercising in this sphere the powers of the *juges consuls* in France.² Disputes between seigniors and their dependents as to the nature and extent of seigniorial rights came, either directly or from the seigniorial courts, before the intendant or his subdelegates (*sub-délégués*); and of such controversies there was assuredly no dearth, as the recorded judgments of the intendants show.³ In dealing with these cases the intendant was supposed to follow the terms of the *coutume de Paris*, which had been prescribed as the "common law" of the colony in 1664; but some of the intendants allowed themselves a good deal of latitude in adjudicating cases.⁴ Talon, Raudot, Hocquart, and others strove earnestly to discourage litigation but without any striking degree of success, for the Norman habitant was usually combative in disposition.⁵ The rather loose manner in which property rights were defined, moreover, often invited disputes.⁶

No fees were charged in the intendant's court; the suitors pleaded their own causes without the intervention of attorneys, and

¹ Meulles to Minister, November 12, 1684, Corr. Générale, 273.

² "L'intendant exerçait la juridiction consulaire par lui-même et probablement aussi par ses subdélégués". P. J. O. Chauveau, *Notice sur la Publication des Registres du Conseil Souverain* (Quebec, 1885), p. liv, note.

³ These judgments are printed in *Édits et Ordonnances*, II. 423 et seqq.

⁴ See *ibid.*, I. 46, § xxxiii. See also the "Commission d'Intendant . . . pour M. Bigot", January 1, 1748, *ibid.*, III. 75-76. The wording is, "juger toutes matières . . . conformément à nos édits et ordonnances, et à la coutume de notre bonne ville, prévôté et vicomté de Paris".

⁵ As one writer has aptly put it, the habitant had "beaucoup de chaleur dans la discussion des intérêts privés, et de calme dans celle des intérêts publics". Joseph Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America* (London, 1832), I. 414, note.

⁶ Raudot in one of his despatches declared that "if all those who might avail themselves of their litigious spirit were allowed to bring lawsuits, there would soon be more suits in this country than there are persons". Raudot to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1707, Correspondance Générale, XXVI. 9-10.

the procedure was very simple.¹ Decision was given in the form of a decree, which was communicated to the parties concerned. When any considerable number of parties were interested, the decree was usually ordered to be read to the parishioners after mass or to be affixed to the door of the parish church.² To this end the intendant communicated such ordinances to the *capitaine de la milice* of the parish or *côte*, an official who acted as the local agent of the Quebec authorities and whose duty it was, among other things, to see to the publication and enforcement of decrees issued by the proper higher authorities.

The intendant was empowered to appoint subdelegates with jurisdiction in petty civil cases in which the amount in dispute did not exceed one hundred livres.³ These officials likewise supervised the enforcement of the police regulations which the intendant promulgated from time to time, and they tried minor criminal cases. Subdelegates were maintained at Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers; but from their decisions appeals might at any time be taken to the intendant. From the decisions of the intendant there was always a right of appeal to the Council of State in France; but as it was always a year or more before the opinion of the Council of State could be had on such appeals, the judgments of the intendant were usually accepted as final.

Police Powers.—Although the colonial intendant was a judicial officer of considerable authority, his main duties were not judicial but administrative. He was authorized to issue, in concurrence with the council, such general police regulations as might be deemed necessary; but, when the council's concurrence could be had only with difficulty or delay, the intendant was empowered to issue on his own responsibility such regulations as he thought demanded by the public interest.⁴ This "police power" comprised not only matters directly connected with the maintenance of law and order in the colony, but all matters relating to the protection of life and property, to the public health, and to the carrying on of trade and

¹ "Everybody pleads his own cause. Our Themis is prompt, and she does not bristle with fees, costs, and charges." Lahontan, *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1705), I. 21.

² Cf. *Édits et Ordonnances*, II. 429.

³ G. Doutre and E. Lareau, *Le Droit Civil Canadien*, I., *Histoire Générale du Droit Canadien* (Montreal, 1872), 133.

⁴ "Faire avec le dit conseil souverain tous les réglemens que vous estimerez nécessaires pour la police générale du dit pays . . . ; et en cas que vous estimiez plus à propos et nécessaire pour le bien de notre service, soit par la difficulté ou le retardement de faire les dits réglemens avec le dit conseil, nous vous donnons le pouvoir et faculté par ces mêmes présentes de les faire seul." *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 42-43.

industry, in fact all regulations demanded by the general paternal policy of the administration. In the exercise of these powers, all the intendants issued many ordinances without the assistance of the council, some providing general restrictions, others those designed to meet local conditions and applying only to certain persons or localities. Taken all together, these "Ordonnances des Intendants du Canada" make a formidable collection numbering well up into the hundreds. The matters with which they deal are of the widest variety, embracing almost every phase of colonial life from the most important to the most trivial. An ordinance establishing a system of weights and measures in the colony shares space with another forbidding coasting in winter along the hilly streets of Quebec. Various decrees deal with such matters as the holding of negro slaves, the regulation of inns and markets, the preservation of game, the building of houses and fences, furious driving, Sabbath observance, precedence at religious services, wills and testaments, stray cattle, guardianship of minors, and almost every imaginable topic. Nothing seems to have been accounted too trivial to merit an ordinance.¹ On the other hand, the council stood sponsor for many "Règlements" drafted by the intendant. In 1676 it promulgated a lengthy and comprehensive code of police regulations,² and from time to time supplemented this by ordinances on special subjects.

From time to time the intendant was charged by his instructions with special police duties and powers. One duty which was committed to him at an early date was that of fostering a rapid increase in the colonial population. He was instructed to receive the settlers sent out from France, to secure them locations, to get the single ones married, and to see that none went back to Europe. He supervised the distribution of bounties which the king gave to those colonists who married early and reared large families; and, on the other hand, he enforced the royal penalties imposed for obdurate celibacy.³ "The end and rule of all your conduct", wrote Colbert to Bouteroue, "should be the increase of the colony; on this point you should never be satisfied, but labor without ceasing to find every imaginable expedient for preserving the inhabitants, attracting new ones, and multiplying them by marriage".⁴ The

¹ These ordinances will be found in *Edits et Ordonnances*, II. and III.

² "Règlements généraux du Conseil Supérieur de Québec, pour la Police", May 11, 1676, *ibid.*, II. 65-73.

³ "Arrêt du Conseil d'État du Roi pour encourager les mariages des garçons et des filles de Canada", *ibid.*, I. 67-68.

⁴ "Instruction pour M. Claude de Bouteroue", 1668, in Parkman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

first of the intendants had devoted himself so zealously to this work, and had clamored so persistently for more settlers, that Colbert found it necessary to remind him that it was not the royal design to depopulate France in order to people Canada.¹ The wish of the king was that the colony should be made to grow from within by the application of artificial stimulants; when it did not respond, the intendant was forced to bear the blame. On one occasion the king reminded Duchesneau that, if he failed in this particular, he might regard himself as having failed in the principal object for which he had been sent to the colony.²

The working of the seigniorial system of land tenure was another matter committed to the special police care of the intendant. From 1666 to 1676 all grants of seigniories had been made by the intendant alone. On a few occasions, while Talon was absent in France, the governor had made provisional grants, but these were promptly ratified by the intendant on his return to the colony. In 1676, however, a change was made by a royal edict which provided that for the future all grants of seigniories should be made by the governor and intendant jointly. These two were to consider together all applications, and to decide whether the previous status of any incoming settler was such as to entitle him to the grant of a colonial fief, or whether he should, on the other hand, be referred to some colonial seignior for a small *en censive* grant.³ Nevertheless, the relations of the seigniorial proprietors to the crown continued wholly within the special jurisdiction of the intendant. He was supposed to see that the seigniors paid their quint⁴ into the royal treasury at Quebec when it became due, and that they respected the various reservations which had been inserted in their title-deeds.⁵ He was entrusted with the enforcement of the various edicts which compelled the seigniors to grant lands to incoming settlers at the usual rates without exacting a bonus for favorable locations,⁶ which ordered them to build seigniorial mills on pain of forfeiting for all future

¹ Colbert to Talon, February 20, 1668, *ibid.*

² King (unsigned) to Duchesneau, June 2, 1680, *Correspondance Générale*, V. 197.

³ *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 89-90. When the two officials disagreed, the question was to be referred to the king. *Ibid.*, 572-574.

⁴ A mutation fine equal to one-fifth of the value of the seignior, payable on the occasion of any change in ownership. It was the custom in New France to allow seigniors a rebate of one-third. See F. J. Cugnet, *Traité de la Loi des Fiefs* (Quebec, 1775), 11.

⁵ Such, for example, as the reservation of all oak timber suitable for use in the royal shipyards. On one occasion the intendant appointed officials to go about from seignior to seignior to see that this reservation was respected. See *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 469.

⁶ Especially the famous "Arrêts of Marly", 1711, *ibid.*, I. 324-325.

time their banal rights, to file plans (*aveu et dénombrement*) of their seigniories, and so on. On the other hand, the intendant was expected to uphold the seignior in the enforcement of all his rightful claims; and his intervention to compel censitaires to render their just dues and services was sought on frequent occasions. One finds a large number of ordinances directing censitaires to pay their *rentes*, to render their *corvées*, to carry their grain exclusively to the seigniorial mill, to exhibit their titles for the seignior's inspection—ordinances, in short, relating to almost every incident which might be a matter of dispute between the seigniors and their dependents.¹

But while the intendant carefully protected the interests of the crown and supported the just claims of the seigniors, he was equally the protector of the censitaires against seigniorial oppression and rapacity. When a seignior refused to grant lands at a reasonable rate, the intendant was empowered to make the grant over the seignior's head.² When he found seigniors exacting dues and services to which they did not appear entitled, he promptly forbade such exactions.³ When complaints were made that the seigniorial mill was defective or out of order, he did not hesitate summarily to order improvements.⁴ When he found that seigniors were exacting *corvée* labor during the busy seed-time and harvest seasons, he interdicted all seigniors from exacting more than one day's work at a time.⁵ Whenever it could be shown that seigniorial exactions, even though legal, were operating to the detriment of general colonial progress, his intervention might be sought, and usually with success, to secure their modification.⁶ The work of the intendant served appreciably to make the land-tenure system work smoothly; it was the failure of the British authorities after the conquest to continue this administrative jurisdiction that led to the development of many abuses.

The intendant was charged with a general supervision of the roads and bridges of the colony. The immediate supervision of construction and repair was, however, in the hands of an official known as the *grand voyer*, who was from time to time empowered by intendant's ordinance to command the personal labor (*corvée*) of the habitants in the work.⁷

Colonial industrial interests likewise demanded the intendant's

¹ These decrees are printed, under the title "Ordonnances des Intendants du Canada", in *Édits et Ordonnances*, II. 257-421.

² *Ibid.*, I. 326.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 440.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 444.

⁶ Raudot to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1707, *Correspondance Générale*, XXVI. 9 *et seqq.*

⁷ See, for example, *Édits et Ordonnances*, III. 176, 197, 216, 217, 284, 436, etc.

attention. That jealousy of industrial development which marked the policy of England toward her American colonies seems never to have characterized the policy of France toward Canada. It is of course true that in New France industry was such a puny infant that it gave the mother-land no cause for fear. At any rate the French government strove very earnestly to foster it by encouragements of various sorts, and committed the application of these stimulating agencies to the hands of the intendant. From time to time this official brought to the notice of the king the specific industrial needs of his colony, and rarely without meeting with ready response. Different intendants plied the patient sovereign with requests for tilers, brickmakers, potters, iron-workers, glass-makers, weavers, and so on; while one, less definite in his requests, asked for "all sorts of artisans". They also desired materials with which to get industries started. Champigny requested supplies of hemp-seed and flaxseed, in order that the raw materials of industry might be raised in the colony.¹ Hocquart asked for some fanning-mills, that the quality of flour produced in the seigniorial mills might be improved.² More often the intendant desired that some enterprising colonial might be assured of a monopoly in return for undertaking to start some particular industry. Still oftener the king was asked for a money bonus by his zealous agent, who never failed to point out how easy it would be for a certain industry to make progress were it only established. Under the spur of these various encouragements, one enterprising colonial established a tannery, another a hat factory, a third a shoemaking industry, and others started establishments for the making of potash and the curing of fish. Talon, who is often called the "Colbert of New France", was especially energetic, both by stimulus and by example, in promoting industry. With his private means he built a brewery at Quebec, besides establishing a tar manufactory and assisting in the promotion of various other enterprises.³ Of the other intendants, Raudot and Hocquart were conspicuous for their vigorous attempts to foster colonial industry.⁴

Despite these various encouragements, however, colonial industry would not thrive: in every case the enterprise seemed to fizzle when the royal pap was withdrawn. It is true that the benefits of en-

¹ Champigny to Minister, November 6, 1688, *Correspondance Générale*, VI. 389.

² Hocquart to Minister, October 4, 1731, *ibid.*, LIV. 43.

³ Chapais, *Jean Talon*, ch. xvi. The personal enthusiasm and enterprise of the intendant were strongly praised by Governor Frontenac in one of his despatches to the minister. See Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, *Correspondance Générale*, III. 327.

⁴ Cf. Claude Marie Raudot, *Deux Intendants du Canada sous Louis XIV.* (Auxerre, 1854), *passim*.

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couragement were too often offset by the stringent police regulations imposed on the methods of industry; but the main obstacle was found in the superior profits of the fur-trade, which by its greater lucrativeness and its irresistible fascination drew into its vortex the best and most enterprising part of the colonial population.

Financial Powers.—In France one of the main duties of the provincial intendant was connected with the levy and collection of direct taxes. In the different classes of provinces (*pays d'état* and *pays d'élection*) his powers of supervision differed somewhat; but in general he was responsible for the collection of the imposts and for their transmission to Paris.¹ In New France, however, no direct taxes, either *taille* or *capitation*, were ever imposed; hence the intendant had no work in this direction. It is true that, by intendant's decree, special assessments were occasionally levied for the building of churches, presbyteries, roads, bridges, and fortifications; but these can scarcely be looked upon as constituting a system of direct taxation.

The colony of New France had, however, a system of indirect taxes levied both upon imports and upon exports. Down to 1748 taxes upon imports were confined to spirituous liquors and tobacco, while taxes upon exports were restricted to furs and hides. In 1748, however, a royal edict provided for the imposition of a uniform tax of three per cent. upon all other imports and exports, with the exception of certain enumerated commodities.² The immediate work of collecting these duties was in the hands of farmers of the revenue, but over their operations the intendant was supposed to maintain a watchful eye, preventing overcharges and hearing complaints in general. The amount paid into the colonial treasury from this *ferme du Canada* was almost invariably much below what was needed for the current expenditure of the colony. Consequently the king found it necessary each year to make good a substantial deficit, which was met partly by the despatch of money and goods to the colony, and partly by the issue of bills of exchange drawn by the intendant upon Paris and paid out of the royal treasury.

¹ Godard, *Les Pouvoirs des Intendants sous Louis XIV.*, ch. vii.

² *Édits et Ordonnances*, I. 591 et seqq. A good summary of the revenue system of New France is printed under the title: "An Account of the Duties that were paid in the Province of Quebec during the French Government thereof, on Brandy, Rum, and Wine, imported into the said Province, and on Dry Goods imported into, and exported out of, the same", in François Masères's *Collection of several Commissions . . . and other Papers relating to . . . Quebec* (London, 1772), No. 33.

Year by year the intendant sent home itemized accounts showing particulars of revenue and expenditure.¹

The intendant also acted as the general distributing and purchasing agent of the crown in the colony. It was customary, each autumn, to send home a list of the stores required for the maintenance of the forces in the country; and these supplies the home government forwarded in the following spring. On arrival at Quebec such stores were distributed under the supervision of the intendant to the various royal storekeepers, from whom they could be had by officers commanding the forces on presentation of the necessary requisitions. Since, however, the demand could not always be accurately stated in advance, it very frequently happened that things were needed which had not been sent out from France. In such cases the necessary supplies were purchased in the colony. The method of securing these differed somewhat from time to time, but during the last few decades preceding the loss of Canada it was the practice to permit officers commanding military posts or military expeditions to secure such additional supplies from merchants or traders by giving signed requisitions in return. These requisitions were then signed by the merchant, the local commissary, the commissary-general, and finally by the intendant, who made payment either in money or by giving bills of exchange on Paris—usually in the latter way. The requisitions were then kept by the intendant as vouchers, but there seems to have been no regular system of auditing them. Still, they passed through so many hands that fraud or extortion was scarcely possible without collusion on the part of several officials.²

Down to 1748 it does not appear that there was any marked corruption or dishonesty among the civil officials of the colony;³ but with the arrival of Bigot in that year a veritable carnival of peculation was inaugurated. Bigot proceeded to fill all the subordinate offices with men as dishonest as himself, so that fraudulent requisitions

¹ Many of these are preserved in the *Correspondance Générale*. They are, however, very complicated and difficult to analyze.

² Different intendants varied the system of distributing and purchasing supplies to such an extent that it is not easy to give an accurate outline of the methods pursued. Many details are given in the *Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice, Police, Finance, et Marine en Canada* (Paris, 1763), especially in part III.; in Antoine de Bougainville's "*Mémoire sur l'État de la Nouvelle France, à l'Époque de la Guerre de Sept Ans*", printed by Pierre Margry in his *Relations et Mémoires Inédits* (Paris, 1867), 37-84; and in the various despatches of Montcalm, Vaudreuil, and Bigot during the years preceding the conquest.

³ An anonymous "*Mémoire sur l'État présent du Canada*", dated February 15, 1712, and preserved in the Archives of the Marine, accuses the intendant, Jacques Raudot, of carrying on a private trade in wheat and salt. *Correspondance Générale*, XXXIII. 381. Complaints of this sort were, however, very rare.

tions might be readily certified. It was his aim to secure from France only a small portion of the supplies required for the colony, and to buy as much as possible in Canada. Most of the needed stores were purchased from the establishment of one Claverie at Quebec, a firm in which Bigot and many of his subordinates were silent partners and in the profits of which they shared largely. This establishment, popularly known as "La Friponne", had its branch at Montreal, and during the last ten years of French rule supplied goods to the amount of many millions of livres for the use of the troops. The stores were inferior and the prices charged were outrageously extortionate. The people of the colony were forced by intendant's ordinance to sell their grain to the Friponne at fixed prices, and the establishment then resold it to the king at famine rates. Bigot's dishonesty further appeared in his practice of letting contracts for the construction of public works, for the transportation of troops, and for various other public services, to favored contractors, who set their own prices and then disgorged part of their plunder to the intendant and his friends in high places. In fact, all the higher civil officials in the colony seem to have vied with one another in the work of turning public funds into private fortunes; and the amount of bills of exchange sent home annually ran up into the millions. The annals of colonial administration probably afford no parallel to the corruption of Bigot's intendency. It was, however, only after the loss of the colony, when the intendant and a score or more of his subordinates were placed on trial in France, that the enormity of their peculations was completely disclosed.¹

An additional temptation in the pathway of an intendant lay in the fact that to him was committed general charge of the system of colonial currency. In the early days, funds to pay the expenses of the colony were sent out in coin; but in 1685 these annual funds failed to arrive, and Meulles, "not knowing to what saint to make his prayers", hit upon the expedient of issuing a temporary card currency to serve until the coined money should come to hand. The experiment proved so disastrously successful that from time to time later intendants made successive issues, until the card money became a permanent factor in the colonial stock of circulating media. These

¹ The proceedings in the trial of Bigot, Péan, and others were subsequently published at Paris. They consist of a dozen or more *Procès, Mémoires, Réponses*, and other documents, the most elaborate of which is that containing the defense of Bigot, which fills over a thousand closely-printed pages. It was from these that Parkman drew his lucid account of the ongoing at Quebec during the last decade of French dominion (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, II.). The interesting story of "La Friponne" is told in William Kirby's *Chien d'Or* (New York, 1878).

cards were issued and signed by the intendant;¹ and in periods of military storm and stress, when expenses were extraordinarily heavy, the temptation to issue them in large quantities was naturally too great to be resisted. Through overissues and tardiness in redemption the card money depreciated so much in value that, during the years just prior to Wolfe's victory, the luckless colony fairly floundered in the slough of inconvertible paper. With the exception of Bigot, however, none of the intendants seem to have used the power of issuing card money to their own enrichment.²

Taken as a whole, the powers of the Canadian intendant were very extensive—vastly more extensive, indeed, than were those of any other official in the colony. His discretionary power was wide, and the great distance which separated him from his only superiors at Versailles made it necessary that he should use this power constantly and extensively. With a single important exception, the eleven intendants who actually performed the duties of their office in New France exercised their wide powers with moderation and judgment as well as with honesty. Duchesneau showed himself somewhat too combative in temperament, but it must be borne in mind that Frontenac afforded him ample provocation. Dupuy was rather untactful in his relations with his colleagues; and Beauharnois was scarcely long enough in the colony to permit one to judge of his capabilities as an administrator. Talon, Champigny, Meulles, Raudot, Bégon, and Hocquart, however, were all men who rose well to the responsibilities of their post. The first and last named not only possessed in a high degree both administrative skill and enthusiasm for the royal interests, but gave freely of their private means for the advancement of those interests.³ It is therefore hardly fair to say

¹ Some idea of the extent of the issues may be had from the fact that in 1730 some two thousand packs of cards were used. The intendant, Hocquart, in one of his despatches complained that the task of signing so many cards was tedious and that this work occupied the larger part of his spare time. After 1733 the intendant was relieved of this work, the card money henceforth bearing only the signature of the controller of the marine at Quebec.

² In addition to the card money, treasury notes for larger denominations were issued. Bigot, in 1748, arranged that these should be printed, and issued them in large quantities. The whole question of the currency system of the French period in Canada is elaborately discussed in Adam Shortt's articles on "Canadian Currency and Exchange under French Rule", in *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*, 1898-1899, V. 271, 385, VI. 1, 147, 233; James Stevenson's "Card Money in Canada during the French Domination", Quebec Literary and Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1873-1875, pp. 84-112; Lareau's "Monnaie de Cartes au Canada", *Revue de Montréal*, II. 433-438; and N. E. Dionne's "La Monnaie Canadienne sous le Régime Français", in *Revue Canadienne*, XXIX. 30-32, 72-83.

³ Hocquart, it is recorded, furnished from his own means the funds for the erection of the church at Tadoussac in 1747. See Coquart's journal, in R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, LXIX. 137.

that "the intendant was quite apt to be a rare rascal",¹ because one man in a line of a dozen proved himself so conspicuously unworthy of the trust imposed in him by his sovereign at a critical time. Bigot's picturesque depravity has served too well to draw the attention of the casual student away from the faithful plodding of his honest predecessors in office.

The post of colonial intendant was almost unique in the scope of powers committed to it, and in the heavy demands constantly made alike upon the firmness, impartiality, tact, and integrity of its occupants. The more one studies both the office and the men, the more will one be impressed by the large and effective part played by the intendants in the drama of the old régime.

W. B. MUNRO.

¹ Thwaites, *France in America* (New York, 1905), 134.

CANNING AND THE SPANISH PATRIOTS IN 1808

THE attitude taken up by a great statesman towards any event of world-wide importance must always be a matter of interest; and interest is heightened when he is comparatively new to office and when the circumstances which call for his decision are complex and unprecedented. No apology need therefore be made for an attempt to elucidate the occurrences which brought Great Britain and the Spanish patriots to an informal but effective alliance in the year 1808, and largely owing to the exertions of Canning.

In the pages of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* it is needless to describe the events which led to the intervention of Napoleon in the affairs of the Peninsula in the period September, 1807–May, 1808. It may also be taken for granted that readers of this article are familiar with the consequences of his action toward the Spanish dynasty and the Spanish nation. As soon as the news of his treatment of Ferdinand VII., *de facto* king of Spain, became known throughout the Peninsula, the people, with comparatively few exceptions, rose against the government which he sought to impose and requested help from its nominal enemy, Great Britain. The rising, though national in its universality, was provincial in the manner of its manifestation. The intense individuality of the provinces and the difficulty attending concerted action, seeing that Madrid and many other important centres were occupied by French troops, helped to determine the course of the whole movement. In intensity and savagery it resembled a Jacquerie; in the bigoted hatred displayed against the French and their partizans the patriots showed themselves to be the true scions of the men who fought under the Duke of Alva; and it will ever be matter for question whether Spain would not have benefited by submitting to Napoleon and to his brother, Joseph Bonaparte. Submission, however, was impossible. Reforms were spurned when offered by the man who had deeply insulted Spanish pride; and the fact that deputies from three provinces of Spain—Asturias, Galicia, and Andalusia—set sail almost simultaneously to appeal for aid from England shows the depth of the animosity against the French emperor after his behavior at Bayonne.

The deputies of the little principality of Asturias were the first to reach London. Those of Galicia and Andalusia soon followed.

There is unfortunately no account in the archives of the British Foreign Office respecting their interview with Canning. From unofficial sources we know that their reception by the populace was extremely cordial; and it was a foregone conclusion that Canning, who had watched the politics of the Peninsula with the most eager interest, would avail himself of the alliance now proffered by the Spanish people. Whether he had any difficulty in overcoming the scruples of the king, always punctilious in matters of diplomatic procedure, is not known. The discussions in the Cabinet are veiled in secrecy; but it may be taken for granted that the ministers were practically of one mind, seeing that the official declaration ordering the cessation of hostilities against Spain appeared on July 4, 1808. Parliament was virtually unanimous in approving this change of policy.

The archives of the British Foreign Office yield nothing of interest on this subject before July 6, 1808. On that day Canning issued instructions to Mr. Charles Stuart directing him to proceed to Corunna on board of H. M. S. *Alcmene*, along with Don Joachim Freire, one of the deputies of the "Kingdom" of Galicia.¹ The despatch continues in these words:

On your arrival at Corunna, Mr [sic] Freire will present you to the several members of the Provisional Government of Galicia, who will be apprized by their deputies in London of your appointment and of the nature of the duties which you are to fulfil. You will take the earliest opportunity to inform the Provisional Government that on board of the *Alcmene* is the sum of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling in Spanish dollars, which His Majesty is pleased to advance by way of loan to the Galician Government and which you are ready to deliver over to any person who may be duly authorized to receive the same.

Stuart is then directed to carry on communications between Spain and the British government and to furnish all the news possible. Mr. Hunter, who was sent to Gijon to act as British consul for the principality, or province, of Asturias, was charged to supply him with information from that quarter. The following sentences at the close of the despatch are of interest as showing Canning's desire for united action in Spain:

You will give it distinctly to be understood that you have no authority to enter into any political engagements and that if any proposals of such a nature should be made to you, you can do no more than transmit them to His Majesty's Govt. for their consideration.

If the Government of Galicia should express any desire that H. M. should appoint an accredited agent to reside at Corunna, you will represent to them the inconvenience which would arise from accrediting

¹ Don Joachim Freire must not be confused with Mr. Hookham Frere, who in October, 1808, was appointed British envoy to the central junta of Spain.

such a number of persons as it would be necessary to send to the different provinces of Spain. You will however assure them that whenever these provinces shall be united so as to constitute a general provisional govt. H. M. will lose no time in sending an accredited Minister to reside at the seat of government wherever it may be fixed. . . . If unfortunately the affairs of Spain should assume an unfavourable aspect, and the French armies should be advancing into Galicia, you will provide for your personal safety by taking refuge on board any of H. M.'s Ships of war.

These sentences, I may remark in passing, tend to disprove the assertions of Sir William Napier that the British Ministry eagerly complied with every suggestion made by the delegates of the provincial juntas of Asturias, Galicia, and Andalusia, and that (to quote his words) :

Discarding all prudent considerations, and entering into formal relations with every knot of Spanish politicians assuming the title of a supreme junta, the government dealt with unsparing hands, enormous supplies at the demand of those self-elected authorities.¹

On the contrary, it appears that from the very first Canning, who was the executant of the Cabinet, tried to take all possible precautions against the multiplication of envoys to Spain; the sequel will show that he was by no means prone to grant all the demands of the delegates named above.

Canning's next despatch to Stuart, dated July 13, 1808, informed him of the sending of 160,294 dollars by H. M. S. *Dryad* for the use of the authorities in Galicia—a sum which would complete the sum of 1,000,000 dollars originally designed for that purpose. The despatch of this sum would, said Canning, remove the objections raised by Don Joachim Freire as to delay. On July 27 Canning wrote to Hunter and to Stuart, stating that Mr. Duff was sent to Cadiz to resume his position as British consul at that place and with a view to entering into communication with the junta of Seville. He again impressed on Hunter the supreme need of union between the Spanish provinces. It will be well to quote his own words, inasmuch as they refute another charge levelled by Napier against him to the following effect :

The English cabinet was indeed sanguine, and yet the ministers, while anticipating success in a preposterous manner, displayed little industry and less judgment in their preparations for the struggle.²

We have already seen that Canning faced the probability that the French forces might penetrate even to Corunna. Let us now

¹ Sir William F. P. Napier, *The War in the Peninsula*, vol. I., book II., ch. 1.

² *Ibid.*, book III., ch. 1.

see what he said with respect to the building up of a new national fabric in Spain. In the despatch of July 27 already referred to he urged Hunter to discourage in every way the separate action of Asturias, not only because such action on the part of all the provinces would embarrass the British government, but also because it would be productive of disunion in Spain. Both Galicia and Asturias had raised their demands for pecuniary help:

Both [deputies] profess, in conversation, to include a provision for the interests of Leon and Old Castile in the demands which they bring forward. But this has not prevented a direct application from Leon; and it is obvious that if the remaining provinces of Spain, from whom no separate or joint application has been made, were to come forward with demands in anything like the proportion of those already received, not only the material means of supplying such demands in specie must be (as they are now nearly) exhausted, but even the credit and resources of this country could hardly answer such accumulated demands.

He then stated that England could not possibly furnish more than 100,000 muskets, exclusive of those already sent with Sir Arthur Wellesley.

In a second draft of the same date Canning informed Hunter that the claims of the junta of Seville to supreme authority in Spain were partly acquiesced in by the deputation from Galicia and Asturias then at London, claims "which their personal rank and qualifications [*i. e.*, those of the deputies of Andalusia], their experience and knowledge of business, are in other respects well calculated to confirm". He further expressed the hope that the delegations from Galicia and Asturias might be withdrawn—though it was a very delicate matter to arrange—so that the junta at Seville might establish a government which would be regarded as the central authority. In order to facilitate the departure of the deputies sent from the north-west of Spain, Canning suggested that the two provinces above named might send in their place military men to confer on questions of defense and succor. But he did not insist on a matter which obviously required very cautious treatment. I may here remark that the Seville junta had from the first taken a spirited lead. It recounted the injuries and insults inflicted by Napoleon and by his troops; it urged the need of the assembling of the Cortes in order to show the world that Spaniards could reform their own affairs without the need of intervention on the part of "the vile French"; and suggested the forming of juntas in every town and district for the organization of national defense. But, far from assuming direct control of these local efforts, it suggested that each province should at first manage its own affairs, civil and military; but that these

last should be placed under the control of a generalissimo. Thus the primacy claimed by the great province of the south was one of suggestion and initiative rather than of direct control. No other course was possible in a land where the provincial spirit was so strong, and where Madrid and other central points were strongly held by the French. It is clear, however, that Canning was always apprehensive of Spanish provincialism, and that the British agents whom he sent out struggled persistently to bring about the formation of a central government.

The difficulties in their way were enormous, as may be seen by despatches sent to Canning by Stuart. The British envoy, who enjoyed an authority superior to that of Hunter or Duff, reported on July 21 that on his arrival at Corunna on the previous day, Sir Arthur Wellesley and he met with a most enthusiastic welcome both from the junta of Galicia and the populace of the town. The people were not dispirited or dismayed because of the severe defeat inflicted on Cuesta and Blake by Bessières at Rio Seco on July 14; for opposed to the French stood the relics of the Spanish forces; and the mountains of Galicia would be a safe barrier in case of further misfortunes in the field. The following sentences in Stuart's first despatch are especially noteworthy:

No wish for military succour on our part has been manifested by any individual of the Junta with whom I have conversed; they declare that the population of Galicia (which they state to be no less than two million) is fully adequate to supply their waste of men; they say that money and arms are all the country stands in need of to ensure a successful continuance of the war.

He states that no sure news had arrived from other parts of Spain though there were rumors of victories gained over the French at Saragossa, as also in the provinces of Valencia and Andalusia. Stuart adds: "The excessive enthusiasm of every individual I have yet seen induces them to believe whatever may be reported in their favour, however improbable". There is something ironical in the fact that Stuart penned these words on the very day when 23,700 Frenchmen and Swiss under Dupont surrendered to the Andalusian forces at Baylen.

On July 28 Stuart forwarded to his chief further proofs of the strength of provincial feelings in the north of Spain. Galicia, Asturias, and Leon, he wrote, could not agree as to the number of deputies which each of those provinces should send to a common junta, the meeting of which was strongly urged by the British envoy. Feelings ran high between Cuesta and the deputies of Leon and

Asturias; while the men of Leon were furious at the retreat of Blake. He further inclosed a letter sent by Bessières to Blake after the battle of Rio Seco, in which the French marshal urged the Spaniard to insure harmony between the Spanish and French troops, and invited him "à rentrer dans l'ordre". Blake took no notice of this offer.¹ The news of Dupont's surrender, which reached Corunna on August 1, did not facilitate the task of union of the three provinces of the northwest. In vain did Stuart urge the despatch of Blake's army southward to the Portuguese frontier in order to prevent a possible union of Bessières with Junot to the detriment of the British force which had just landed near the mouth of the river Mondego. Blake remained inactive; and Stuart's despatches show the reason for his inaction, namely, that his army had no cavalry and was composed almost entirely of raw recruits, who would have been crushed by Bessières but for the retreat of that marshal, necessitated by the news of the French disaster at Baylen. As for civil affairs, Stuart reported that they were more and more entangled. The intriguing bishop of St. Jago had come to Corunna and was found to be in secret correspondence with Blake, whereupon he was ordered to leave the town. The junta tried to induce the able and popular bishop of Orense to join it, but he for some time refused; and his refusal (wrote Stuart) imperilled the very existence of that body. On August 7 the British envoy summed up his opinions on the situation in the northwest of Spain in terms which deserve quotation almost *in extenso*:

CORUNNA Aug. 7. 1808.

... The government of every part of Spain is at present without exception in the hands of the provincial nobility, or more strictly speaking the gentry of the country, aided by a few persons, who, having formerly held situations in the Ministry at Madrid, had for various reasons retired long since to the provinces. No individual distinguished in the capital for rank, power, or riches has stood forth in support of the cause of Ferdinand VII. Some general officers of merit and reputation are indeed employed in the patriotic armies, but we look in vain for the names of those who have hitherto held the highest military commands; they have been happy to remain tranquil, though many have embraced the party of Joseph Bonaparte, and many have fallen victims to the ferocity of the mob; the names of Solano, Helos, Filangieri, are among the latter; while Campo d'Alanze, Negriti, O'Farrill and Masarédo, have joined the French.

The Provincial nobility naturally feel strong local attachments, and are less interested in the general cause than in the welfare of their own particular province. Hence difficulties have arisen impeding the assembly of a general Cortez: those who have enjoyed the advantage of

¹ Blake was of Irish descent, but his family had long been domiciled in Spain.

supreme authority and the exercise of power are unwilling to become the mere organ through whom the orders of a superior body shall be executed. The satisfaction of providing for dependents and relations has likewise biassed many very patriotic men, and induces them to find out specious arguments in favour of their own provinces, though prejudicial to the general interests of the State. Every Junta desires that the Cortez shall be established near their own firesides [*sic*], and many, anxious to retain their consequence, wish to increase the number of deputies from their provinces sufficiently to depute every member of their own body to that assembly, and thus, by incorporating themselves in the national representation, to retain their power.

Stuart then states that innumerable jealousies had arisen from these causes, and he advises that His Majesty's government should remonstrate with the Spanish deputies in London and insist on the speedy union of the Cortes, and suggest also

that the assembly of that body besides causing the formal recognition of the independence of the whole peninsula might operate to induce H. M.'s Government to contribute much more efficaciously to their assistance. I have written to the principal people in every province which has any communication with this place to urge very strongly the necessity of union and a supreme government. I not only spoke fully to the Junta on the subject, but gave them my arguments in writing.

He then states that there was much heat and violence of feeling at Corunna, but that finally the bishop of Orense had agreed to join the junta of Galicia. The French were, however, very weak, their chief force being at Burgos. It was now suggested that British troops should land at Santander, but Stuart thought this dangerous, as it was too near to France and the Spaniards were too full of divisions to afford much help. He continues:

The Asturians have in vain asked for artillery from the depôts in Galicia: and the Stores landed at Gihon and not used by the Asturians, have remained at that port and in Oviedo, altho' they would have afforded a seasonable relief to the army of Genl. Blake. . . . The French have omitted no offer to tempt the ambition and corrupt the integrity of the patriotic leaders: besides the letter to Genl. Blake, they have addressed every other person invested with command. Marshal Bessières offered Genl. Cuesta the vice-royalty of the Mexico if he would consent to abandon the cause he had espoused; the latter however did not condescend to return an answer to the proposal. . . . It is most lucky that the division of the French force has kept pace with the division of their opponents; their losses must have taught them, however, that they were in error; and they appear now to be about to adopt a contrary system: if therefore these people do not unite their political and military means, and teach their men to act in great bodies, it will not be easy for them to maintain the advantages they have so fortunately gained. Having in some degree moderated the dissensions among them, I daily enlarge on the necessity of attention to their federal interests; but the province

of Galicia and its government does [*sic*] not appear to be respected by the rest of Spain; and, placed as I am at the very extremity of the Kingdom, I fear it will be difficult to render service unless I approach the centre of the Peninsula; which I am unwilling to do without directions from home.

To revert to military affairs, it may be of interest to quote from a letter written by General Blake to the president of the junta of Galicia, in which that commander expressed the hope that a British force would soon land in the north of Spain, either at Corunna or at Santander. The letter, dated August 15 at Astorga, was forwarded by Stuart to Canning. In it Blake stated that he had heard news portending the arrival of a British force of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry in the north of Spain; and he referred to the matter in terms which marked him off sharply from the presumptuous civilians of the junta of Galicia, who scouted the thought of British help save in money and stores. Blake expected the British cavalry to land at Corunna, the infantry disembarking at Santander, where it would threaten the French communications between Burgos and the Pyrenees. On the whole, however, he preferred that the British expedition should come to Gijon, the chief port of Asturias, where it would form

an imposing mass capable of undertaking very important operations, even in the event of the march of the [Spanish] army from Andalusia being retarded. . . . Your Highness will see the importance of preparing in abundance provisions for the English on the road from Corunna, and barley, oats, grass and straw for their horses, remembering that the soldiers of that nation are little sparing and accustomed to much meat at their meals, an object which it is luckily not difficult to provide in Galicia. It is equally necessary that there should not be wanting on the route all the waggons that may be requisite for transporting the baggage and effects. For all which, as for providing quarters, it is indispensable that Your Highness should send out some respectable active and confidential persons commissioned by you. If the winds and naval combinations should not allow of the infantry being conveyed to Asturias without a considerable delay, the whole disembarkation must necessarily take place at Coruña, but the reasons for preferring the former point [*sic*] are of great weight. God preserve Your Highness many years.

(Signed) JOAQUIN BLAKE.

In his next despatches, written at Corunna between August 9 and August 22, Stuart reported the continuance of the dispute between the juntas of Leon and Galicia, while the latter body now refused to admit the supremacy of the junta of Seville. He added that the claim of Andalusia to take precedence arose, in part at least, from the custom of the four kingdoms of Andalusia styling them-

selves collectively España—"a term which strictly does not extend to the other provinces of the Peninsula". In the important matter of commerce Stuart took steps which facilitated the import of British goods, not only into Spain, but also into her South-American colonies. He described on August 22 the difficulties experienced by British trading-vessels, which, having put into Corunna, found all entry for their cargoes barred by the almost prohibitive tariff adopted by Spain in 1806. They were about to weigh anchor; but Stuart used his influence with the authorities, who thereupon promised to revise a tariff drawn up in the interests of France and in a sense hostile to Great Britain. In a very short space of time the necessary alterations were made in the tariff, the duty on baizes (the chief British export to Corunna) being reduced from thirty-two per cent. ad valorem to sixteen per cent.; while that on coarse cloths was lowered to twelve per cent. In the far more important sphere of South-American trade Stuart sought to gain favorable terms in place of the prohibitive régime previously existing. He sounded various persons who were about to sail to those colonies, and especially Admiral Hindrobo, who was proceeding to Buenos Ayres as viceroy *ad interim*. Stuart's influence (so he averred) had been partly instrumental in procuring this appointment for the admiral; and when, on the twenty-fourth, it appeared that the proclamation drawn up by the Galician junta to those colonies was long, dull, and one-sided (no mention being made of the help afforded by Great Britain to Spain), the new viceroy proffered the assurance that he would suppress that document and replace it by a fairer and more spirited manifesto. Clearly Stuart excelled in the arts of intrigue, and was by no means prone to depreciate his own services; but it may be conceded that, in opening up to British merchants trade with the north of Spain and indirectly with South America, he rendered very great service to his country. The United Kingdom was then feeling severely the constricting grip of the continental system, the efficacy of which had been nearly doubled by the treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807). British trade with the Baltic ports, except those of Sweden, could thenceforth filter in only by indirect channels; but the opening of many harbors of Spain and Portugal, and a little later of their colonies, made up for the loss sustained in the north. It is hardly too much to say that Canning's intervention in Spain brought about results in the spheres of politics and commerce which might be summed up in his later magniloquent phrase: "I called in the New World to redress the balance in the Old World."

In one matter Stuart drew on himself a sharp rebuke from his

chief. He had used phrases in one of his despatches which Canning interpreted as committing Great Britain to the sending of a military force into the north of Spain. Canning on August 30 penned a strong remonstrance to the envoy for holding out any hopes in that direction, assigning as his chief reason that the Spanish deputies then in London

showed a manifest disinclination to the sending into Spain of any British military force whatever, and received every intimation of a disposition to make that effort in a manner which rather justified the conclusion that it would be disagreeable to the feelings of the Spanish nation—feelings which His Maj. was determined in every instance to respect. The Spanish deputies concurred in pointing out Portugal as the most eligible destination for an useful and effective application of whatever force His Maj. could employ for the support of Spain, as being the point best calculated for preventing the otherwise probable attempt of Junot to reinforce the French armies in Spain; and as placing His Maj.'s troops, after a successful occupation of Lisbon, in a situation to keep open the communication between the northern and southern provinces of Spain and to afford support to the one or the other, as either might appear to stand in need of it. This reasoning, which was that of the Spanish deputies themselves, was also that of all the military authorities by which the determination of His Maj. was guided.

Canning then stated that no division of the British expedition would be allowed until Portugal was "thoroughly cleared of the French armies"; that the Spanish deputies later on had begged for cavalry for their army of the north, but had not gained their request; and no such request would be listened to unless it came from the junta through Stuart. The War Office had sent Major-general Broderick and Major-general Leith to collect news on military matters in Galicia and Asturias, but they had no further powers.

Somewhat later Stuart was able to show that he had in no way favored the despatch of a British army into the north of Spain. For the present his efforts were directed to the task of uniting the juntas of Galicia, Asturias, and Leon, with a view to the formation of a national union, though he found that the autocratic views of the Seville junta were disapproved by the more democratic people of the northwest. The three juntas of the northwestern provinces finally agreed to meet at Lugo. It was hoped that, when Estremadura joined them, they would transfer their sessions to Soria, and would there await the deputies from Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. The final union, that with the southern provinces, was expected to take place at Guadalajara, where the now truly national Cortes would elect a regency of eight persons to exercise the functions of government in the name of Ferdinand VII. That town

was preferred to Madrid, owing to the turbulence of the lower classes at the capital.

Asturias refused to join its neighbors; but the accession of Castile gave to the union of the northern provinces an enhanced importance. At the first meeting of the united juntas of Galicia, Castile, and Leon, held on August 29, the president of the last-named province was chosen to act as president for the month: he at once proposed that each province should choose two deputies to represent it in the supreme junta. Despite the opposition of Galicia to a proposal which rendered nugatory all the further discussions at Lugo, it was carried by twenty-four votes as against six dissentients. On being asked to take part in the discussion, Stuart complied and spoke, though somewhat guardedly, in favor of a national union based on constitutional methods. About ten days later the deputies selected for these duties proceeded toward Madrid; and Stuart, on the request of Don Antonio, accompanied them. On his arrival at Valladolid, he found intrigues afoot, started by the old and discredited council of Castile with a view to the restoration of its power. At Segovia on September 15 he had an interview with General Cuesta, who was there with about 12,000 troops. The general admitted that national union could alone put an end to the existing anarchy, one result of which was that the northern provinces had kept all the money and supplies sent from England for the common cause, and that he had received nothing. Stuart departed for Madrid with the conviction that Cuesta would help on the unionist movement; but, on arriving at the capital, he heard that the general had arrested Don Antonio and other deputies at Segovia, on the pretext that their election was illegal or irregular. Against this tyrannical action Stuart protested most strongly, and countermanded the order for the sending of supplies and stores to Cuesta's army. Ultimately the deputies from nearly all the provincial juntas met at Aranjuez, and there was some talk of depriving Cuesta of his command for this insult to the deputies of the nation; but even the central junta hesitated to take a step which might possibly have led Cuesta to march against them. This episode, and many others which must be omitted for lack of space, show the unheard-of difficulties which faced the new deputies. Even the retreat of the French into Navarre tended to increase the complexity of the civic problems; for it puffed up the Spaniards with a pride which made them almost impervious to argument. The escape of nearly the whole of Romana's corps from the shores of Denmark on British ships tended to enhance the influence of the British envoy at Aranjuez; but that influence was for a time

eclipsed on the receipt of the news of the so-called "Convention of Cintra" (August 30, 1808). It may be well to publish here the despatch which Stuart sent to Canning on September 26, protesting against the terms of that compact, by the fifth article of which Junot's corps was to be transported to France on British vessels without any stipulation forbidding its use in the present war:

Sir,

Lord William Bentinck arrived here yesterday, bringing with him a copy of the capitulation concluded with the French at Lisbon.

Although it is necessary to maintain a strict silence towards the Government here upon that subject, I think it my duty not only to call your attention to the consequences that will indubitably result from that measure in the present situation of the armies of this country, but to require you for the sake of the public service to do whatever may be in your power to retard the execution.

The Spanish force amounting to 80000 men and consisting chiefly of armed peasants, occupies the following points: Palafox with the Arragonese at Sanguessa, Llamas with the Valencians at Tarragona, Castaños with the Andalusians etc at Soria: Cuesta with the army of Castile at Burgos de Osma: Blake with the Galicians at Reynosa.

These troops, however well disposed, are ill armed and worse clothed, wholly without shoes, and being for the greater part unaccustomed to the cold climate of the Pyrenees, it is not surprising that illness manifests itself amongst them in the present rainy season.

The French have 45,000 men concentrated in Navarre near Pampeluna, and along the Ebro. Their advanced posts are near Burgos. We know upon good authority that everything from the interior of France has marched to the Rhine, and consequently they can expect no succours from the Western Departments.¹

The arrival of 25,000 men, armed, clothed, and accustomed to the climate, in any part of the Bay of Biscay is the most deadly blow that can fall on this nation; and every means by which you can delay the departure of Junot's divisions, who are in fact succours sailing under our flag to the dispirited French army in the Pyrenees, will prove valuable to the cause of Spain.

The importance of retaining transports to send assistance to the weak points of our allies in Biscay and Catalonia, will not have escaped your observation; but the positive necessity of delaying the smallest portion of Junot's army is the more an object of consideration to ourselves, because, united with Jourdan, they will constitute a mass of effective force which our whole army in Portugal together with all the forces brought into the field by Spain will find it no easy matter to oppose again with hopes of success.

In his covering despatch of September 26 to Canning, Stuart

¹ This was exaggerated. Napoleon, while keeping a close watch upon Austria—it was the time of the Erfurt conference—was beginning to collect troops for the reconquest of Spain.

added these words :

This country [Spain] will have little cause to rejoice that the army set at liberty to act against them did not remain blocked up at Lisbon, from whence they had no possible chance of escaping by land.

This consideration seems to have escaped the notice of writers who, from Napier onward, have tried to defend the convention. Some of their arguments in its favor are not without weight in themselves; but they fail to meet the objection that Junot's position in Portugal was most precarious. After the retreat of Bessières from Leon to Burgos and the line of the Ebro, that marshal could no longer hope to succor the French in Portugal, as had seemed possible for a few days after the French victory of Rio Seco. To remove Junot's force from a position which was hopeless to one where it could soon render effective service was surely a piece of sheer folly. Yet Napier refused to consider this objection, and, with a violence of language which he frequently used, stigmatized the opposition to the convention in England as "the most outrageous and disgraceful public clamour ever excited by the falsehoods of venal political writers".¹ Canning was not of that opinion: he markedly dissociated himself from those who upheld the convention and the favorable verdict of the court of inquiry on the conduct of those who signed it; probably Stuart's despatch quoted above influenced his action in this affair. Apart from that, the despatch had no effect. Junot's first division set sail from Lisbon on September 15; and when Stuart was penning his protest at Madrid, preparations were nearly complete for sending away the last of the French troops, which left Portugal at the end of the month or early in October.

In his despatch of September 30 Stuart again dwelt on the gloom and annoyance caused by the escape of Junot's corps; but those feelings had not lessened the feeling of confidence still prevalent in Spain, as may be seen by the following extract :

All here [at Aranjuez] appear of opinion that, if their measures should be successful in Navarre, and they should be sufficiently strong to obtain the passes of the Pyrenees, that [*sic*] it will be expedient to transfer the theatre of war wholly to Catalonia, and from thence to attack the French frontier in conformity to the old plan of General Urutia and the opinion of many general officers, that offensive operations can be carried on with greater advantages on the canal of Languedoc than on any other part of the French frontier.

Seeing that Stuart had recently reported the determination of the supreme junta to intrust the control of military affairs to a com-

¹ Napier, *The War in the Peninsula*, vol. I., bk. II., ch. 6.

mittee of five men who were jointly to hold the portfolio of the war ministry, it is somewhat surprising that he took the Spanish forecast of events at all seriously. In any case, his despatches show the inevitableness of the overthrow of the Spaniards in the ensuing weeks, when Napoleon with a mighty army scattered their levies and sent their still discordant deputies flying to the extremities of the Peninsula. But the work of the British envoy was not wholly undone: he had helped in the formation of a national representative body; and that body and its successors, whatever their imperfections and follies (on which British historians have so complacently descanted), enabled a seemingly moribund people to enter on a new lease of life and persistently to oppose Napoleon's schemes of domination. Canning's despatches also tend to disprove the charges of recklessness and insular selfishness which Napier laid to his count. The British Foreign Minister at first helped the Spanish provinces as provinces because they possessed the only governmental machinery then available; but he refused to recognize the provincial juntas, and sought by all possible means to further their union in a national assembly. The experiment broke down in 1808; but Canning undoubtedly pointed the way toward a course of action which was to prove successful in the year 1813. It is time that his memory should be cleared from the charges which have been brought against him by Napier and by other Francophil historians. To show from evidence, which must be regarded as the final court of appeal, the complexity of the task which faced him and his agents in the Peninsula, and the manner in which he and they sought to grapple with it, has been my aim in this article.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

THE TERRITORY OF COLORADO

It is commonly taken for granted that the Kansas-Nebraska legislation of 1854 settled the territorial question in the United States, and that the territorial question itself was only a single phase of the larger question of slavery. The tyranny of the slavery problem over the historical mind has completely subordinated the problem of the expansion of the agricultural West, the settlement of new areas, and the providing of adequate institutions of government for the citizens of the frontier. The erection of the territory of Colorado in 1861 is itself proof that slavery was not in its own day destructive of interest in all other topics, however it may have impeded their consideration, and is an illuminative precedent in showing the manner in which territorial problems have been forced upon Congress and ultimately adjusted.

The acquisition of the southwest at the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848 extended the legal frontier of the United States far beyond the frontier of actual settlement and compelled Congress to give serious thought to the subdivision of large and relatively uninhabited areas of public lands. The act of May 30, 1854, which has commonly been misunderstood as saying the last important word upon the territorial question, merely marked the end of the earliest period of preliminary adjustment. The residuum of the Louisiana purchase and the lands acquired through the Mexican War were at last distributed among two states, California and Texas, and four territories. The two territorial organizations of New Mexico and Utah covered the whole area between California and the Rocky Mountains, while the fortieth parallel divided most of the unorganized area east of the mountains into Kansas and Nebraska territories.

The distribution in effect at the end of the session of 1854 was only preliminary, and within three years Congress had begun to consider the division of three of these territories, Nebraska, Utah, and New Mexico, whose gigantic size precluded the rigorous execution of law by single territorial establishments. In the first session of the thirty-fifth Congress, 1857-1858, it was finally proposed to divide two of these territories, creating Arizona in the western end of New Mexico and Nevada in the western end of Utah;¹ while the next session brought a bill to erect Dakota in the northern end of

¹ *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 62, 2090.

Nebraska.¹ The division was required by various facts of population and migration. The location of the great Pacific trails, the discovery of silver-mines, the willingness to restrict the territory of the Mormons, all appear as inspiring a further subdivision of the scantily populated West.

The Congress of 1857-1858 passed no laws for the erection of new territories in the areas marked out in the debates. There is some internal evidence throughout these and later debates that the young sponsors of the new Republican party were interested in territorial development as a means of continuing the antislavery argument which all parties had agreed in 1854 to forget. But whatever may have been the motives underlying the agitation, the arguments make entirely clear the facts that the boundaries of 1854 were only temporary and that the great, shapeless territories must some day be divided. The session of 1857-1858 contented itself with the suggestion of two new territories of Nevada and Arizona; when the same Congress met for its second session in 1858-1859, two more new territorial projects, those of Dakota and Jefferson, had been added to its list.

In the migrations to the far West, beginning to be heavy in the forties, the two principal routes had branched from the Missouri River near its northern bend on the western boundary of the state of Missouri. From this point the northern or Oregon route had run westwardly along the Platte, the southern or Santa Fé route along the Arkansas. And at the one hundred and second meridian the two trails were already two hundred and fifty miles apart, and were deviating still further to the northwest and southwest respectively.² The angle between the trails covered the heart of the "great American desert", which Major Long had described in 1820 as utterly uninhabitable for man, and which men had since 1820 been willing to take at the word of the explorer. It was this uninviting, uninhabited area which in the fall of 1858 appeared before Congress. It demanded not a slicing up of existing great territories, but a new grouping of lands taken out of the crest of the Rockies and in part

¹ *Globe*, December 21, 1858, p. 159.

² An act of Congress of May 19, 1846, provided for the erection of forts along the Oregon route. Fort Kearney was established on the Platte 310 miles west of Fort Leavenworth, and Fort Laramie 337 miles beyond Fort Kearney, in 1848. *Ex. Doc.* 5, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 569, pp. 94, 225. Fort Kearney became the most important post on the northern route and was not abandoned until 1871. *House Ex. Doc.* 12, 43 Cong., 2 Sess., Serial 1164. Lieutenant-colonel William Gilpin was on July 20, 1847, detailed to a station near the crossing of the Arkansas to keep the peace along the Santa Fé trail. *Ex. Doc.* 1, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 136, 139.

from every one of the territories of the central and south west. To this area those who advocated the new project gave the name of the Territory of Jefferson.

Since the discovery of gold in California and the rush of the forty-niners along the overland trails there had always been bodies of prospectors scattered over the mountain region. Rumors of gold discoveries in the desert triangle had been heard early in the fifties, while the panic of 1857 sent fresh bands of men to try their luck in the great game. In the year 1858 numerous parties were exploring the lands between the Arkansas and the Platte, and the arrival at Omaha on January 5, 1859,¹ of several quills filled with gold-dust proved to the Missouri settlers that success had rewarded the prolonged search, and started a new westward movement of large proportions to the Pike's Peak country.

The city of Denver, named for the governor of Kansas territory, became the settlement around which the Pike's Peak country grouped itself in the winter of 1858-1859. Boulder and Golden, Colorado City and Pueblo became secondary centres, each situated as Denver was, at a point from which trade and travel branched from the great trails and entered the valleys leading to the mining-camps.²

As early as June, 1858, the forks of the South Platte and Cherry Creek were being examined by prospectors. As the summer and fall advanced more adventurers appeared; the names of Montana, Highland, Auraria, and St. Charles came to designate settlements in the vicinity of the forks; and by November the inclusive name of Denver was heard.³

In a governmental way the new camp of Denver was situated in Arapahoe County, Kansas. But Arapahoe County had never been organized, and remained only a name until after the legislature of Kansas abolished it in February, 1859.⁴ The settlers themselves saw from the start that the five hundred miles of trail between the diggings and the territorial capital forbade protection from as well

¹ *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, II. 315. One of the men mentioned as bringing the gold, Albert B. Steinberger, was elected a delegate to Congress by the Auraria meeting of November 6, 1858. He deserted his mission and never reached Washington. His later romantic career in a Pacific kingdom is described in *House Ex. Doc.* 161, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1691, 125 pp.

² An old military trail connecting Fort Union and Fort Laramie ran through some and within easy distance of all these towns. Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver, 1901), 229.

³ The best detailed account of these earliest settlements is found *ibid.*, 200 *et seqq.*

⁴ Helen G. Gill, "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas", *Kansas Historical Collections*, VIII. 452.

as interference by that government, and that their political salvation lay nearer home. They saw that four territorial governments were involved in the Pike's Peak country, and that the country was in itself an economic unit. It was this understanding which pressed upon Congress early in 1859 with a new territorial scheme, and which even earlier than this had produced a spontaneous political activity in the mountain camps.

The beginnings of Colorado politics are to be found in the movement originating in Denver in November, 1858, and culminating in the territorial organization of Jefferson in November, 1859. The origin seems to have been in a typical early snowfall that drove the miners into their cabins in November, 1858, and by enforcing idleness upon them gave an opportunity for talking politics.¹ Perhaps two hundred miners were in Denver when the snowfall came, of whom some thirty-five attended a meeting on November 6, and determined to erect a new government for the Pike's Peak country. "Just to think", wrote one of them, "that within two weeks of the arrival of a few dozen Americans in a wilderness, they set to work to elect a Delegate to the United States Congress, and ask to be set apart as a new Territory! But we are of a fast race and in a fast age and must prod along."² To secure an attention to their demand they chose one Hiram J. Graham to appear in their behalf at Washington, and one A. J. Smith to represent them in the legislature of Kansas.³ The arrival of these men in Omaha seems at once to have confirmed the report of the discovery of placer gold in the western streams and to have announced the birth of a new centre of population. Four months after this first election a new political whim struck Denver camp, and a set of local officers was chosen March 28, 1859, for Arapahoe County, Kansas, in spite of the fact that Kansas had on February 7, 1859, foreseen the coming emigration, reshaped Arapahoe, and cut out of it five new counties of Montana, Oro, El Paso, Fremont, and Broderick.⁴ The only significance of this March election, for its officers seem never to have held power, lies in the fact that nearly eight hundred votes were then cast. Already

¹ Ovando J. Hollister, in his *Mines of Colorado* (Springfield, Mass., 1867), 17, is responsible for the statement that ten inches of snow fell on October 31, 1858.

² *Ibid.*, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 90; Smiley, 305, 530; Frank Fossett, *Colorado: a Historical, Descriptive and Statistical Work on the Rocky Mountain Gold and Silver Mining Region* (Denver, 1876), 17; Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, 1889-1895, 4 vols.), I. 208; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States*, vol. XX., *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), 402.

⁴ Smiley, 246, 531; Hall, I. 183; Bancroft, 402; Baskin and Co., *History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado* (Chicago, 1880), 187.

the heavy migration of 1859 had begun to throw its thousands along the trails to Denver. Whether these thousands were sixty or one hundred, no one can tell to-day; but it is certain that after half or more of them had gone home in disgust there remained in Jefferson nearly thirty thousand settlers to reiterate the demand that Congress provide a government for them and to maintain their provisional territory for the interim.

The mission of Hiram J. Graham to the second session of the thirty-fifth Congress failed to produce either an enabling or a territorial act. His arrival in Washington in January, 1859, was followed by the appearance of his territorial scheme in the House when A. J. Stephens introduced a bill for the erection of Jefferson Territory.¹ Grow of Pennsylvania moved to amend the name to Osage, and when it was reported back from the Committee on Territories on February 16, it was tabled without any serious discussion or opposition.² The fate that had postponed the erection of new territories in 1858 continued to postpone in 1859 when Jefferson had been added to the list. Slavery debate forbade territorial legislation, and the single scheme which had a real population behind it was left without local or legal government, and was forced to find its way through 1859 until the next session of Congress might perhaps attend to business and provide for it a legal frame.

The migration of 1859 multiplied the population of Denver many times and increased the need for orderly government as well by the character as by the number of its inhabitants. A knowledge that no aid from Congress could be had for at least a year revived the local movement until it induced a group of pioneers to hold a caucus, with William Larimer in the chair, on April 11, to consider the local situation.³ As a result of this caucus a call issued for a convention of representatives of the neighboring mining-camps to meet in the same place four days later. And on April 15, 1859, the camps of Fountain City, El Dorado and El Paso, Arapahoe, Auraria, and Denver met through their delegates, "being fully impressed with the belief, from early and recent precedents, of the power and benefits and duty of self-government", and feeling an imperative necessity "for an immediate and adequate government for the large population now here and soon to be among us . . . and

¹ His petition was presented in the Senate on January 27. *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 621. Stephens reported bills in the House for Dakota, Arizona, and Jefferson territories on January 28, 1859. *Ibid.*, 657.

² *Ibid.*, 1065.

³ Hall, I. 184; Smiley, 306; Bancroft, 403.

also believing that a territorial government is not such as our large and peculiarly situated population demands".¹

The deliberations thus informally started ended in a formal call for a constitutional convention to meet in Denver on the first Monday in June for the purpose, as an address to the people stated, of framing a constitution for a new "State of Jefferson". "Shall it be", the address demanded, "the government of the knife and the revolver, or shall we unite in forming here in our golden country, among the ravines and gulches of the Rocky Mountains, and the fertile valleys of the Arkansas and the Platte, a new and independent State?"² With a generosity characteristic of the frontier the convention determined the boundaries of the prospective state as the one hundred and second and one hundred and tenth meridians of longitude, and the thirty-seventh and forty-third parallels of latitude—an area including, in addition to the present state of Colorado, large portions of Utah and Nebraska and nearly half of Wyoming. The arrival in Denver, a week after this convention, of William N. Byers was important in that it brought an active advocate of statehood into the field, and produced on April 23 the first number of the *Rocky Mountain News*.³

When the statehood convention, called on April 15, met in Denver in June 6, the time was inopportune for concluding the movement, for large numbers of the pioneers who had rushed out over the plains for "Pike's Peak or Bust" were already on their disconsolate way back, "busted". The first reputation of the diggings was based upon light and exaggerated discoveries of placer gold; when productive lodes came into view they called for more capital and experience than most of the early prospectors possessed.⁴ The

¹ The first issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*, April 23, 1859, contains an account of these meetings and texts of the resolutions and addresses. The newspaper at once becomes an invaluable source. Smiley, 306-309.

² The address was drawn by a committee of five, and was printed in the *Rocky Mountain News*, May 7, 1859. Smiley, 309.

³ The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado has in its collection a file of the *Rocky Mountain News* which is substantially complete, and which has been used in the preparation of this paper. Byers reached Denver April 21 with his printing outfit. He had prepared for prompt issue by printing in Omaha two pages of his first four-page sheet. But even thus the honor of the first issue in Colorado is contested by John L. Merrick's *Cherry Creek Pioneer*. Both papers appeared first on April 23, 1859, Merrick's first being also his last, for Byers at once bought him out and gained control of the field for himself. Smiley, 247-248; Hall, I. 184; Bancroft, 527, has a useful note upon Colorado journalism.

⁴ Horace Greeley visited Denver, arriving June 6, 1859. Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey, from New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (New York, 1860), 137.

height of the gold boom was over by June, and the return migration made it somewhat doubtful whether any permanent population would be left in the country to need a state. So the convention met on June 6, appointed some eight drafting committees, and adjourned, to await developments, until August 1.¹ But by the first of August a line had been drawn between the confident and the discouraged elements in the population, and for six days the convention worked upon the question of statehood. As to permanency, there was by this time no doubt; but the body divided into two nearly equal groups, one advocating immediate statehood, the other shrinking from the heavy taxation incident to a state establishment and so preferring a territorial government with a federal treasury to meet the bills. The body, too badly split to reach a conclusion itself, compromised by preparing the way for either development and leaving the choice to public vote. A state constitution was drawn up on one hand;² while on the other was prepared a memorial to Congress praying for a territorial government;³ and both documents were submitted to a vote on September 5, 1859, when the memorial was chosen instead of the constitution.⁴ Upon October 3 another election was held, pursuant to the memorial, and a delegate to Congress was chosen in the person of Beverly D. Williams, who was local agent of a new Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company which had run its first coach into Denver in May,⁵ and whose zeal for mail contracts may have inspired some of his earnestness for Congressional countenance.

The adoption of the territorial memorial failed to meet the need for immediate government or to prevent the advocates of such government from working out a provisional arrangement pending the action of Congress. These advocates held a mass-meeting in Denver on September 24,⁶ while on the day that Williams was elected to Congress, October 3, they also elected delegates for a preliminary territorial constitutional convention, and upon

¹ Smiley, 277; Hall, I. 208; Bancroft, 404, gives lists of officers; *Rocky Mountain News*, June 11, 1859.

² Byers, in an editorial, *ibid.*, July 23, had supported the statehood argument by reference to the admission clause in the Louisiana treaty of 1803.

³ The *Rocky Mountain News* printed on August 6 the journal of the convention; on August 13 the constitution; and on August 20 the memorial.

⁴ Smiley, 311; *Rocky Mountain News*, September 17, reports the vote.

⁵ Smiley, 251; Alice Polk Hill, *Tales of the Colorado Pioneers* (Denver, 1884), 41; Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago and New York, 1893), 165, 228; Majors was a member of the great freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, which was ultimately wrecked when the "Pony Express" which had been started in April, 1860, collapsed.

⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, September 29; Smiley, 312.

October 10 this convention met. "Here we go," commented Byers, "a regular triple-headed government machine; south of 40 deg., we hang on to the skirts of Kansas; north of 40 deg., to those of Nebraska; straddling the line, we have just elected a Delegate to the United States Congress from the 'Territory of Jefferson', and ere long, we will have in full blast a provisional government of Rocky mountain growth and manufacture."¹ In this convention of October 10, 1859, the name of Jefferson was retained for the new territory, the boundaries of April 15 were retained, and a government similar to the highest type of territorial establishment was provided for.² If the convention had met pursuant to an enabling act, its career could not have been more dignified. It adopted a constitution with little trouble, and then dissolved after calling an election for territorial officers for October 24, 1859. The election of this day seems to have been orderly and generally participated in, for the need of government was obvious. It resulted in the choice of a legislature and an executive staff headed by Governor Robert W. Steele of Ohio.³ Two weeks later Steele met his assembly and delivered his first inaugural address.

The territory of Jefferson, which thus came into existence on November 7, 1859, is one of the most illuminating incidents in the history of the American frontier. From the days of the State of Franklin⁴ the frontiersman has always resented his isolation, and upon receiving evidence of governmental neglect has always been ready to erect his own government and care for himself in a political way. There are many incidents in the history of statehood movements in which settlement has rushed forward more rapidly than legal institutions, with results in the erection of illegitimate provisional governments. But none of these illegitimate governments has been erected more deliberately or conducted with more propriety than this territory of Jefferson. The fundamental principle of American government which Byers expresses is applicable at all times in similar situations:

We claim [he wrote in his *Rocky Mountain News*] that any body, or community of American citizens, which from any cause or under any circumstance, is cut off from, or from isolation is so situated, as not

¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, October 6.

² Hollister, 92; Smiley, 314; Bancroft, 406; text in *Rocky Mountain News*, October 20.

³ Binckley and Hartwell, *Southern Colorado* (Canon City, 1879), 5; Smiley, 315.

⁴ George Henry Alden, "The State of Franklin", in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII. 271-289; see also the Clarksville (Indiana) Resolves, *ibid.*, II. 691-693.

to be under any active and protecting branch of the central government, have a right, if on American soil, to frame a government, and enact such laws and regulations as may be necessary for their own safety, protection, and happiness, always with the condition precedent, that they shall, at the earliest moment when the central government shall extend an *effective* organization, and laws over them, give it their unqualified support and obedience.¹

And the life of the spontaneous commonwealth thus called into existence is a creditable witness to the American instinct for orderly government.²

When Congress met in December, 1859, the provisional territory of Jefferson was in operation, while its delegates were in Washington pressing the need for governmental action. One of the agents, B. D. Williams, was elected on October 3, 1859;³ the other, George M. Willing,⁴ claimed to be the regular choice at this election, and though apparently not recognized at Washington, reiterated the arguments of Williams and the territorial memorials. Both houses of Congress gave some heed to the facts thus presented. They received from President Buchanan on February 20, 1860, a message transmitting the petition from the Pike's Peak country,⁵ and bills to meet the demand were at least introduced into each house. The Senate upon April 3 received a report from the Committee on Territories introducing Senate Bill No. 366, for the erection of Colorado territory;⁶ while Grow of Pennsylvania reported to the House on May 10 a bill to erect in the same region a territory of Idaho.⁷ The name of Jefferson disappeared from the project in the spring of 1860, its place being taken by sundry other names for the same mountain area. Several weeks in the spring were given in part to debates over this Colorado-Idaho scheme as well as to the older

¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, January 4, 1860.

² F. L. Paxson, "The Territory of Jefferson: a Spontaneous Commonwealth", in *University of Colorado Studies*, III. 15-18.

³ A memorial of January 4, 1860, describes this election. *House Misc. Doc.* 10, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1063, p. 7. The text of his certificate of election is in *Rocky Mountain News*, August 29, 1860.

⁴ Two letters written by Willing to Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, are in the Department of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library, in a volume of territorial papers marked, Minn., Neb., Ore., Wyom., Col., D. C., Kan., Mich., Miscellaneous, and are brought to the writer's attention through the courtesy of W. G. Leland, Esq., of the Carnegie Institution, Department of Historical Research.

⁵ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 580; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 15, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1027; *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 841, February 20, 1860; p. 871, February 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1502.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2047, 2066, 2077. The memorials of Williams had been presented in the House by Green Adams of Kentucky, on February 15. See under that date *ibid.*, 789; *House Journal*, Serial 1041, 283.

Dakota, Nevada, and Arizona territories. As in the past sessions of Congress, the debate was less upon the need for the erection of several territorial governments than upon the attitude which any bills should take upon the slavery issue. In the demands of the Republican leaders in the territorial debates from 1858 to 1867 can be measured the advance of antislavery attitude, from exclusion of slaves through guaranties to free negroes, and up to the abolition of the "white" clause in the franchise qualification. This obsession of Congress by the slavery debate precluded territorial legislation in the years 1859 and 1860, but the session ended with the reasonableness of one of the demands well presented. In a secondary way the governmental argument was strengthened by petitions for the service of the mails, for post-roads from Fort Laramie to Golden City and from Atchison to Denver. And though on May 12 all of the territorial bills were tabled for the session,¹ the need for them was clearer than it had been at any time since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854.

The territory of Jefferson, as organized in November, 1859, had been from the first recognized as merely a temporary expedient. The movement for it had gained weight in the summer of that year from the probability that it need not be maintained for many months. When Congress, however, failed in the ensuing session of 1859-1860 to grant the relief for which the pioneers prayed, the wisdom of continuing for another year the life of a government admitted to be illegal came into question. The first session of its legislature had lasted from November 7, 1859,² to January 25, 1860. It had passed comprehensive laws³ for the regulation of titles in lands, water, and mines, and had adopted civil and criminal codes. Its courts had been established and had operated with some show of authority. But the services and obedience to the government had been voluntary, no funds being on hand for the payment of salaries and expenses. One of the pioneers from Vermont wrote home, "There is no hopes [*sic*] of perfect quiet in our governmental matters until we are securely under the wing of our National Eagle."⁴

¹ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2079-2085.

² The *Rocky Mountain News* had the text of Steele's message in its issue of November 10, 1859. It is also found in *House Misc. Doc.* 10, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial 1063, pp. 11-15.

³ *Provisional Laws and Joint Resolutions Passed at the First and Called Sessions of the General Assembly of Jefferson Territory, Held at Denver City, J. T., November and December, 1859, and January, 1860. Published by Authority* (Omaha, N. T., Robinson and Clark, 1860, pp. 298). The writer knows of the existence of only two copies of this pamphlet.

⁴ *Early Day Letters from Auraria (now Denver) Written by Libeus Barney to the Bennington Banner, Bennington, Vermont, 1859-1860* (Denver?, n. d., pp. 88), 54.

In his proclamation calling the second election Governor Steele announced that "all persons who expect to be elected to any of the above offices should bear in mind that there will be no salaries or per diem allowed from this territory, but that the General Government will be memorialized to aid us in our adversity".¹ Upon this question of revenue it was that the territory of Jefferson was wrecked. Taxes could not be collected, since citizens had only to plead grave doubts as to legality to evade payment. "We have tried a Provisional Government, and how has it worked?" asked William Larimer in announcing his candidacy for the office of territorial delegate. "It did well enough until an attempt was made to tax the people to support it."² More than this, the real need for the government became less apparent as 1860 advanced, for the scattered communities learned how to obtain a reasonable peace without it. American mining-camps are peculiarly free from the need for superimposed government. The new camp at once organizes itself on a democratic basis, and in mass-meeting registers claims, hears and decides suits, and administers summary justice. Since the Pike's Peak country was only a group of mining-camps, there proved to be little immediate need for central government, for in the local mining-district organizations all of the immediate needs of the communities could be satisfied. So loyalty to the territory of Jefferson, in the districts outside Denver, waned during 1860, and by the summer of that year its moral influence had virtually disappeared. Its administration held together, however. Governor Steele made efforts to rehabilitate its authority, holding an election on October 22, 1860, to choose a second legislature.³ On November 12 he met his second assembly, he himself having been re-elected by a trifling vote, to continue the tradition of the territory. From November 12 to November 27 it sat at Denver; then until December 7 it continued its sessions at Golden. And upon this last day it dissolved itself forever.⁴

When the thirty-sixth Congress met for its second session in December, 1860, the Jefferson organization was in the second year of its life, yet in Congress there was no more immediate prospect of territorial action than there had been since 1857. Indeed, the election of Lincoln brought out the eloquence of the slavery question with a renewed vigor that monopolized the time and strength of

¹ Proclamation of September 18, in *Rocky Mountain News*, September 19, 1860.

² Letter of August 21, *ibid.*, August 22, 1860.

³ Bancroft, 410; Smiley, 321; Hall, I. 249.

⁴ Hollister, 123.

Congress until the end of January. And had not the departure of the southern members to their states cleared the way for action, it is highly improbable that even this session would have produced results of importance.

Grow had announced in the House on December 12, 1860, a general territorial platform similar to that which had been under debate for three years.¹ Until the close of January the southern valedictories held the floor, but at last the admission of Kansas on January 29, 1861, revealed the fact that pro-slavery opposition had departed and that the long-deferred territorial scheme could have a fair chance.² On the very day after Kansas was admitted, with its western boundary at the twenty-fifth meridian from Washington, the Senate revived its Bill No. 366 of the last session and took up its deliberation upon a territory for Pike's Peak.³ Only by chance did the name Colorado remain attached to the bill. Idaho was at one time substituted for Colorado, but was amended out in favor of the original name on February 4 as the bill passed the Senate.⁴ The boundaries were materially cut down from those which the territory had provided for itself. Two degrees were at once taken from the north of the territory, and after some hesitation over the Green River the western boundary was placed at the thirty-second meridian from Washington.⁵ In this shape, between the thirty-seventh and forty-first parallels, and the twenty-fifth and thirty-second meridians, the bill passed the Senate on February 4, the House on February 18, and received the signature of President Buchanan on February 28.⁶ The absence of serious debate in the passage of this Colorado act is excellent evidence of the merit of the scheme and the reasons for its being so long deferred.

On February 28, 1861, the territory of Colorado became a legal fact; Buchanan left it to his successor to erect the territorial establishment. President Lincoln, after some delay caused by pressure of business at Washington, commissioned General William Gilpin as first governor of the territory. Gilpin had long known the mountain frontier; he had commanded a detachment on the Santa Fé trail in the forties, and had written prophetic books upon the future of the country to which he was now sent. His loyalty was unquestioned, and his readiness to assume responsibility went so

¹ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 81.

² Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas* (Boston, 1885), 266.

³ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 639.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 729.

⁵ F. L. Paxson, "The Boundaries of Colorado", in *University of Colorado Studies*, II. 87-94.

⁶ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 729, 777, 1003, 1206, 1274.

far as perhaps to cease to be a virtue. He arrived in Denver at his new post on May 29, 1861,¹ and within a few days was ready to take charge of the territory and to receive from the hands of Governor Steele² such authority as remained in the provisional territory of Jefferson.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

¹ Hall, I. 266; Fossett, 106.

² Steele issued a proclamation recommending the citizens to remain "loyal and true" to the federal government on May 23, *Rocky Mountain News*, May 29, 1861. He handed over the government to Gilpin on June 6. Smiley, 321, 322.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT OF THE CONFEDERACY

JOHN H. REAGAN was born in Tennessee in 1818, when Andrew Jackson's name and the Second War with Great Britain were on the tongues of men. Jackson stood the representative champion of the Union. He had been its valorous defender at New Orleans; he was to prove its iron hero in the nullification controversy; and he was but an exaggerated type of the western pioneer who had pushed into the wilderness beyond the Alleghenies, daring all things, fearing nothing, building cabins, and laying the foundations of commonwealths. This westward migration from the older colonies had begun to be considerable only with the closing of the Revolution. In the ranks of those that moved forward to the conflict were many soldiers who had fought at Boston or at Cowpens. Among them was one Timothy Reagan, father of the Postmaster-General of the Confederacy. Inured to the hardships incident to the frontier, equipped with the resourcefulness inbred in the backwoodsman, and animated with the ideas current in his state that the Second War with Great Britain had been fought for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union, young Reagan came to hold an exalted view of both; and this exaltation never suffered abatement. At an early age, displaying the ancestral instinct, he left Tennessee and landed in Texas, where were fresh traces of the ravages of Santa Anna's armies. He had a voice in the early policies of the new-born Republic of Texas; favored annexation to the Union, was sent to Congress in 1857, and bore witness to the final curtain-fall on the impending tragedy of secession. His was one of the last and loudest voices levelled in the halls of Congress in an endeavor to lift the curtain and try another shifting of the figures with a view to avoiding the deadly struggle that menaced. Failing the Crittenden Compromise and all others, Judge Reagan started to Texas. On his way he learned of the call of his state for a secession convention, and of his having been appointed a member. He attended the convention, which assembled at Austin, and when their labors were done he found himself a delegate to the Confederate Congress called to meet at Montgomery. The die had been cast, and, like many another, the ardent Unionist became the Secessionist.

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This brief sketch is given so that the large outlines of Judge Reagan's life may be discerned, and his preparedness for higher duties properly estimated. We shall find that those habits of mind engendered by his early contact with the sharp facets of life were the guiding ones of his career.

Judge Reagan did not reach Montgomery, Alabama—where were to assemble on February 4 the delegates of the seceded states—until after the organization had been completed, and the President and Vice-president of the Confederacy elected. And almost sinister is the warning note in his first interview with President Davis. The Judge writes :

I called on the President and in the course of our conversation I said to him, that if I had been present at the election I should not have voted for him. I explained, however, that my objection was not based on the ground of distrusting his fitness for the high office, but because I preferred him at the head of the army. This post he admitted would have been more agreeable to him. Furthermore, I added that I should not have voted for Mr. Stephens, because it was the first time I had known in history of a people embarking in a revolution and selecting as one of their leaders a person known to be opposed to it.

Not disturbed by the Judge's frank expression of his views, President Davis, on March 6, tendered him the portfolio of Postmaster-General. Reagan's surprise was complete, and his answer no less complete—he declined the honor. A second tender was also declined. This indeed seemed a post so thankless and so beset with difficulties that a respectable incumbent could not be found. Already in the press of organizing his Cabinet President Davis had offered the rôle to Mr. Ellet of Mississippi, who had been eight years a conspicuous member of Congress; and to Colonel Wirt Adams, a prominent citizen of the same state. These gentlemen had excused themselves on the ground of insuperable difficulties; and so had Mr. Reagan. But after this second declination, other forces were brought to bear on the unwilling judge. General T. N. Waul of Texas and the Honorable J. L. M. Curry of Alabama called on him and requested that he should accompany them to see the President. Once in the executive office, it was an easy matter to bring up the subject of the Post-Office Department, and presto he was urged by these gentlemen and by Mr. Davis to accept the appointment. His objection was

that our people under the Government of the United States, had been accustomed to regular postal facilities; that when the service under that Government lapsed, it would require considerable time to re-establish a regular postal system, and that in the meantime dissatisfac-

tion would arise on account of the interruption of mails. Poor service or no service, I urged, would probably lead to the supposition that the fault lay in the incapacity of the head of the Department; and so, while I professed my willingness gladly to perform my duty to the Confederacy, I said to them that I did not desire to become a martyr.

But the Judge was overborne in his objections. It was urged that there must be no admission of inability to organize any department of the government, and the President and those members of the cabinet present urged his acceptance of the portfolio, agreeing to aid and sustain him against unjust criticism. Reagan reluctantly yielded. He confessed, however, that, instead of feeling proud of the honor, he feared that a day would soon come when he would be condemned by the public for incapacity.

His fears concerning his fate as head of the department doubtless were real; they proved, however, utterly groundless. The work was entered upon with energy and intelligence, and in a degree scarcely matched by any of his associates. His eminently practical mind showed itself in his first measures, a brief account of which he has left in his "Memoirs":

On the way to my hotel from the meeting with the President, I was thinking of how I might obtain the necessary information to enable me to organize the Department, when I met H. P. Brewster, Esq., a lawyer of ability and brother-in-law of the late Senator Chestnut of South Carolina. I enquired whether he might go to Washington City for me. He said that he could do so, and agreed to go at once. I told Mr. Brewster that I wished him to perform an important service, and one not free from danger, and that I should like him to take an early train.

By the time that Mr. Brewster called at my hotel I had prepared letters to St. George Offit, chief clerk in the office of the sixth auditor of the Postoffice Department; to Benjamin Clements, chief clerk to the Postmaster-General; Joseph Lewis, the chief of the bond division; to Captain Schwartzman, the head of the dead-letter office; to Mr. McNain of the finance bureau; and to Mr. Hobby, Third-Assistant-Postmaster-General. I offered them positions in the Postoffice Department of the Confederacy, and I requested them to bring with them copies of the last annual report of the Postmaster-General and copies of every form in the Department, together with the postal maps of the Southern States.

Strange as it may seem, all of those to whom the Judge wrote, except Third Assistant Postmaster-General Hobby and a clerk in the department from Florida, quitted Washington on his summons and joined him in Montgomery, there to perfect the machinery for distributing the mails over the Confederacy. The recruits from Washington faithfully carried with them the blank forms and all necessary papers used in the dispatch of business. A postal map

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of Texas was secured, but of the other southern states there were no charts, and these had to be made with considerable difficulty. Also much of the supplies for the department was purchased in Washington by Mr. Brewster, especially the heavy bound volumes; the rest was ordered from New Orleans.

The next step in the organization—once the appointments of the new-comers were registered—was the enlisting of subordinates.¹ All necessary officers and clerks were added, and then was opened the Judge's school for instructions. It held from eight to ten o'clock every evening. The attendance of all members of the department was required, and in this manner the routine was systematized.

One of the first things set about was the preparation of the appointment-book, which contained the names of the postmasters under the jurisdiction of the Confederacy, together with the data of their offices—the amount of receipts, and whether they were draft or collection offices. Also a complete tabulation was made of the names and addresses of the agents of the service, and of the compensation awarded to each. At the same time were prepared the books of the contract office, which showed all the mail-routes under the control of the new government, the names of the contractors on the star routes, and the contract price. Also all contracts with railroad and steamship companies for carrying the mails were brought under scrutiny; and all vacancies were disclosed and appointments made. Thus much done, the practical problems were ready for solution. Writes the Judge:

To organize the Department so as to carry out the purpose had in view by Congress;² to insure the continuance of our postal facilities in such manner as to meet the public necessities; to avoid the suspension of the postal service until a new system could be adopted and put into operation, and to prevent a serious shock to the public interests by a temporary suspension of mail service, were the first questions to be considered by the Department.

The Provisional Congress adjourned March 16, 1861, but the threatening events following President Lincoln's inauguration caused Mr. Davis to call Congress to meet April 29 in special session.⁴

¹ First, Second, and Third Assistant Postmasters-General were represented by the chief of the contract bureau, the chief of the finance bureau, and the chief of the bureau of appointments. It might be added that the officers and clerks in the new department were not so numerous by half as those engaged at like tasks in Washington.

² The Confederate Congress contemplated the establishment of a Post-Office Department on the lines of that of the United States, witness the early legislation in regard to the same; and it was, as a matter of fact, so patterned.

³ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States*, I. 153.

⁴ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I. 60.

With this in view he requested of his cabinet information concerning the progress in organization, so that he might inform Congress. These reports were handed in at a cabinet meeting, and the Judge was prepared to say that his department was completely organized, and that he was ready to inaugurate the postal service of the Confederacy.¹ Such a report might well have drawn from President Davis the question, "How were you enabled to do this?", for he was no doubt unaware of the completeness of the gleaning of the department at Washington by Mr. Reagan's agents.

In my report in which I proposed to take charge of the postal system of the country [writes the Judge] I requested that Congress should authorize me to continue in office by proclamation the postmasters then in service under the government of the United States, wherever they were willing to serve, until new appointments could be made, and to continue in the service the present contractors for carrying the mails, under their existing rates of compensation, where they were willing to serve, until new contracts could be made.

Congress promptly granted the authority asked by the Postmaster-General, and he issued his proclamation covering the points at issue.

In this same report the Judge had asked for an additional force of eighteen clerks, bringing the number of members of his department to thirty-eight, not including the watchman for the building. And it was announced that

The Department had advertised for bids [which were to be in by May 1] for contracts for the supply of mail bags, post-office blanks and paper for the same, wrapping paper, twine and sealing wax, circulars, marking and dating stamps, postage stamps and stamped envelopes, and for mail locks and keys.²

Thus all the material appliances for the successful management of the department were gradually assembled. But what gave the Judge most concern was the manner of making the transfer between the old and new systems. He published two documents (authorized by an act of Congress, approved March 15) with a view to allaying any anxiety on the part of the postmasters over the country, and no doubt to show to the authorities of the United States that he meant to respect as far as seemed meet the claims of that government in the premises. In one place he writes:

The Government of the Confederate States will not interfere with any existing contracts entered into between the Government of the

¹ There had also been perfected a bureau whose function was the auditing of the accounts of the department. But this duty was later assigned to the Treasury.

² See Davis's message of April 29, 1861, Richardson, I. 79-80.

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United States and the present contractors, until it assumes the entire control of its postal affairs. This course is rendered necessary by the utter impracticability of mixing the employees of the two Governments in the same service.

The question as to whether the government of the Confederate States will assume any liability to present contractors, before it assumes the control of our postal affairs, involves the idea of liability on the part of the Government for the obligations of the United States before the Department shall be organized and ready to enter into new contracts. I am authorized to continue the existing contracts provisionally, by proclamation, until new contracts can be entered into.

All postmasters and employes of the postal service were instructed to render all accounts and to pay all moneys to the order of the United States authorities, as they had heretofore done, until the government of the Confederacy assumed entire control.

Another paragraph reads:

We must regard the carrying of our mails at this time by that Government as a great public necessity to the people of both Governments, resulting from their past intimate political, commercial and social relations, and alike important to the preservation of the present interests of the people of both countries; and while that Government, by its action, consults such considerations, our Government and its people should act with the same high regard for great public interests. Such a course on our part, springing from such motives will preserve the character of our people, without impairing the dignity of our Government, with far less injury to the people of both than would necessarily follow from precipitate action on the part of either.

The Judge furnishes an excellent illustration of the beclouded state of mind possessing the highest in authority in the South:

It was hoped that this course would have beneficial effects, by removing all doubts as to the duty, for the time being, of those engaged in the postal service, and by showing to the Government at Washington that so long as it continued to hold itself liable for the mail service in the Confederate States, it should receive all the revenues derived from that service. It was supposed, too, that it was greatly to the interests of that country, as well as to the interests of our own, to avoid a sudden suspension of the postal communication between the people of the two countries, and to avoid being brought at once into practical non-intercourse, which it was supposed would occur if this department had been required to assume control of the service before its organization, and before any time had been given to pass the mail across the frontier. And when that policy was determined on, it was not known that active hostilities would occur, but it was then supposed to be still possible that our separation from the United States might be peaceably effected, and that all questions relating to the public property and to pecuniary liability between the two countries, might be settled by them on terms of equality.

"Peaceably effected"! With red war gleaming on the horizon, these doctrinaire secessionists went on their way blindly parting hair from hair; and indeed in measures of infinitely more consequence than the regulation of the Post-Office Department.

Under the provision of the first section of the act of Congress of May 9, 1861, "to amend an act vesting certain powers in the Postmaster-General, approved March 15, 1861", the Judge was granted the requisite authority to fix, by proclamation, the date of the Confederacy's assumption of the control of the postal service within her borders. So on May 13 a famous paper was promulgated, fixing the first of June as the day for taking over the reins. Also it dealt with the formalities and modes of transferring the funds, postage-stamps, envelopes, and property, except mail-bags, locks, and keys—a measure which was necessary if any adjustment of accounts was to follow the termination of hostilities, "and was also necessary in order that there should be no time when these civil officials were not responsible to one or the other government". Some other matters discussed in this proclamation are important:

Whereas, by the provision of an act, approved March 15, 1861, and amended by the first section of an act approved May 9th, 1861, the Postmaster-General is authorized on and after a day named by him for that purpose, to take entire charge and direction of the postal service of the Confederate States; and all conveyance of mails within their limits from and after such day, except by the authority of the Postmaster-General, is hereby prohibited:

Now, therefore, I, John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General of the Confederate States of America, do issue this proclamation, notifying all postmasters, contractors and special route agents, in the service of the Postoffice Department, and engaged in the transmission and delivery of mails, or otherwise in any manner connected with the service, within the limits of the Confederate States of America, that on and after the first day of June next, I shall assume the entire control and direction of the postal service therein. And I hereby direct all postmasters, route agents and special agents within these States, and acting under the authority and direction of the Postmaster-General of the United States, to continue in the discharge of their respective duties, under the authority invested in me by the Congress of the Confederate States, in strict conformity with such existing laws and regulations as are not inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the Confederate States of America, and such further instructions as may hereafter be issued by my direction. And the said postmasters, route agents and special agents are also required to forward to this department, without delay, their names with the names of the offices of which they are postmasters (giving the State and county) to be directed to the chief of the appointment bureau, in order that the new commissions may be issued under the authority of this Government. And all postmasters are required to render to the Postoffice Department at Washington, D. C. their final

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accounts and vouchers for postal receipts and expenditures up to the 31st of this month, taking care to forward with such accounts all postage stamps and stamped envelopes remaining on hand, belonging to the Postoffice Department of the United States, in order that they may receive the proper credits therefor, in the adjustment of their accounts, and they are further required to keep in their possession to meet the orders of the Postmaster-General of the United States, for the payment of mail service within the Confederate States, all revenue which shall have accrued from the postal service to the said first day of June, next.

All contractors, mail messengers and special contractors for carrying the mails within the Confederate States, under the existing contracts with the Government of the United States, are hereby authorized to continue to perform such service under my direction, from and after the day last named, subject to such changes and modifications as may be found necessary, under the powers vested in the Postmaster-General by the terms of said contracts and the provisions of the second section of an act approved May 9, 1861, conformable thereto. And said contractors and special contractors and mail messengers are required to forward without delay the number of their route or routes and the nature of the service thereon, the schedules of arrivals and departures, the names of the offices supplied and the amount of the annual compensation for present services, together with their address, directed to the chief of the contract bureau.

Until a postal treaty shall be made with the Government of the United States for the exchange of mails between that Government and the Government of the Confederacy, postmasters will not be authorized to collect United States postage on mail matter sent to or received from those States, and until postage stamps and stamped envelopes are procured for the payment of postage within the Confederate States, all postage must be paid in money, under the provisions of the first section of the Act of March 1, 1861.

The course of Judge Reagan apparently met with the approval of the Washington authorities, for, as if acting in co-operation, the Honorable Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-general of the United States, soon promulgated a proclamation suspending on June 1 all mail-routes in the states embraced by the Confederacy.

The provisional Constitution of the Confederacy required the Post-Office Department to be self-sustaining after March 1, 1863.¹ The expenditures in connection with the mail service by the government of the United States, for the years ending June 30, 1860, in the states then under control of the Confederacy, amounted to \$2,879,530.79; and the receipts into the Treasury from the same states for that year amounted to but \$938,105.34, showing a deficit of \$1,941,425.45. With these figures before him, the task of overcoming such a deficit must have seemed hopeless. However, without entering into details, steps were taken to curtail expenses.

¹ Constitution, § 8, clause 7. See message of Davis, September 30, 1862, Richardson, I. 252.

Representatives of the various railroads were called together, and they agreed to cut by one-half the pay they were then receiving for carrying the mails; the rates of postage on letters, packages, and newspapers were raised (letter postage was five cents for one-half ounce); unnecessary mail-routes were discontinued; the number of trips on some routes was cut down; the weight of the mails was reduced through the abolition of the franking privileges; long routes were shortened so as to induce competition; and where there were duplicate routes one was dropped, and in many cases cross-routes were found unnecessary and abandoned.

The administration of the department was from the first most successful—indeed, it may be said to have been conspicuously successful. It was self-sustaining at every stage of the war, and each year there was a net income of receipts over expenditures. To have organized so intricate an establishment and carried it on satisfactorily for four years amid the raging of the bloodiest war-storm of the century is to have achieved an unusual triumph. That Judge Reagan did; and, as an administrative officer, when the chronicle of the Confederacy shall have been written, his name will stand high on the scroll.

WALTER FLAVIUS McCALEB.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Letters of Jefferson to Marbois, 1781, 1783*

THESE two letters were found in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Français, 12768, folios 245, 247) by Professor James Westfall Thompson of the University of Chicago. The first has an interesting bearing on the genesis of the *Notes on Virginia*. Mr. Paul Ford's statement (*Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, III. 68) may be quoted:

In 1781 the French ministry directed their American agent to gather certain information concerning the several States then forming the American union, for the use of the home government. The secretary of the French legation, Marbois, in pursuance of this instruction, drew up a series of questions, which were sent to leading men in the different States, who were presumed to be best competent to supply the needed answers. These questions produced from several of the States replies more or less adequate, a number of which have been since printed. On the recommendation of Joseph Jones, then a member of the continental congress, a set of queries was sent to Jefferson, then still governor of Virginia.

Jefferson, in his autobiography (*Writings*, I. 85) says that it had been his practice, when he came upon useful pieces of information respecting Virginia, to note them on loose papers. "I thought this a good occasion to embody their substance, which I did in the order of Mr. Marbois' queries . . . and to arrange them for my own use." Mr. Ford prints (III. 68) a letter dated March 4, 1781, in which Jefferson promises Marbois his aid. The original of this letter, Mr. Thompson tells us, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Français, 12768, folio 243); Mr. Ford no doubt printed from the copy preserved among the Jefferson manuscripts. But the two letters which follow are not in that collection, and have not been printed. It will be remembered that François de Barbé-Marbois, afterward the negotiator of the Louisiana treaty of 1803, was from 1779 to 1785 secretary of the French legation to the United States, under Luzerne as minister. The second letter relates to Jefferson's daughter Martha. Her mother had died in 1782. In July, 1784, Jefferson and the daughter started for Paris, where he put her to school in a convent.

RICHMOND Dec. 20. 1781

Sir

I now do myself the honour of inclosing you answers to the queries which Mr. Jones put into my hands. I fear your patience has been exhausted in attending them, but I beg you to be assured there has been no avoidable delay on my part. I retired from the public service in June only, and after that the general confusion of our state put it out of my power to procure the informations necessary till lately. Even now you will find them very imperfect and not worth offering but as proof of my respect for your wishes. I have taken the liberty of referring to you my friend Mr. Charles Thompson¹ for a perusal of them when convenient to you. Particular reasons, subsisting between him and myself, induced me to give you this trouble.

If his Excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne will accept the respects of a stranger I beg you to present mine to him, and to consider me as being with the greatest regard and esteem Sir

Your most obedient

and most humble servt

TH: JEFFERSON

[Indorsement:] Monsr de Marbois

Secretary to the embassy

of his most Christian Majesty

Philadelphia.

ANNAPOLIS Dec. 5. 1783

Sir

Your very obliging letter of Nov. 22 was put into my hands just in the moment of my departure from Philadelphia, which put it out of my power to acknowledge in the same instant my obligation for the charge you were so kind as to undertake of presenting a French tutor to my daughter and for the very friendly disposition and attentions you flatter me with. The same cause prevented me from procuring her the books you were so kind as to recommend, but this shall be supplied by orders from hence. I had left with her a *Gil Blas*² and *Don Quichotte* which are among the best books of their class as far as I am acquainted with them. The plan of reading which I have formed for her is considerably different from [that] which I think would be most proper for her sex in any other country than America. I am obliged in it to extend my views beyond herself, and consider her as possibly at the head of a little family of her own. The chance that in marriage she will draw a blockhead I calculate at about fourteen to one, and of course that the education of her family will probably rest on her own ideas and direction without assistancè. With the poets and prose writers I shall there-

¹ The original edition of the *Notes* contained an extensive appendix by Secretary Charles Thomson; in subsequent editions his material was distributed through the book.

² Martha was eleven years old.

fore combine a certain extent of reading in the graver sciences. However I scarcely expect to enter her on this till she returns to me. Her time in Philadelphia will be chiefly occupied in acquiring a little taste and execution in such of the fine arts as she could not prosecute to equal advantage in a more retired situation.¹

We have yet but four states in Congress. I think when we are assembled we shall propose to dispatch the most urging and important business, and, putting by what may wait, separate and return to our respective states, leaving only a Committee of the States.² The constant session of Congress cannot be necessary in time of peace, and their separation will destroy the strange idea of their being a permanent body, which has unaccountably taken possession of the heads of their constituents, and occasions jealousies injurious to the public good.

I have the honour of being with very perfect esteem and respect Sir
Your most obedient and most humble Servt

TH: JEFFERSON

2. *Journal of John Mair, 1791*

JOHN MAIR, Esquire, of Iron Acton, father of Mary Charlotte, wife of Nassau W. Senior, was born in 1744. His friends bought him a commission as cornet of dragoons and he immediately sailed for India in 1761. After much active service he retired from the army and sailed from India in the same ship with Lord Clive in 1767. Elaborate journals of his stay in India and subsequent travels are in the possession of his granddaughter. He visited Paris on his way home, and lived there with John Wilkes and his daughter. In 1770 he again visited Paris to be present at the marriage of Louis XVI. to Marie Antoinette, whom he ardently admired. He was an inveterate traveller, visiting all parts of England and the Continent, the United States, Canada, and the West Indies, where he was so much charmed with Dominica that he bought an estate and lived there several years. During the short time he lived in England he spent the winters at Bath. In his old age he bought the little estate of Iron Acton in Gloucestershire and took his son and two daughters to live with him. John Raven Senior was then parson of the parish, hence the marriage of Nassau Senior and Mary Mair. Mr. Mair died in London at his son-in-law's house, 13 Hyde Park, in 1830, of fatigue brought on by a hasty visit to Paris to see the results of the Revolution of 1830. His journals, in the possession of Mrs. M. Simpson, of Milmead House, Guildford, Sur-

¹ Jefferson's letter of November 28, 1783, to his daughter (Miss Randolph's *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 69; Ford, III. 344) shows her programme to consist mostly of music, dancing, and drawing, but from three to four o'clock each day she was to read French.

² Congress did not adjourn till June 3, 1784.

rey, daughter of Nassau W. Senior, fill seven volumes of 150 to 175 pages each. We are also indebted to Mrs. Simpson for the notes used in preparing the preceding sketch. The narrative of American travel, while nowise profound, is interesting as recording the observations of an intelligent and remarkably experienced traveller. The editor's attention was first called to it by Mr. James Bain, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library. A division into paragraphs has been carried through in order to aid the reader; there are none in the original manuscript. An extract from Mair's Journals descriptive of the marriage of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, September, 1899.

The 3d. Janry 1791 I embark'd at night on board the Betsey, Capn. Flagg, a brig belonging to Portsmouth in America but bound for Charles-Town South Carolina. we attempted getting out at gun fire next morning by the aid of the land winds which blow at night and till 9 oClock in the morn'g. but the sea breeze setting in very early we were forc'd to come to an Anchor again, and wait till next morning when we effected it but made little progress that day. we were forc'd to lay to 3 different times to avoid the Keys call'd the West Caicos, Mayaguana, and Atwoods which are Islands extremely flat, uninhabited, and are mostly sand bearing nothing but low shrubs. the 11th. day we were on the edge of Soundings when a very strong Southwester came on which oblig'd us to lay to. it continued 36 hours and when it clear'd up we found ourselves carry'd greatly to the Northward by the Currt. which was so strong that whilst we were beating with a foul wind our head W S: W. we were carry'd 69 Miles North in the 24 hours; we had got off Cape Hatteras, when a severe N: W: gave us the Southing we had lost, and we once more got into our latitude. we had however calms and such baffling weather that we did not get in till the 29th.

the land is so very low that you see the trees long before it. the lighthouse is here very necessary otherwise many vessels wou'd get on the bar. there is no fort of consequence (Sullivans being now destroy'd) going up to Charles town but occasionally the passage might be made very strong. the Town looks much better from the Sea, than it is found to be on entring it, for the streets being unpav'd the sand makes it very heavy walking. the houses are very irregular, and mostly but badly built, tho' there are some that are very handsome. the Town-house and the Exchange are good regular buildings, as are the 2 parish churches; had those fronting the warfs been regular and well built it might have vied with the Charteron of Bordeaux; there are also several very obnoxious swamps not only about the shore, but in the very middle of the Town, yet houses let prodigious dear, I saw one on the beach of only 2 Rooms on a floor, that sometime since let for 300£ Ster: pr. An: the warfs are very commodious, and belong to individuals, but its a pity they were not made uniform; the shipping here surpris'd

me with their number amounting to upwards of 200 sail, and most of these large ships or Brigs; the old Fortifications are destroy'd. its natural situation is very strong, being flank'd by two rivers (Cooper and Ashley) and the lines across the main land cou'd soon be made very strong; the Market for meat etc is pretty good, but very dear, indeed every Article is to the full as dear as in the West Indies, and the profits must be very great to afford the Expence, yet it wou'd seem by the complaints I heard that money is very scarce, and the produce of the rice plantations are by no means in general adequate to the expenditures in forming them. one reason indeed of the houses in town letting so high, is, that every planter that can afford it, has a residence, there, for the heat of summer (which is infinitely greater than in the W: I: it having remain'd 4 days last summer at 104 degrees) is so dangerous to the health, that they then come to town; the climate however from Novr. to April is generally mild; when the wind call'd the Hobeaw (N: W:) blows it is sometimes piercing cold. I also felt some days when it was at South East as unseasonably warm. the dust in the streets is unsufferable, one inhales enough when the weather is dry and the wind high to choak one.

the inhabitants are much divided and I think from the Interest some families maintain, and the suppleness of the Merchants and Tradesmen that they verge very much towards an Aristocracy; when alone people live very frugally, when they entertain, it is allways to a crou'd and then they cram their Tables with solids of an enormous size. they drink little else but Madeira. they have no regular Assembly, we strangers gave one Ball, the Freemasons another and in the Race week which was the 2d. March, at which all the contiguous planters flock'd, the Jockey club gave another. the Assembly room is infinitely too small, and the Musick and supper-rooms wretched beyond Idea. they have Concerts once in 14 days tho' they are but indifferent. the Sex here are very handsome, tho' in general they want colour. most of them have been educated in Europe, but quitted it too early to have form'd their Manners to the stile there.

they have lately establish'd the meeting of the Legislature at Columbia, as a place more central than Charlestown, and the Govt. was this year new model'd, and a new code of laws made which according to appearance are fully equal to exigencies. they have innumerable Lawyers, but what pleadings I heard did not give me a high Idea of their Orators, and their Courts are totally void not only of majesty but even want decency. I heard the tryal of a Man (who had serv'd as a Major in the Wars, and had took the name of Washington) for forging indents. they were very delicate in their proceedings, but on the most glaring proofs he was condemn'd and executed.

the country contiguous, is all a sand, and but little clear'd, being mostly what they call Pine Barends. the Rice swamps begin 10 or 12 Miles distance, and are either on the rivers which are embank'd to keep

out the tides, or inland in low swampy places. some of those have running streams, which may be turnd into the swamps when the rice or the fertilising the ground requires it, for instead of dung, they lay their fallows under water for 2 or 3 years; I went to see some plantations nearest the town but the most perfect are those on the Santee river or near George town. The back country is cultivated in Tobacco, but the distance they are oblig'd to send it by land must barely give a living to the planter. they put a shaft through the hhd and rowl it down with 2 Horses, and tho' it is drag'd through swamps and pools of water it is so hard pack'd as not to be damag'd. I am told the country beyond the Hills is a fine climate and soil. it is inhabited by Refugies from Virginia, whose manners are more savage than the Indians, but they are a strong hardy race, and I make no doubt in time will become respectable to their Neighbours.

I saild from Charles Town the 24th. March in the brig Hetty Clouser bound for Philadelphia. my original intention was to go to Norfolk in Virginia, and thence by land to that City, and to have call'd in my way on Genl. Washington at Mt. Vernon, but I learnd that he was on his way to Carolina, therefore I chang'd my rout. we sailed with a very fair wind for 2 days when it became quite contrary and we had very bad stormy weather, and it was 10 days before we made the Capes of the Delaware. the land thereabouts is as flat very near as at Carolina. the river is very wide till within 60 Miles of the Town, when it narrows considerably. it is counted 150 or 160 Miles from the Capes to the Town. the Jersey shore seems but little cultivated, the other side has several small Towns which look very pleasant. the tide is very rapid, and in two days more making in all 12 days from Charles town, we got up to the wharf the 4th. April.

one does not see the city on acct. of the short turnings of the different reaches till within a league of it. it's appearance is not so striking as Charles town, but when landed the streets exhibit great neatness and regularity, and the houses are well built and all of brick. the streets are pav'd, but are at present in a very bad condition; Market Street is the broadest but the lower part of it is spoild by the stalls for provisions, the exhibition of which is very fine, and their beef rivals Leaden hall. fish is not quite so plentiful, and is mostly of one sort. the streets are lay'd out paralel with the wharfs, and are nam'd Front, Second etc, the cross streets amongst which is the Market Street, have various names. the town is very extensive, and houses let at a very high price especially since the Congress have fix'd themselves here, lots of land for building are at an enormous price. at the back of the town is a very large tract of land all mark'd out as far [as] the Schullkill for buildings, and they are soon to build a Square, in which is to be the Presidents house, and all the Federal offices. the Government buildings belonging to the state are uniform, and neat and have a good walk behind them. the Court house is small, nor do they use more

Ceremony at the Tryals than in Charles town nay not so much for they wear no Gowns; They have a poor house where Idlers are put that beg in the streets, and are made to do something for their maintainance. their Hospital is on a very good footing and very clean. the Lunaticks are also taken care of here.

I expected to have found greater simplicity of manners and dress than I did, but now the Quakers alone seem to retain it. all the other inhabitants are as gay and dissipated as in London, and the abode of the Congress has introduc'd all kinds of luxury, they have plays, balls, Concerts etc, and the Routs at different houses vie with St. James's.

commerce here seems to thrive very much, and the new establish'd funds have given prodigious fortunes to some individuals. the wharfs for the shipping are very convenient but they have spoild the original design of leaving a considerable area between the Front Street, and them, by building an intermediate street call'd Water Street; the Churches for the protestants and different religious sects are numerous, the Quakers have 5, they are all neat.

the president when he is here resides in a house rented of Mr. Morrice the Financier, he observes great simplicity of manner, but whether from disposition of [or] policy associates but very little with any one. he never accepts an invitation to dine out, but his Secrety. invites strangers very often to dine with the prest. and he has a levé day, and his wife an Evening but witht. cards. whilst I was here I met all the remarkable characters at the feast of St. Geo: which is regularly kept up; I think their state of society will bear improvement, which their converse with strangers will soon effect.

every day I was here I rode out nor can there be more beautifull rides than in the environs. the banks of the Delawar, and the opposite shore of the Jerseys are very picturesque but the Schulekill is enchantingly romantick, the hills coming down in a slope sometimes gentle sometimes steep to the side of the river. both of these Rivers are ornamented with beautifull Country Seats, full of fruit etc etc. at present land is rather in a state of depreciation, and one of these houses with a consble farm contiguous may be purchas'd very cheap, for commerce, and the state Securities engrosses every speculation. they have here an ugly weed that does much mischief, and can't be rooted out call'd Garlick. the Milk and even the meat tastes of it.

the inland country between the Rivers is beautifull, but the British have rob'd it of its trees. these rivers in time will probably be joind, and if that, and the cuts design'd for the upper inland Navigation succeed, this city bids fair to retain its Metropolitan dignity, and to be in future Notwithstandg the town recently mark'd out on the Potowmack the Seat of the Federal Govt. the roads are of that sort of earth that require either the assistance of gravel or paving to make them good. they are lay'd out very broad, but are dreadfull in winter, and disagreeably dusty in summer. the Waggons that supply the city with corn are

continually passing, bringing it from the contiguous Towns of which there are a great number. the Schukill has 3 bridges lay'd on large logs of wood over it. at the town of Greys is a pritty Garden which in summer is lighted up to serve as a Vauxhall; there is also another Garden of the same nature 4 Miles on the Frankfurt road call'd Harrowgate from the similitude its waters have to those of the same name in England.

having seen as much of the country contiguous as circumstances wou'd permit, and finding that my plan of passing to New York by Bethlehem cou'd not be effected without my staying till May when those stages then begin to run, I embark'd the 27th. April on board a boat to Burdlington which lys 30 Miles up the Delawar. nothing can be more delightfull than this voyage for the Banks on each side are decorated with small Towns or country houses. this conveyance however has its inconvenience as I fatally experienc'd, for the wind which was fair at setting off changing, and the tide changing agt. us we were forc'd to come to, and did not arrive at our destination till next morning; from hence we set out in a stage for Amboy, the road rather rough, the country rich and pritty well settled. Amboy is 40 Miles from Burdington and is only a single house which is an Inn, we arriv'd here at 2 oClock, and immediately embark'd on board the packet. having a fair wind, our Voyage was delightfull the coasts of Statin Island, the Jerseys, and long Island affording a most delightfull scene also a distant view of the hook, but after we had got through the narrows, it fell suddenly calm, and the tide about sun-setting changing, we were forc'd to Anchor within 6 Miles of the Town, and pass'd a very cold and uncomfortable night on board. in the morning of the 29th. we again got under way but it being quite calm we did not get to the Quay before 10 oClock by which delay however I had an opportunity of contemplating the beautifull prospects that surrounded us. the distance of Amboy to new York is 30 Miles, and is generally run in one tide.

nothing can be more beautifull to the eye or advantageous for commerce than the Situation of New York. it is in a corner of the Island, form'd by the North or Hudsons river, and the Channel or East River. the Quays are mostly (for ships) on the East river, and from the Battery where is the Govt. house (a massive but not an elegant building) and where they are making a beautifull parade, is as fine a view as the eye can wish; the town has some very good houses in it. the Hall, the Churches, and Hospitals are all good or handsome buildings. the Streets are irregular and some of them very narrow, but the pavement at present is very good; commerce here is very advantageous, and most people are at their ease, some indeed rich. they deservedly have the character of being hospitable, to strangers, and I think in general are more easy than any of the other States. young people marry here very early, and either old Maids or Bacheldors are rare.

as they have an easy communication by the North river to the in-

terior parts of the country they employ a prodigious number of craft for that purpose, and as this port seldom or ever freezes they boast of that advantage over Philadelphia where ships are frequently detain'd by the Ice. New York Island is join'd to the Main by a bridge 15 Miles from town. the Island is very narrow, the land poor, the roads are not so varied as Philadelphia, but the rides are beautiful. there are several rising grounds from which one commands a view of both rivers, particularly at Fort Washington 11 Miles from town; the Ferry to Long Island is short, and the country and roads are there beautiful and extensive. the Ferrys to the Jerseys are 3, to arrive at Newark 7 Miles, which makes excursions there very inconvenient. I rode one day to see the falls of the Pisaick river 25 Miles. the fall in itself fell greatly short of my expectation, but as I made a circle by the town of Hackinsack and the road for the most part going by the side of those two rivers nothing can be more picturesque than the country, it is so thickly settled with small farms that it appears as one continual villiage, and really might be compared in beauty to the Thames, except that it wants the embellishments of buildings and Gardens. The Markets of new York are little inferior to Philadelphia, that of the Fish better. people live very well here, and cheap. in the winter they have balls, routs, and all kinds of amusements, but the moment the summer approaches all finishes, but tea parties.

the 22d. May I embark'd on board the Providence packet for Newport in Rhode Island, where we arriv'd the next day after a sail of 26 hours. the prospect on each side the Channel of Long Island and Connecticut Shores was as delightfull as a well settled, and beautifully varied country cou'd render it.

the Town of Newport bears the traces of having once been eminent, but many of the inhabitants being ruin'd in the war by their attachment to the Royal cause, several houses are empty, and their Trade has quite dwindled away, tho the Harbour is allow'd to be the best in the States, and it offers every advantage a commercial people cou'd wish; some of the buildings have been good and handsome, but must now soon decay. I took a ride round the Island which is about 15 Miles long, but is very narrow. the road is very good, and the country beautiful, and must have been eminently so, before the British troops devastated it of its trees. the fences are mostly stone. the land is mostly gently rising and falling. it is in general good, and was very well cultivated. the channel to the continent is not above $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile and the prospects from the rising grounds are very extensive on each side; we found a French Ship of War of 74 Guns, anchor'd here, call'd the Dugay Trouin. she call'd in here for supplies on her way to Europe from Martinico having a vast number of land troops on board.

at 12 oClock next day we again set sail, and having a fine wind got to Providence by 5 oClock in the afternoon, there is an assemblage of so

many beautifull prospects in this passage, particularly when going up the river that it wou'd be difficult to do justice to them. the channel has several well cultivated Islands, and tho when arriv'd in the river the Banks are very steep and high, the rapid rise of the lands contiguous presents a very picturesque view on every side, which is bounded (on rounding the point) by the town, which lays under the hills. it is well built, and as it owes its rise to the fall of Newport every thing looks fresh and wears an air of business. it is as large as Newport and has several good buildings, but like that mostly of wood, the river divides the town, but is connected by a bridge; I observ'd both here and at Newport that they are very curious in the spires of the churches. on an eminence (where there has been a fortification) above the town is a most extensive and beautifull prospect of the whole of the town, the sea, the Islands, and circumjacent lands on the continent.

we went from hence about 8 oClock the next morning, in the stage, and got to Boston at 6 oClock in the afternoon, stopping half way to dine. the distance is 45 Miles, the road pretty good, and the country finely varied. there were several Villiages we pass'd through and some beautifull farms ornamented with fine fruit trees, and having plenty of trout Streams; most of this country is in pasture, tho' they have some Arable land; there are several handsome country seats just before one comes to Roxburgh which is only a Mile from the Neck.

Boston is not so big as new York, and where it not for the causeway or Neck wou'd be an Island. it is mostly built on the ground contiguous to the Harbour, so that it extends very long. behind are several hills on one of which is a Column bearing a very proper Inscription. from hence is a complete view of the Town, and circumjacent country; there is a Mill pond which covers a considerable space of ground and which being easily draind wou'd afford Room for a fine square or other buildings. the Streets are pritty good, tho the pavement wants mending, and the foot way broad stones, those it at present is pav'd with being very rough and pointed. most of the houses are of wood, but some of them are very neat. as yet they have no lamps which is very inconvenient for the nightwalkers. the Churches and Meetings are all very handsome, and that intolerance which they were once so famous for is now no more and I was present at the social meetings, of the Catholick, the Protestant Bishops and Divines. the Clergy are very numerous. I was told 150 were invited to the publick dinner the Govr.¹ gave on the day of his being again rechosen into the Government. the Quays are very convenient, and distributed all along the Harbour. the long Quay is handsome, and is the property of several individuals. they have begun several manufactories. that for Sail Duck is counted a valuable acquisition to the state, it employing a number of females on a very liberal footing; and furnishing that article in greater perfection than they cou'd import it. they are encouraging for that pur-

¹ Hancock.

pose the cultivation of hemp and expect from every appearance great success. the circumjacent country is beautifull, being mostly pasture ground, for as yet they do not grow corn in common, importing most of their flower from Philadelphia. None of their publick buildings are much worth noticing. their Market both for fish and flesh is pritty abundant but wants the neatness of the other cities.

I made frequent excursions on Horseback, to the contiguous towns and villiages. from the Church at Dorchester¹ there is a charming view of a fine country the Harbour which is render'd more beautifull by its being replete with small Islands, and the town. the road leading to Cambridge over the Neck and returning by Charles town is very pritty. the Colledge is a good building, and on a good foundation. there is a small river navigable for sloops up to it. it is about 4 Miles from Boston. I frequently went to see Bunkers hill which is contiguous to Charles town which during the war was burn'd down, nor has it since recover'd its former size or splendour.

the Inhabitants in general are very hospitable, but do not give much into the pleasures of the table dining early and doing as much business after as before dinner, nor do the ladies come much into company. some of them are very pritty, but want the polish of language, and the easy and eligant manner polite education gives.

the 8th. of June I took leave of Boston and went in the stage to Hartford. this is the only mode of conveyance in the united states, and is bad enough especially when crowded, for their numbers are not stinted and both there and at their Inns people are bundled together like sheep going to Market; the country we pass'd through is beautifully varied well waterd and has several small lakes or ponds, in general hilly, the road tolerable and capable of being made very excellent, replete with towns and villiages in short a very thick settled country for the first 60 Miles, after which the soil being bad (a loose sand) there is much wood left standing, and the settlements but thin, till near Springfield on the river of Connectacut, where the Stage is ferry'd over, from thence to Hartford (the Capital of Connecticut) the country is very rich, and mostly a plain, so that the Towns and villiages allmost extend to one another. Suffield, and Windsor are both handsome towns, and are inhabited by Gentn. retir'd on their Ests.

Hartford is a pritty extensive town, the streets very long, but not pav'd, some of the houses are neat enough but all are built of wood. it stands on the Connectacut river and has a small river running through the town into it, it ships horses, cattle etc for the W: I: and a quantity of hay of the Southward. they also breed a number of Mules in this country a branch of commerce which is dayly encreasing. from the Balcony of the church Steeple one has a charming view of the circumjacent country, than which nothing can be more rich and beautifull. we hir'd a carriage from hence next day, and went to see Middletown.

¹ Meetinghouse Hill.

about 4 Miles before one gets there is an eminence which commands the most delightfull country I ever saw, really it appeard not inferior to the vale of Evesham and the river simular to the Severne; the town seems pritty large tho' stragling. it is 15 Miles from Hartford. on our way home we mounted the hights of Rockey hill a small Town 7 Miles from Hartford, where we again were gratifyd with a beautifull view. Weathersfield is 4 Miles from Hartford and is a pritty large and well built town.

having amply gratify'd our curiossity in this fine country, we with some difficulty got a Waggon (cover'd) to carry us across the country to Albany, and on Sunday the 12th. (having obtaind a written permission from the Mayor on account of the day) we set off. the country was pritty well cultivated to Farmington (12 Miles) where we got to breakfast, the road good; a very fine river serpentines through these plains, and joins the Connecticut river at Windsor. from hence the road became worse and the country hilly and little settled. we din'd at New Hartford 12 Miles a small villiage; a Mile from hence the green woods began. the road now became horrid and scarcely passable for a carriage. we mounted several very steep hills, and the rocks and stones made it difficult to proceed; now and then we met a small settlement in its infancy, but from the general aspect of the country, I shou'd judge when it is once very well settled that it will be very beautiful. the air as it lys high is purer and cooler than the plains; we lay'd at a small villiage call'd Colebrooke 12 Miles and really our quarters were much better than I expected. they told us here that even now they sometimes saw Panthers in the woods, and wild cats, besides deer and other game; early next morning we proceeded and at the end of 4 Miles found a small villiage call'd Norfolk which is counted out of the hilly wood land. we breakfasted at Canaan a small town 4 Miles prittily situated. the country now appeard better settled. hence we went through Shiffeld¹ a small town to Great Barrington where we din'd, 14 Miles, the road good, the country hilly but pritty well settled. this is a small town its situation fine being in a valley where a river runs through. we lay'd at a small villiage call'd Stockbridge 13 Miles near where are some Iron works. next Morning we breakfasted at New Lebanon² 14 Miles, passing through Richmond 3 Miles a handsome town and prittily situated; the road good, and country well cultivated.

Lebanon is very extensive. in its district or Parish which extends 10 or 12 Miles as is the case with most of the towns in this new country are several Establishments one in particular very singular call'd the Shaking quakers street. these people being of both Sexes live in a state of celibacy. even those marry'd before on coming here are separated. they are very industrious have cleard a great deal of land and have got good buildings. on Sunday they pray, and what is unaccount-

¹ Passing now from Connecticut into Massachusetts.

² In New York.

ably singular dance to different tunes with such vehemance that the Men frequently are obld. to throw off all their clothes but what decency requires to remain. they are in great subordination to their elders who directs the dance and prayers and regulates the whole Oconomy of the society. a prostitute who follow'd the English Camp is said to be the foundress.¹ it seems too absurd and too prejudicial to a rising population to last. they say when question'd, that dancing serves by its violent exercise to subdue their passions to venery, but I have allways been inclin'd to think the reverse the fact. the spring of Lebanon was once more frequented than at present. it is a very weak water, and barely the chill taken off. its situation is beautifull, on a hill which commands the circumjacent country, which is well settled, and has several different villiages in the valley below; we found some invalids here and there are 4 or 5 good houses to accomodate lodgers.

at 12 o'Clock we continued our rout, and din'd at Stevens town 9 Miles, a small villiage. the country hilly, pretty well settled, and a fine stream running through the valley which empties itself into the North river at Kinderhook. we Slept at Phillips town a small villiage 7 Miles, and next Morning got to Albany 14 Miles, crossing the north river directly opposite the town; a great part of the last 21 Miles is but little settled, the road good, the country hilly, the whole distance from Hartford to Albany 115 Miles. the mountains of the green wood which I am told extend up to Canada seem a division design'd by nature between the North and Connecticut rivers.

Albany is situated on the North river at the foot of hills, which tho it shelters it from the cold in winter makes it exceeding hot in summer. the town is pritty large and has some good buildings in it. the streets are wide, the inhabitants are a mixture of Dutch and English, but the Dutch manners are disagreeably predominant. the circumjacent country is beautifull, a fine view of which is had from the hills at the back of the town. it is inconceivable what a great trade is carry'd on between this place and York for Grain lumber etc. I counted myself 30 sloops and Schooners at anchor, and am told there frequently is a hundred. the river here is about as broad as at London bridge, but it is navigable for sloops no higher. Mr Van Rhenselleir is possess'd of lands stretching 24 by 20 Miles, but the spot where the town of Albany stands tho' in the middle of his lands has its own rights etc.

I rode from hence one day to the falls of the Cohouse.² it is about nine Miles from Town the road along the North river till arriv'd at one of the branches of the Mohawk. it is threë Miles up that river, the width there is broader than the Rhine, but it is not so high, nor near so much water except when there has been a great fall of rain or the snow melting. it then not only fills its bed but over flows the road and contiguous fields, and must certainly be a most magnificent sight. the fall is very little broken so that the sheet wou'd then be perfect.

¹ The reference is to Mother Ann Lee.

² Cohoes.

the 18th. I began my rout for Fort Geo: in a Waggon. we set off at noon, and got that night to Saratoga about 2 Miles from the creek where General Burgoyne was encamp'd when he surrenderd and Genl. Schuyler had a house. it is 38 Miles from Albany. we pass'd Troys a small town 6 Miles [from] Albany, and Lansinbërg or the New City (rather larger than the first) 9 Miles from Albany. Water town¹ is on the West side the North River, which at Troys begins to be very shallow and continues with only some intervals of deep water for 15 Miles so, when the still water begins which is deep enough. in time probably channels will be dug through these rapids to admit the passing of sloops, nor wou'd such a cut be attended with much expense. the road is all the way by the river side, (we ferry'd over it twice) is very good and the country well settled and pleasant, but on account of the highths on each side the river the view both E: and W: is confin'd. I remark'd the 4 mouths of the Mohawk river on the northenmost of which is Water town, I had some thoughts once of going to Schenectadé a town laying on the banks of the Mohawk about 8 Miles from the mouth, and thence to see the Springs of Satarago which by the accounts I had of them must be waters of great efficacy, but dreaded the roads and accomodations.

the next day (Sunday) being very rainy I did not stirr out. Monday 20th. about 11 oClock noon we arriv'd at Fort or Lake Geo: the road good and by the river side till 3 Miles past Fort Edward where we breakfasted. this is a small Town and the country mostly settled. $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile where the road turns off from the river is a pritty water fall call'd Wings fall. the platform of a solid rock over which the river runs, has a trough or canal worn into it through which the river when it is not expanded by a great quantity of water to cover over its whole bed rushes very impetuously. the fall which is a few feet higher up, is not high, but looks altogether very romantick. the country from hence is but poor and little settled, and the road within the 4 last Miles is very stoney; the lake furnishes a beautifull view. it is near $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile broad, surrounded by hills all cloath'd in wood, and full of Islands. the 2 Forts of Edward, and Wm. Henry are both destroy'd. the lands contiguous to the lake are but poor, in consequence there is but little of it cultivated.

next day very early I embark'd in a two oard boat, and about 2 oClock having mostly a fair wind arriv'd on the other side, or North. it is a very pleasant trip. one is amus'd by the view of the lake which is full of little Islands, tho' the surrounding hills which rise pritty steep from the edge of the lake are still in woods, except 2 or 3 small spots. when this lake is intirely cleared, it will become more beautifull: it is full of fine fish, and generally furnishes plenty to the passers. its length is 36 Miles, extreme bredth 2 Miles. I got with some difficulty a cart to carry my baggage over to Tycondaroga, and walk'd there my-

¹ Waterford is no doubt meant.

self. it is about three Miles, half way is a bridge over the outlet of Lake George which communicates with lake Champlain. it is here are the falls which are considerable, I think as high as the Cohouse but not so broad, nor did then the water expand to cover them. there is a fine saw and grist Mill below the fall. the country is here somewhat more clear'd and exhibits a fine appearance. the old French lines and Forts on Tycondaroga are in ruins. the surrounding plains are beautifull, and are now mostly in pasture, but have few inhabitants. I think the view from the flat eminence where the forts stood is a remarkable beautifull and must have been a healthy spot. it is a kind of tongue jutting into the lake and commands the pass, and on the opposite side of the lake is Forts Independance and Defiance in the state of Vermont. this communication of the lake is 20 Miles to the North of the head of lake Champlain where there is a small town call'd Skanesborough.

I found that I had done wrong in coming here. I should have gone to that place which is only 14 Miles more of land carriage, and promises a much more certain passage, for I had to depend here on the boats passing loaded from thence, and sometimes they go by in the night witht. calling in. I was forc'd to stay here 2 days before I cou'd find an oppority. the 23rd. at 3 oClock I embark'd in a row boat to go down the lake, and the wind being fair we made before night 30 Miles. the breadth of the lake dont appear thus far to be above $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles. the surrounding hills do not raise so rapidly as those [around] lake Geo: but leaving in general a plain next the side, and every 1 or 2 Miles is a settlement, or villiage. Crown point is on the East side, and commands a narrow pass. the ruins announce it to have been considerable. it is on a fine plain, but I shou'd think the hills at the back must have allways commanded it.

next morning early I continued my rout. the country and lake the same as the preceeding day for 20 Miles (in which distance we pass'd the river of New haven where 6 Miles up are very fine falls, on which river are Iron forges, Grist and Saw Mills) when the lake becomes much wider and encreases 'till it is 23 Miles over, in an eastern bay of which lays Burlington a small town. Grand Isle begins here which runs as the lake for 24 Miles, and 3 Miles broad, then is La Mot's Isle, the lake again gradually decreasing, and about La Motts Isle the land seems low and swampy. the first british post is at Dutchmans point where is a Corporals guard. the second 'is at Point au fer where is a Capns. Guard, and an Arm'd Schooner; the next post is at Isle aux Noix where is also a Capns. Guard. this Isle is very small; there are very few setlers after passing the first post, from whence the country seems a perfect swamp, swarming with flies and Muskatoes and having very few settlements till arriv'd at St John's where we did not get till the 25th. at 3 oClock in the afternoon.

the Lake from Isle aux noix is very narrow not $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile broad, and it seems a miserable swamp, and only 3 log houses in 15 Miles. indeed

most of the houses on this lake are built in the same manner, and the entertainment and lodging is most execrably bad, nor do I think it is much better at St. John's; the Barracks within the Fort, and the houses witht. belonging to private people, being mostly in the same stile, the whole as well as the ramparts and other parts of the fortification being much out of repair. the plain it is situated on is somewhat elevated, and has been clear'd to considerable distance to render it wholesome. the soil seems good furnishing a good natural pasture, and is no doubt capable of improvement. a 20 Gun Ship, and the Hulls of several lesser are laying opposite the town, where a short space more will turn them into rotten dust. the Garn. [Garrison] consists of 6 Compys. commanded by a Lieutt. Col.: just without the fort is a rising ground where they bury the dead, which is much higher than where the fort stands. the Americans attack'd it from hence for it intirely commands it, and it seems this ground has been mostly clear'd since the last War.

the 26th. after breakfast I sent forward my baggage by a Cart, and myself mounted a horse, and rode all the way by the side of the river St. Johns to Chambli. this whole road appears (12 Miles) as one continued villiage. most of the land which is clear'd is in pasture tho' I saw some wheat that appear'd pritty thriving. the opposite side of the river is also somewhat settled; the Fort here is a square, and now serves as barracks for a company that is quarterd here. it has no ditch, and cou'd make no defence agt. cannon. the Town is stragling, but pritty extensive and has some good houses in it. the view from the fort is beautifully picturesque. the river from St. Johns to here is full of rapids, but from hence to Sorel where it joins the St. Laurence, it is navigable.

after dining at the Fort at 3 oClock, I continued my rout mostly by the side of the small river Chambli which is exceedingly crooked and muddy, to Longueville; the country is all clear'd except a breadth of about 3 Miles, which I am told runs in a line till it joins the woods of St. John's. the land is so flat that it is very subject to be cover'd by the rains but from the luxuriency of the pastures I shou'd judge the soil to be very rich, the houses of the Farmers are mostly log, and are much inferior in neatness to those of the states. the roads this way which is directly across the country that separates the 2 rivers, are exceedingly bad, and it was late before I arriv'd tho' the distance is call'd only 15 Miles. Longueville is a very extensive tho' very stragling town. the best houses and thickest together are on the banks of the river near the Church. here is also a small Fort but not garrison'd.

when I gain'd the river St. Laurant which I did 2 Miles above the ferry the view of Montreal and the mountain behind it look'd very beautiful but the river here is too shallow and rapid to admit a passage across, and it being late I slept at the Ferry. there is another rout to go to Montreal by La Prairie 18 Miles from St. John's, and taking boat from thence down the river to Montreal which is 10 Miles below it, but as

it is sometimes uncertain I prefer'd the other way. the French language is the only one the peasants know, and they have retain'd also their manners, and the old French dress of a close Cassock and sash. next morning I cross'd. the river is extremely rapid but as the wind was fair I got over in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. a small Island lys midway on which a Capn. Grant lives who has a Mill there and has made it a beautifull spot.

Montreal is long but very narrow having but two principal streets which run the length of the town, the houses are mostly stone, low and in the French stile. some of the Churches are handsome. the streets are pav'd but are narrow. it is wall'd round and has ramparts but they are gone to decay, and the ditch is near fill'd up; there is a hill¹ just behind the town that intirely comds. it, and from the top of this hill I had a most beautifull and extensive view of the country, which is mostly a plaine and seems pritty well cultivated. nothing can be grander than the flowing through it of the river St. Laurance, which about 6 or 7 Miles above the town begins to be too rocky and rapid to be navigable but for flat bottom'd boats. they have at some expence render'd easy its communication with the Lakes; and no doubt time will greatly improve it, as the country is settled very much allready, and is daily encresing; the largest ships mount up to the Town with safety, and unload and load here; and their export in Wheat and Flower is prodigious. most of the farms in this neighborhood are inhabited by Canadians, who are averse to improvement, and seem but a lazy set of people, and very superstitious.

I stay'd here 2 days and on the 29th. (there is a Regt. lays here) embark'd on board a very small Schooner for Quebec. we got down as low as Sorel by night and anchor'd 15 Leagues. the country on both sides beautifull, and well cultivated and seemd one intire villiage. the next day it was very calm but by the current we with some difficulty got through the Lake which is a very broad part of the river St. Laurance, full of little Islands and on that account difficult of navigation. the Islands are full of wood, and are swampy which makes them swarm with Muskatoes, but on the main shore the Settlements are pritty thick. this lake continues 7 Leagues when the river becomes narrower. we next pass'd Trois Rivieres a pritty little town 3 Leagues below the lake, and continuing our rout made this day 25 Leagues when at night we anchor'd near a dangerous shoal. the country began after passing the lake to be less flat, the settlements the same, the Parishes being established at 2 Leagues each in extent; ' next morning we pass'd the abovemention'd shoal and also another still more dangerous 6 Leagues below it call'd the Rapids. here the country is beautifully picturesque, the houses built handsomer and more numerous.

about 2 oClock in the afternoon, the wind chang'd and blew fresh agt us, at the same time also the tide chang'd (which flows up as high as the Rapids) so that we were necessited to anchor about 3 Leagues

¹ Mount Royal.

above Quebec the whole distance 60 Leagues and as I found myself very much fatigued with my bad lodging, I got the Capn. to land me at the last post, and went to Quebec in a Calash, which I had reason to rejoice at as by that means I had an opportunity of seeing from the road which is on a Terrace the beautifull and thick settled plain which extends from a river I pass'd near the Post house, to the City of Quebec. the Post for travellers was establish'd by the French. it is a Calash with one Horse, which can occasionally carry two persons and pays 12d. pr. League. it goes all the way from Montreal but is very fatiguing, and the Inns on the road very bad, nor does one see so much of the country that way as by water as the road is by the side of the river all the way. the City of Quebec lays below the terrace on which the road is, nor does one see it 'till just entring it. it is divided into upper and lower towns. the upper is on the declivity of a hill and is surrounded by a wall, the part next the river is perpendicular, where are strong batteries of cannon, that intirely comd. the river. the lower Town is built on a very small space between the foot of the rock and the river, the streets of which are very irregular. the principal is very long. warfs are made here for the shipping but the fall of the tide is so consble that it is inconvenient unloading but at high water. the houses here are but indifferent and the streets not very clean or well pav'd; the upper town is much better built, and has two long streets pritty regular. some of the buildings are good; the Govt. house is spacious and from the balcony which seems to hang over the rock there is a fine view. the Jesuits colledge is spacious. it is now turn'd into barracks. the churches and Convents remain as in the French time with all their rights. the Cathedral is a large but rude pile. the fortifications on the hill where also is the Citadel are very extensive and wou'd demand an enormous Garrison but cannot from their situation notwithstanding the expense they have been to the Govt. be strong, as there is a hill at a small distance which if it is not higher, is at least as high, and wou'd offer a most excellent situation for a Battery agt. it; the plains of Abraham are adjoining and are pritty extensive. the part where Genl. Wolf got up does not appear very steep, and has now a very good cart road up it.

next day the 2d. July I rode to the falls of Montmorancy about 9 miles. I pass'd a small river near the Grand Hospital (where is also the order of nuns that take care of the sick) which winds very much, and by the town of Beauport, got to a Villiage adjoining the falls, where I left my horse, and passing the grounds of Genl. Halde-mand where he has built him a pleasant wooden house, descended by a wooden stair case in his Garden to a small Pavillion which is suspended over the bason where the river falls, the height is about 245 feet perpendicular, the breadth ¹ feet and take it altogether I think it is the finest fall I ever saw. I afterwards took a road that leads

¹ Blank in MS.

below and rode down to the mouth of the river, where certainly it appears to its greatest advantage; above the falls was a battery, and the aspect of the whole country hereabouts is beautifully romantick. the prospect of the Island of Orleans which is 7 Miles long and very well inhabited which here divides the river St. Laurant not a little heighens the scene.

next day I drove to the Indian Town of Loretta, the country is pritty well cultivated, about a hundred Indians have domesticated themselves here. the Men hunt, the women cultivate the ground, and between them they seem to make out a comfortable way of life. indeed except in dress they differ very little from the Canadians. they have a Church, and an old Jesuit occasionally officiates by whose documents [*sic*] they have form'd a very fine choir of female voices. the river I mention'd in passing to Montmorancy runs through the villiage and exhibits a romantick cataract of water on which they have a grist mill; next day very early I went in a boat about 7 Miles up the river, to a little river which there falls into the St. Laurant under the name of the Chaudiere; about 2 Miles up this river is a very fine fall broader than that of Montmorancy but not above half its height, nor is it so perfect, as a rock that juts out about the middle divides the sheet of water. the spot about here is as savagely romantick as any I ever beheld, and altogether is as well worth seeing as the other, tho the road to get at it is rather inconvenient; I was told much about the 7 falls of St. Anns, but the difficulty attending the getting there tho' only 7 Leagues from Quebec, hinder'd my attempting it.

next day I rode out on the plains of Abraham, from whence is the most extensive and romantick view one can possibly conceive. I continued my course through a wood and joining the high road to Montreal again had the rich and beautifull view which is exhibited from this terrace. in the Evening I walk'd all round the ramparts which afford a pritty walk, and got up to the Citidel from whence one comds. the whole surrounding country to a great extent.

the people in the Govt. of Quebec dont seem to be very contented. the Seigniorial rights gall the Bourgoisé and make them wish to participate of the same rights as are now establish'd in France. the Seigniors on the contrary are very jealous, and as much as they dare exert their power. the English settlers complain they are deceivd, as they came here in expectation of the English laws prevailing. the Law at present is a strange heterogeneous mixture and by no means permanent. very far are the inhabitants in general from following that Industry, Oconomy and Sobriety of the American colonies. it struck me the difference was to the full as great as I have in travelling in Europe observ'd it to be, between the free and tyrannick states; the Duties from the fur and grain trade dont half pay the expenses attending the large sallerys of the officers of Govt., and it must strike every disinterested person that it wou'd be a saving to great Britain and a happi-

ness to the people if our Garrisons and civil officers were withdrawn and they left to govern themselves as soon as parliament have settled the division of the provinces, and put them in a way to go through with it, nor shou'd we lose any advantage we at present reap from their trade. on the contrary it wou'd by a liberal treaty be very much augmented.

having seen everything in Canada that was the most worth seeing and wishing to get to Europe time enough to participate of the summer I took my passage in a ship nam'd the Chalmly Capn. Cayley bound to Liverpool, and on Wednesday the 6th. at 12 oClock took our departure from Quebec, which exhibits a fine appearance from point Levey. it being a fine day and a pleasant gale our trip down the river was very intertaining, and we had a most delightfull view of the falls of Montmorancy, the Island of Orleans. the shores on each side seem very well settled appearing in a manner as one continued villiage; towards the close of the day We pass'd several Islands, but they don't appear settled. we put our Pilot on shore on Green Island of which he was Lord, the next day, and on Fryday coasted along Anticosta an Island as yet unsettled. it is about 100 Miles long and is capable of producing every necessary of life.

we meant to go by the streights of Bellisle which much shortens the distance going the Northwds. of New Foundland instead of the Southward, but the winds not suiting we gaind the Banks, so that I lost the opportunity of seeing the Esquimaux, who generally board the vessels passing; after coming on the banks a thick fog surrounded us, and the wind subsiding we caught some fish, when the breeze springing up dispell'd the fog a little and we saw several Ships, Brigs etc fishing. after this we had nothing but thick weather with a fair wind till we were near the coast of Ireland, when it cleard up for a day or two.

the 27th. on Thursday we made Cape Clear early in the morning, but the wind coming due South attended by a thick fog we lost sight of it again. some pilot boats boarded us from whom we got some fish and potatoes, but a strong gale coming on I was unluckily prevented landing as was my intention in Ireland. the weather continued thick with a strong gale all Fryday and next morning we made Holy head coasting along the Welch coast under our courses on acct. of the wind, but the weather clear and fine, and affording a good prospect of the country. we got to Liverpool Dock the 30th. in the evening when I instantly stept on shore, and next morning being Sunday was intertain'd with viewing the great improvements that had been made about the exchange and contiguous streets; I found also that several new Docks had been built since I was here in 1784.

3. *Project of Latin-American Confederation, 1856*

THE consultations which have been in progress this summer at Rio de Janeiro lend additional interest to the following papers.

For the opportunity to see them, the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Mr. Luis M. Pérez, who discovered them in the course of his work in the Archivo Nacional of Cuba for the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, in the preparation of his forthcoming *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Cuban Archives*. It is unusual to be able to present in print the texts of confidential diplomatic documents of so recent date as 1856. Most such documents preserved in the correspondence of the captains-general of Cuba were doubtless included in the large masses of papers transported to Spain in 1898. But, partly by accident, partly through the patriotic foresight of the late Professor Manuel Villanova of the Instituto of Havana, certain portions escaped transportation and were preserved to the national archives of Cuba. The papers here presented are found among the Villanova Papers in that repository, in the bundle devoted to 1856. The translation is furnished by Mr. Pérez. Señor Juan de Zavala was the Spanish secretary of state, Señor Alfonso de Escalante was minister of Spain to the United States, October, 1855–November, 1856. The reader may compare Francisco Bilbao, *Iniciativa de la América: Idea de un Congreso Federal de las Repúblicas* (pph., Paris, 1856); Lastarria, Covarrubias, Santa Maria, and Vicuña Mackenna, *Coleccion de Ensayos i Documentos relativos á la Union i Confederacion de los Pueblos Hispano-Americanos, publicada á espensas de la "Sociedad de la Union Americana de Santiago de Chile"* (Santiago, 1862); and J. M. Torres Caicedo, *Union Latino-Americana, Pensamiento de Bolívar para formar una Liga Americana; su Origen y sus Desarrollos* (Paris, 1865, French edition, Paris, 1875).

I. ZAVALA TO THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CUBA

PRIMERA SECRETARIA DE ESTADO.

DIRECCION POLITICA.

Exñmo Señor

Con esta fecha digo al Ministro Plenipotenciario de S.M. en Washington lo que sigue

“Se han recibido en esta Primera Secretaria los Despachos de V.E señalados con los números 18 y 20 y fechados el 23 y 28 de Febrero último, en los que dá cuenta de varias conferencias celebradas en su casa por los representantes de las Repúblicas españolas y del Ymperio del Brasil, con obgeto de formar una especie de Confederacion ó Dieta que asegure su independencia y cuyo proyecto de bases, acordado en una de las reuniones, acompaña V.E. á su comunicación del 23.

“Este pensamiento de estrecha alianza y mútua defensa, en que tanta parte ha tomado V.E., no puede menos de merecer la aprobacion

del Gobierno de S.M. lealmente interesado en el desarrollo de aquellos ricos países, que durante largos siglos pertenecieron á la Corona de Castilla, y que tienen hoy, y tendrán siempre de comun entre sí, y con nosotros la historia, las costumbres, la religion y el idioma. Agitadas las Republicas españolas por continuas y estériles luchas que aniquilan su vitalidad y las esponen á la ambicion de cualquiera potencia fuerte que en el continente americano se levante, convieneles mas que á los Estados europeos agruparse para hacerse respetables y someter á una autoridad federativa y superior sus contiendas para ir estirpando tanto gérmen de discordias como ahora encierran.

“El Gobierno de S.M. se complace tambien en que desechado el espíritu de intolerancia política, que anteriormente había presidido á esta idea de Congreso americano español, entre á formar parte integrante de él y aun á ser asiento de la futura Confederacion, el imperio del Brasil, nacion importante, de raza afín á la nuestra, y que en el desenvolvimiento progresivo de sus instituciones y de su industria está probando á las repúblicas sus vecinas, que en la actual situacion del mundo civilizado, la monarquia, lejos de oponer un obstáculo á la libertad y prosperidad de los pueblos, es uno de sus mas firmes apoyos y de sus mas eficaces protectores.

“De desear es por lo tanto que el proyecto de que V.E. habla en sus despachos se realice cuanto antes, contando como no dudo contará, con la cooperacion de las potencias europeas, y muy particularmente con la de Ynglaterra y Francia, las cuales así como España verán con satisfacion consolidarse en América un orden de cosas estable, una política verdaderamente nacional, producto de sus necesidades comunes y de sus mutuos recelos, y una bien entendida libertad que al paso que proteja su sistema de gobierno y sus intereses, les sirva para estrechar mas y mas los vínculos que les unen con el antiguo continente y sobre todo con la nacion de que proceden, que un día se llamó su metrópoli y que se considera todavia por el afecto que profesa á los españoles de allende los mares como una madre cariñosa.

“No concluiré este Despacho sin advertir á V.E. que entre las bases de confederacion que me remite y que en su gran mayoría son aceptables y apropósito para alcanzar el obgeto de esa asociacion internacional, hay alguna que debe considerarse como contraria á los adelantos que tanto necesitan las repúblicas americanas, y que en nada contribuirá por otra parte á afianzar sus derechos legítimos y á desvanecer cualesquiera peligros que en un porvenir mas próximo ó mas remoto pudieran presentarse. Citaré á V.E., por ejemplo, la que exige el cambio de nacionalidad á los concesionarios de obras públicas como ferro-carriles y canales, pues ademas de que semejante prohibicion privaria á los países confederados de inmensos capitales y elementos considerables de riqueza, no debe perderse de vista que las compañías ó particulares que concurren con su industria y sus fortunas á este género de empresas, ni van á promover perturbaciones ni tienen interés en que se promuevan; antes por el

contrario dan la fianza mas segura de estar identificados con la suerte de los pueblos adonde llevan una y otras.

"Con las gestiones sucesivas que el pensamiento de alianza ocasione, cree el Gobierno de S. M. escusado encargar á V. E. el mayor tino y la mas esquisita prudencia para no ofender la susceptibilidad de la Union Anglo-americana á pesar de que esta no podrá ver en el enunciado proyecto mas que una imitacion aunque imperfecta de lo que con brillante resultado llevaron á cabo las antiguas colonias inglesas despues de su emancipacion, y lo que hace siglos pactaron los cantones suizos y los Estados alemanes cuyas confederaciones, lejos de inspirar recelos á sus vecinos, son por ellos consideradas como una garantia de orden y de paz para la Europa entera.

"Sirvase V. E. dar las gracias en nombre del Gobierno de S. M. á los representantes de las republicas americanas que le autorizaron para transmitir, como escepcion honorifica para nosotros el proyecto de Dieta, haciéndoles partícipes de los sentimientos espresados en este Despacho, y asegurándoles que ninguna nacion forma mas ardientes votos que esta para que aquella sea una verdad y para que una vez realizada contribuya al mayor esplendor y bienestar de la raza española en América."

De Real orden lo traslado á V. E. para su conocimiento y efectos oportunos, remitiendole copia del Despacho No. 20 del Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. M. en Washington y del proyecto de Confederacion de las republicas americanas.

Dios gue á V. E. ms. as.

Madrid 22 de Marzo 1856.

JUAN DE ZAVALA.

S[eñ]or Capitan General de la Ysla de Cuba.

Está conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

OFFICE OF THE FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Excellent Sir:

Under this date I say the following to Her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Washington:

"There have been received at this office of the First Secretary [of State] Your Excellency's despatches, marked numbers 18 and 20 and dated the 23d and 28th of last February, giving account of various conferences held at Your Excellency's house by the representatives of the Spanish republics and of the empire of Brazil, with the object of forming a species of confederation or diet to insure their independence, and inclosing in the communication of the 23d the proposed bases agreed upon at one of the meetings.

"This thought of close alliance and mutual defense, in which Your Excellency has taken so much part, cannot but merit the approval of Her Majesty's government, loyally interested in the development of those rich countries which during long centuries belonged to the

crown of Castile, and which have to-day and will always have in common with us the same history, customs, religion, and language. The Spanish republics, agitated by continued and sterile strife, which consumes their vitality and exposes them to the ambition of any strong power which may appear on the American continent, are more concerned than European states would be, to associate in order to make themselves more respected, and to submit their differences to a federative and superior authority in order to eradicate from among them the many germs of discord they now contain.

"Her Majesty's government is also pleased that the spirit of political intolerance which had previously controlled this idea of a Spanish-American Congress should have been laid aside, and that the empire of Brazil, an important nation, of a race akin to ours, and which in the progressive development of her institutions and of her industry is proving to her neighbor republics that monarchy, in the present situation of the civilized world, so far from imposing an obstacle to the liberty and prosperity of peoples, is one of their firmest supports and their most effective protectors, should constitute an integral part, and even be the seat, of the future confederation.

"It is therefore to be desired that the project of which Your Excellency's despatches speak should be realized as soon as possible, with reliance, I doubt not, on the co-operation of the European powers, and very especially of England and France, who, like Spain, would view with satisfaction the consolidation of a stable order of things in America, and of a policy truly national, the product of their common necessities and of their common apprehensions and of an enlightened liberty which, while protecting their system of government and their interests, would serve to link them closer to the Old World and above all to the nation of their origin, which once was called their mother-country, and which yet considers herself, because of the regard which she professes for the Spaniards beyond the seas, an affectionate mother.

"I will not close this despatch without stating to Your Excellency that among the bases of confederation remitted, of which the great majority are acceptable and suitable to obtain the object of this international association, there are some which ought to be considered contrary to the advancement which is so necessary to the American republics and which, moreover, will nowise contribute to assure their legitimate rights nor to remove whatever dangers may arise in the present or more remote future. I will mention to Your Excellency, for instance, that which requires a change of nationality on the part of those who receive concessions for public works, such as railroads and canals; for not only would a condition of this sort deprive the confederated countries of immense capital and considerable elements of wealth, but it should not be lost sight of that companies or private individuals who contribute with their industry and their fortunes to this kind of enterprise

neither promote disturbances nor think it to their interest that they should be promoted; on the contrary, they give the surest guaranties of being identified with the lot of the country to which they carry both their industry and their fortunes.

"Her Majesty's government considers it unnecessary to recommend to Your Excellency to use the greatest tact and the most exquisite prudence in the further steps which may be taken to carry out the idea of alliance, in order not to offend the susceptibility of the Anglo-American Union, in spite of the fact that it can see in the declared project nothing more than an imitation, though imperfect, of the union which the ancient English colonies so brilliantly achieved after their emancipation, and of those which centuries ago were framed by the Swiss cantons and the German states, confederations which so far from inspiring their neighbors with apprehensions are by them considered as a guaranty of order and peace for the whole of Europe.

"Your Excellency will please to convey the thanks of Her Majesty's government to the representatives of the American republics who authorized Your Excellency to transmit the project of the diet, making an honorific exception of us; inform them of the sentiments expressed in this despatch and assure them that no nation entertains more ardent desires than ours that the diet be an accomplished fact, and that, once realized, it should contribute to the greater splendor and well-being of the Spanish race in America."

By royal order I transmit this for Your Excellency's information and suitable purposes, inclosing copy of the despatch number 20 from Her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Washington and the project of confederation of the American republics.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

JUAN DE ZAVALA.

MADRID, March 22, 1856.

To the Captain-general of the Island of Cuba.

A true copy.

II. ESCALANTE TO ZAVALA

LEGACION DE ESPAÑA EN WASHINGTON.

Exmo. Señor.

Muy Señor mío;

En mi comunicacion f[ec]ha 23. del actual, manifesté á V. E. que, fijo constantemente mi pensamiento en asegurar por todos los medios imaginables nuestra hermosa Antilla, nada omitia por mi parte con los Representantes aquí de la America Española, á fin de que conjurasen el peligro que de esta poderosa República amenaza á aquellos Estados y que de otra manera necesariamente llegaría á comprometer nuestras mismas posesiones. Tambien indicaba á V. E. la entrevista tenida entre dichos Señores y el Ministro de Francia, quien me habia pedido le presentase á ellos; las dos reuniones celebradas ya; y por último, la prudencia y tacto con que procuraba conducirme y atendida

mi posicion oficial y las circunstancias de los Gobiernos representados.

Sin descanso en mis gestiones, puedo ahora comunicar á V. E. que ha tenido lugar nuevamente una junta privada, pero mas formal, en mi propia casa, á la cual han asistido los Representantes diplomáticos de Guatemala y S. Salvador, Nicaragua, Costarica, Perú, Venezuela y Brasil, únicos á la sazón en Washington, debiendo contarse igualmente con los de Méjico y Nueva Granada que se hallan ausentes. El resultado de esta larga conferencia ha sido acordar que se proponga inmediatamente á sus Gobiernos la conveniencia de formar una especie de Dieta ó Congreso, en que todos esten representados, y que provea á la defensa de la independencia comun y establezca relaciones de una union estrecha y permanente entre toda la antigua America Española y Rio Janeiro. Conforme al parecer de estos Señores los medios mas eficaces y adecuados para el logro del referido propósito y que deberian ser objeto de la discusion del pretendido Congreso, son las que se apuntan en el adjunto escrito no. 1, el cual han resuelto comunicar por mi conducto solo á España, si bien autorizandome á mi para que en nombre de ellos dé conocimiento verbal del asunto, aunque en concreto, á mis Colegas de Ynglaterra y Francia. Así lo he verificado, creyendo ambos Ministros de grande oportunidad este paso en el presente complicado estado de las cosas.

Todo lo que, como debo, me apresuro á poner en noticia de V. E.
Dios gue á V. E. ms. as.

WASHINGTON 28. de Febrero de 1856.

Exmo Señor, B. L. M. de V. E. su atento seguro servidor,
(firmado) ALFONSO DE ESCALANTE

Está conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

SPANISH LEGATION AT WASHINGTON.

Excellent Sir:

My dear Sir:

In my communication dated the 23d instant I stated to Your Excellency that my thoughts being constantly fixed on the preservation of our fair Antille by all means imaginable, I left nothing undone on my part with the representatives here of Spanish America in order that they might remove the peril which threatens those states from this powerful republic, and which otherwise will necessarily endanger our own possessions. I also reported to Your Excellency the interview between the aforesaid gentlemen and the French minister,¹ who had asked me to introduce him to them; the two meetings already held; and lastly the prudence and tact with which I endeavored to conduct myself in view of my official position and of the circumstances of the governments represented.

Having been unceasing in my exertions, I am now able to communicate to Your Excellency that a private but more formal meeting has

¹ Count de Sartiges.

since taken place at my own house, attended by the diplomatic representatives of Guatemala and San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Peru, Venezuela, and Brazil, the only ones at this season in Washington. The representatives of Mexico and New Granada, who were absent, should likewise be counted on. The result of this long conference has been the determination to propose immediately to their governments the formation of a species of diet or congress in which all shall be represented and which shall provide for the defense of their common independence and establish relations of close and permanent union between all ancient Spanish America and Rio Janeiro. The most effective and adequate measures, according to the view of these gentlemen, for realizing the purpose indicated, and which should be made the object of discussion of the proposed congress, are those which are set down in the inclosed document number 1, which they have resolved should be communicated through me only to Spain, though authorizing me to give verbal information in detail to my colleagues of England and France. So I have done, and both ministers are of the opinion that the step is an exceedingly timely one in the present complicated state of things.

I hasten to inform Your Excellency of all, as is my duty.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1856.

Excellent Sir, Kissing the hands of Your Excellency, I am Your Excellency's respectful and faithful servant,

(signed) ALFONSO DE ESCALANTE.

A true copy.

III. THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Proyecto de una Confederación de los Estados independientes de la America española y portuguesa quedando todos ellos en el pleno goce de su respectiva soberanía y ligados solamente por la defensa comun de todos ellos.

Los obgetos de la Confederación solo serán, hacerse cada Estado mas respetable por la union de todos los Confederados; asegurar asi mas y mas la respectiva independencia, garantizarse mutuamente la integridad de sus territorios, afianzar la paz interior y exterior y estrechar los vinculos de la amistad y las relaciones de comercio que exigen la comunidad de intereses.

Las bases sobre las cuales podria establecerse la confederacion parece que serian las siguientes:

1a. Comprometerse los Confederados á no consentir ninguno de ellos que fuesen atacados por nacion alguna la independencia, ni la integridad [*sic*] de territorio de otro confederado, mirando como enemigo comun al invasor ó al ofensor de cualquiera de los Estados de la Confederacion.

2a. Comprometerse todos á no ceder jamás, ni á enegenar [*enajenar*] ninguna parte de sus territorios, ni á consentir que dentro de sus límites se formen Colonias de naturaleza nacional extranjera, sino que por el

contrario todo colono al establecerse en los Estados Confederados esté obligado á renunciar á la nacionalidad de su origen jurando no reconocer otras leyes, ni otras autoridades, ni otra proteccion que los del Estado en que se establezca.

3a. Comprometerse del mismo modo á no conceder privilegios para hacer caminos, canales, ni obras semejantes, á ciudadanos ó compañías extranjeras, sino en el caso de que dichos ciudadanos ó compañías hagan la misma renuncia de su nacionalidad y contraigan la misma obligación que los Colonos de no reconocer otras leyes, ni otras autoridades, ni otra protección que la del Estado en que se hagan aquellas obras; evitando así que llegue el caso en que estos privilegios sean motivo de reclamaciones de Gobiernos extranjeros.

4a. Para estrechar la union entre los Confederados sería conveniente que serian tenidos los ciudadanos de un Estado en todos los demas como si fuesen nativos de ellos, menos para el desempeño de aquellos empleos que exigen el nacimiento en el Estado.

5a. Cada uno de los Estados que formen la alianza podría tener un representante permanente en la Côte de Rio Janeiro, en donde se debería reunir la Dieta de la Confederacion á la cual pertenecería el arreglo de todos los negocios de interés y de beneficio general.

6a. En las discusiones que ocurriesen entre uno y otro Estado de los Confederados procurará la Dieta que se transijan las diferencias amigablemente, evitando con el mayor empeño que se turbe la paz entre los aliados, y tratando de qe. reyne entre todos la mas perfecta armonia.

7a. En el caso no esperado de que ocurra algun motivo de desavenencia entre uno de los Estados confederados y una Nacion extranjera, la Dieta examinará la cuestion observando los principios de una estricta justicia; y si hallase que el Confederado no tiene razon, procurará que ceda sus pretenciones, ó dé la satisfacción que sea debida; pero siempre resistiendo que se exija del Confederado lo que no sea justo, y lo que se oponga á los intereses de la Confederacion.

Esta conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

Project of a confederation of the independent states of Spanish and Portuguese America, all of them remaining in the full enjoyment of their respective sovereignty and allied only for the common defense of them all.

The objects of the confederation shall only be to make each state more respected by the union of all the confederates; to insure in this manner more and more their respective independence; to guarantee mutually the integrity of their territories; to assure internal and external peace and to bind closer the ties of friendship and the relations of commerce which the community of interests demands.

The bases on which the confederation might be established would seem to be the following:

1st. The confederates to bind themselves not to consent, any of them, that the independence or integrity of the territory of another shall be attacked by any nation, and to treat the invader or offender of any of the states of the confederation as a common enemy.

2d. All to bind themselves never to cede or to alienate any part of their territories nor to consent that colonies of foreign nationality shall be formed within their limits; but on the contrary that every colonist on establishing himself in the confederate states shall be obliged to renounce the nationality of his origin and take an oath to recognize no other laws, nor other authority, nor other protection than those of the state in which he settles.

3d. To bind themselves likewise not to concede privileges to make roads, canals, or similar works to foreign citizens or companies unless these citizens or companies renounce their nationality in the same manner and contract the same obligation as the colonists to recognize no other laws, nor other authority, nor other protection than those of the state in which they undertake such works; thus preventing these privileges from giving rise to claims on the part of foreign governments.

4th. To draw closer the union of the confederates it would be appropriate to declare that the citizens of one state should be regarded in all the others as if they were natives of them, except for the discharge of those employments which require birth in the state.

5th. Each of the states forming the alliance should be entitled to have a permanent representative at the court of Rio Janeiro, where the diet of the confederation should meet, to which should belong the determination of all matters of general interest and benefit.

6th. In the disputes which arise between one state and another of the confederation the diet will contrive to bring about an amicable settlement, avoiding with the greatest concern any disturbance of the peace between the allies, and endeavoring that the most perfect harmony shall reign among all.

7th. In the event, which it is hoped might not occur, that some cause of disagreement should arise between one of the confederate states and a foreign nation, the diet will examine the question, observing the principles of strictest justice, and, should it find that right is not on the side of the confederate, it will endeavor to cause it to yield its claim or to give the satisfaction which is due; but resisting in every case a demand on the confederate which is not just and which is contrary to the interests of the confederation.

A true copy.

4. *Letter of Stephen R. Mallory, 1861*

THE following letter, the manuscript of which is at present in the possession of the managing editor, was addressed by Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Davis, to some friend in Florida. The name of the person to whom it was

addressed has been cut from the manuscript. From internal evidence and from the fact that, with the exception of the last paragraph and the signature, it is written in the handwriting of a clerk, it may be inferred that it was one of several copies sent out by Secretary Mallory for purposes of local vindication.

Stephen R. Mallory, born in the island of Trinidad in 1813, was United States senator from Florida from 1851 to 1861. When secession began he was chairman of the Senate committee on naval affairs. Throughout the existence of the Confederacy he was its Secretary of the Navy. He died in 1873.

MONTGOMERY ALA. Mar. 22. 1861.

My dear sir,

Though busily engaged in organizing the Navy Department here and aiding to launch our new Ship of State, I have desired for several days to write you and have stolen an hour this Sunday morning to do so. As it specially concerns myself however I must apologize in advance for what I fear may prove tedious if not an infliction upon you, but I have determined to state facts to honorable men here and there in our State, as my time may admit of, whose judgment I respect and whose confidence irrespective of private friendship I am of course solicitous to obtain. *You are one of these.*

It was my good fortune in Washington throughout my last term there and up to the day of my departure to cooperate with the Senators from the Border States, (in caucus) and with other good and true men in advancing the common interests of our Section. On opinions as to the course of the Buchanan Administration, and as to those which it was expedient for the Seceding States to pursue there was a happy unanimity.

Pensacola was an interesting point, and with regard to our course there I was frequently brought into action, receiving as I did telegraphic news from Chase¹ in command there, and from other friends and laying these before our Southern friends in caucus.

It was a fatal error not to have taken "*Pickins*".² I did what I could to bring this about, I telegraphed Gov. Perry³ and Major Chase both upon the subject and also a friend in Pensacola and from thence Capt Bright of the Guard sent him a telegraphic request for permission to take it. He may not have received either, but at all events he acted from the best lights in his possession and let that pass. When the U. S. forces moved into Pickins, Chase telegraphed me he could not take the work without assault at an immense sacrifice of life and total annihilation of the garrison. I at once showed it to my colleague Mr. Yulee

¹ Colonel William H. Chase, commanding the Florida forces at Pensacola; formerly an officer of engineers in the United States army.

² On Lieutenant Slemmer's move from Fort Barrancas to Fort Pickens, see Lieutenant-colonel J. H. Gilman's article, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor", in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I. 26-32.

³ Governor M. S. Perry of Florida.

and every Senator of the Border States. Upon full consultation it was unanimously agreed to send a telegram to Chase telling him that the capture of the work was not worth in the then condition of affairs one drop of blood.

The Senators of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi [*sic*], Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas and Florida signed it and the *original* I have,¹ but Chase had no idea of assaulting it beleiving [*sic*] it to be madness to do so. As Chairman of the Naval Committee I was of course kept advised more or less of the designs of the Navy Department, and I thus learned that four Ships of War were ordered to Pensacola, with heavy batteries.² Upon inquiring I found they were ordered to sail into the Harbor lie close to the Fort and cooperate with it. I knew that Barrancas and McRae were reported by Chase to be untenable, that the few heavy guns were spiked and dismounted, that he could not raise a finger to prevent the entrance of these ships, and that if even he could it would entail upon us the firing of the first gun, and ensure the destruction of these works and the Navy Yard.

Hence after full consideration with our Southern Senators, I exerted every argument with the President and Secretary to keep them out at Sea, and at last by asserting boldly that we would raise said batteries and sink them at their anchors, that their coming in was a warlike menace, That I would man and fire the first gun myself etc etc. I got them to countermand their orders and to render this secure I induced the Secty to sent Capt Barron U. S. Navy³ with me to Pensacola, who proceeded to every ship as she came in sight of the Port and warned her off.⁴ Thus they were kept out and we were not demoralized by their presence, and they are still with two additional vessels at sea off the Port. But for this these ships would have entered the Port unmolested.

On my way home⁵ I saw by the telegraphic news that the Brooklyn was ordered with troops to reinforce "Pickins".⁶ This I know was not the work of the President or Secretary, but of Holt and Scott. I went at once to Chase and asked him whether he could prevent the reinforcement and he answered me that he could not and would not attempt it. I knew he could not from the location of the Fort and their command of the sea. But I also knew that its reinforcement in the face of the thousand troops we had on our side would be a triumph to the enemy, and in connection with a few friends I sent a dispatch to Slidell Hunter

¹ The telegram, dated January 18, 1861, is printed in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, I. 445.

² Apparently three of the four ships referred to were the *St. Louis*, *Sabine*, and *Macedonian*. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, IV. 5, 9, 62.

³ Samuel Barron, afterward Commodore C. S. N.

⁴ Barron's orders, January 21, 1861, are in *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 66.

⁵ Senator Mallory took his formal departure from the Senate on January 21.

⁶ January 21. *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 66.

and Bigler,¹ (supposing my colleague had long before left Washington,) calculated to alarm the President and induce him to countermand the order. I stated that we would resist it in every way we could to the last and it was a useless menace, bravado and insult and might provoke instant war—and was inconsistent with the Presidents declaration to me and others in favor of *Peace*. This had its effects. The President ordered the soldiers to remain on board the Brooklyn, upon Chase's assurance that he would not assault the Fort which as Chase had determined not to attack it, and to resign his command rather than do it, he readily gave. Chase being of the opinion that we had but two means of taking it both involving a large force and guns of calibre we had not. The point was thus gained the troops kept out and they are still at sea. In this matter Chase is of course entitled to the credit for I could not go beyond preparing the way, being only a full private.

When my colleague passed through Charleston, he sent me a telegram asking me whether 50 000 lbs of powder could be loaned to S. Carolina, to be returned on demand.

I presume he telegraphed me rather than Gov. Perry because he was aware that I had privately ascertained the amount and value of ordnance stores at the Yard. I showed his dispatch to Chase representing the Governor and asked him what I should reply, he told me to say that it could be spared and he would aid in sending it on if the Governor (Perry) would authorize him. My Colleague had requested me to reply to Gov. Pickens and I did so at once, that Chase said the powder could be spared, and that if he would get an order for it from Gov. Perry and send it to Pensacola, I if received there would aid in forwarding it. I heard nothing more on that subject until I recently learned from Gov. Pickens that he had the powder by Gov. Perry's order.

When in Washington we saw that Southern Naval men began to resign and we all saw that by this course we could get no ships and we the Southern Senators deemed it best to advise those who sought advice to try and get a command before resigning. But one man applied to me a personal friend just from a long cruise and *not* entitled to command.² I at once got him a command afloat at Key West, he notified me that he could not leave his family at Pensacola to go to Key West. I replied, "I have had your head quarters changed to Pensacola hold on yet." I then arranged to have his vessel ordered to report to him at Pensacola, but the same day he resigned by Telegraph. I did not and ought not tell him my plan or motive but if he had taken my advice, we would at least have had one vessel, Whereas of all the Navy we have none except an unrepared vessel at Pensacola.

¹ Senators from Louisiana, Virginia, and Pennsylvania respectively. The telegram is printed in *Official Records, Armies*, I. 354; their reply in *Official Records, Navies*, IV. 213. The consequent orders of Secretaries Holt and Toucey are printed *ibid.*, 74, and *Armies*, I. 355, and Curtis's *Buchanan*, II. 464.

² Note in original, in Mallory's hand: "The late Commander Wm. L. Brent—native of Md."

When our State seceded Moreno (Marshal) my brother in law;¹ and Baldwin at Key West sent me in their resignations to do with as I pleased.

At the same time the members of the Legislature and Convention telegraphed to me, not to submit them as they wanted these gentlemen, as good and true State Rights men as ever breathed to hold on until the State could assert her authority at Key West, and thus assist the State to assert her authority, and thus they did hold on to 4th. of March, not for their own benefit, but for the Public good.

And now my dear Sir why you may ask have I troubled you with these details and I reply that I have within a few days, learned that Genl. Morton and Mr. Blount the two leading lights of the K. N. Party of St. Rosa Co. have sought to create the impression in Tallahassee upon the minds of honorable men that I was not sufficiently sound upon Southern Rights and that they have given as specifications the very acts and doings of mine which I have thus recited and of which I am justly proud, and all and every of which I rejoice to have been able to do. Of course they must have presented them by the lights of their own dark lanterns or men like you and others would have seen them in their real and true light. I kept clear of Montgomery wanting to be let alone in my career of *full private* and determined to fill no other part under our Government and I was unwilling by coming here to give any ground for presuming that I wanted Station or position. Mr. Davis and I have long been personal friends. By telegraph he invited me to a seat in his Cabinet. I resolved at once not to take it and came to say that though I could not accept of any Public position, I would cheerfully give his Secretary of the Navy all the aid in my power, from time to time in the organization [sic] or conduct of his department. Upon reaching here I learned from him that not only had he sent in my nomination but that it was opposed by two of Florida's delegation.² Of course I could not carry out my purpose and withdraw in the face of unknown opposition. Next day I learned that these gentlemen (Anderson was not here) opposed me upon the precise ground I have related, disclaiming all personal grounds. This opposition of Mortons needed but to be seen to be despised, as to Mr. Owens, I had never before met him but once, when he favorably impressed me. And I know he only saw the matter as Morton presented it, but Morton from mental and physical structure

¹ Senator Mallory had married the daughter of Señor Moreno of Pensacola. Fernando J. Moreno was marshal for the southern district of Florida. John P. Baldwin was collector of customs at Key West.

² In the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, Florida was represented by J. Patten Anderson, Jackson Morton, and James B. Owens. When President Davis nominated Mallory to be Secretary of the Navy, February 25, the nomination was, on motion of Morton, referred to the committee on naval affairs. In the final vote on confirmation, March 4 (36 yeas, 7 nays), Florida voted thus: yea, Anderson; nay, Morton and Owens. *Journal*, I. 85. 95, 105, 106.

and from political rancor long indulged toward me, remembering perhaps the result of his Know Nothing career, his shiboleth of Americans must rule America etc. and my course in the opposition and with that sort of chuckleheadedness which distinguishes all he says, could not do justice to a political adversary. When Anderson reached here, he spoke to me like a man and in five minutes comprehended Morton's conduct and mine. Mr. Owens has since personally sought from me an explanation of the whole matter and now sees it, I believe, in the light of truth. But I will not tire you further. At Washington the Senators of the Border States acted together, with those of Virginia in gaining time for preparation, time to quit the old concern, to launch our Ship of State, to cut away the boats throw the Jonas overboard. Nail our flag to the mast and establish our Government without bloodshed unless compelled to shed it by honor or Safety, was their determination. In full view of the field before them, They sent Chase the dispatch in question. I have the original signed by them all, including Davis and Wigfall. But this Dispatch gave special displeasure to Messrs Blount and Morton, men who ran as Submissionists against our Secession Candidates and were elected with the full Submission ticket from the two extreme western countries [*sic*]. I write this because first every act, vote and speech of mine in Congress is before the World and I challenge their examination, and Secondly I want you and every other man to know that in each and every act deed and word of mine upon this Secession question and the Policy towards the Forts or otherwise of the South I am proud of. And I feel I would have been recreant to my duty had I not pursued the path I did. My making a truce, as it is called is the sheerest claptrap ever uttered by lying demagogue. *How* could I make a truce? I had neither authority or command, or public position, but was a full private. What I did was to give the Administration a fright and induce them to propose terms to Chase to keep troops out. And Chase assumed them and nobly and publicly avers now all the responsibility.

In conclusion you will concur with me that the publication of these matters could do good only to our Northern enemies. But for this consideration they would have been spread about in our newspapers. Every man who ventures to climb moral[ly], physical[ly] or intellectually makes himself a tempting mark for the shafts of envy, hatred or malice to practice on. I have realized this perhaps neither more or less than thousands and have been as little deterred by it. Attacks thus originating and guided by falsehood, like the dirt on the wheels of the Locomotive, are penalties paid by progress and they should as little regard it. But yet I am solicitous to be understood rightly by all men of honor, truth and virtue and hence I write thus frankly to you, a trespass upon your time and attention which I sincerely hope you will excuse.

Very truly and respectfully yours

S. R. MALLORY.

5. *Letter of Grant to his Father, on the Capture of Vicksburg, 1863*

THE original of this letter is owned by Hon. Curtis Guild, sr., of Boston. It is brought to our attention by Professor Lawrence B. Evans, of Tufts College. Though it may be said to contain no new historical fact, the simplicity and directness with which it treats of great achievements must be thought characteristic and engaging.

VICKSBURG, July 6th 1863

Dear Father,

Vicksburg has at last surrendered after a siege of over forty days. The surrender took place on the morning of the 4th of July. I found I had continuously underestimated the force of the enemy both in men and Artillery. The number of prisoners surrendered was thirty thousand and two hundred. The process of parolling is so tedious however that many who are desirous of getting to their homes will escape before the paroling officers get around to them. The Arms taken is about 180 pieces of Artillery and over 30000 stand of small arms. The enemy still had about four days rations of flour and meat and a large quantity of sugar.

The weather now is excessively warm and the roads intolerably dusty. It can not be expected under these circumstances that the health of this command can keep up as it has done. My troops were not allowed one hours idle time after the surrender but were at once started after other game.

My health has continued very good during the campaign which has just closed. Remember me to all at home.

ULYSSES

[*Indorsement:*] This is an autograph letter from my son Ulysses S. Grant Lt Gen U. S. A.

JESSE R GRANT

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty. A Statistical Study in History and Psychology. By FREDERICK ADAMS WOODS, M.D.
(New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. viii, 312.)

THE author prefaces his treatise by saying that there has been much discussion concerning the relative importance of heredity, environment and free will in determining the intellectual and moral qualities of the individual; but that this discussion has led to no definite conclusions because no one of these possible sources of power has been studied with sufficient fullness of detail. A more searching and complete investigation is desirable because if it can be shown that heredity is a more potent force in the moulding of human character and achievement than the accidents of surroundings, we shall be better qualified to determine what ought to be done and what can be done in the solution of some perplexing race and social problems.

Concerning the great mass of mankind, however, no such investigation is possible. It is one of the commonplaces of some schools of philosophical historians that stirring times, favorable opportunities, acute crises produce great geniuses. But they also produce many millions of mediocrities. And some critical periods pass without raising up Mohammeds and Luthers. Until the pedigrees of great groups of men have been tracked several generations and the mental and moral values of each unit in these pedigrees be approximately stated, until from data so obtained it be discovered that no formulas for heredity can be derived, and until, in case such formulas can be derived, it is proven that the appearance of geniuses, imbeciles and degenerates is not in accordance with the expectations raised by those formulas, then and not until then, will it be possible to assert in any given case that heredity is not a controlling influence.

The royal families of Europe constitute the only field where the material for the study of these questions can be had in sufficient quantity. Even here, however, one is led now and then into a blind alley, for in the construction of genealogical charts of many royal persons of modern times, one comes upon names in the family tree which have to be marked "obscure", names about whose bearers nothing definite can be ascertained. Wherever possible, however, these persons are graded twice, in this work, in the scale of 10, once for character and again for intellect. These grades are arrived at by averaging the judgments given in the great biographical dictionaries and certain standard historical treatises.

At first blush this method of formulating judgments seems unlikely to secure results of sufficient definiteness and accuracy; especially when, casting the eye down the lists, one observes grouped in grade 5 for intellect, Louis XVI. of France, Emperor Leopold II., a clever, cautious politician, Emperor Rudolf II., a dull bigot, Frederick William IV. of Prussia, who whatever his limitations as a man of action, was remarkably gifted in many ways, and the late Emperor Frederick of Germany. Again, any rating for morals which puts Frederick William I., Frederick the Great, and the Great Elector of Prussia in grades 3, 4, and 5 respectively and accords to Emperor Francis II. of Austria the distinction of 7, seems open to grave question.

However, the arrangement of the broad classes of geniuses, imbeciles, lunatics, degenerates and mediocrities is a simpler and easier matter than these more sharply drawn classifications, and in the main suffices for the author's enquiry.

Applying this broad classification to the pedigrees of the royal personages under review, the author concludes that the results obtained correspond in the main with Galton's law based on certain physical attributes in animals, that heredity accounts more satisfactorily for the appearance of genius or the reverse than environment or opportunity, that the inbreeding of families may be beneficial when the stocks can be graded high and are free from taint, that great power of mind and high character are more often found associated than separate, that the able and the noble are more apt to have numerous offspring than the intellectually feeble and the morally degraded, pointing thus to the survival of the fittest and the elevation of the race. Even if his conclusions be accepted in full, however, environment remains a force to be reckoned with. Doubtless some genius now and then breaks the leashes of circumstance as fast as they are laid upon him, with no apparent loss in the development of his speed. Others get into the running only occasionally. And it is scarcely open to question that others never shake themselves loose from these bonds at all.

The author has done his work with skill and good judgment and his book will be especially profitable for reproof and instruction to political doctrinaires of every school.

Études Sociales et Juridiques sur l'Antiquité Grecque. Par GUSTAVE GLOTZ. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1906. Pp. 303.)

THE protection of life, property, and race purity belonged at first to the clan (*genos*). The parricide, the adulteress, and the erring maid were left to the anger of the clan gods—the only gods there were. They became by excommunication outcasts, unless they proved their innocence by an appeal to the ordeal, or judgment of god. The killing of a foreigner, on the other hand, started a feud, or war between the clans, which could be ended only by the blood-covenant. Then, in the Greek Middle

Ages, a change came about, and the clan law was extended with the clan gods to the whole community. Thus the pollution, which earlier involved only the clan of the fratricide, if it failed to cast him out now affected the whole city, and this religious idea armed the state with the authority needful for the punishment of the murderer. So M. Glotz (pp. 1-67; 277-300). The reader is impelled to ask: Is it true that two views of early Greek development—the Sophists' opposites—are equally tenable, the one making men gregarious (*ζῶα πολιτικά*) at the start, the other presenting them to us in family groups, solitary like beasts of prey: the one making the brotherhood (*phratry*) the chief minor group of the political herd, the other regarding the clan (*genos*) as originally a state in itself: the one letting the brotherhood disintegrate and the clans rise in its midst through the accumulation of property in the hands of a few, the other seeing in the later nobles *all* the earlier citizens, the serfs being immigrants or conquered peoples? If it is true that these two opinions can be maintained by equally conclusive arguments, then historians will do well to withdraw from this field altogether. If it is not true, the reader must insist that a Socrates—say in the person of Eduard Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altertums*, II. 79 ff.; 291 ff.; *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, II. 517 ff.)—is required to interrupt M. Glotz's facile exposition, and ask him some questions. How came it that the clan had nothing whatever to do with the enforcement of the criminal law of Draco? The clans coalesced in the Greek Middle Ages (after Homer): in a few generations this amazing revolution (p. 287) took place. What were men doing in the thousands of generations prior to 800 B.C.? What great force came into Greek life in the Middle Ages that was not previously operative? Homer, it must be remarked, knows no isolated clans. Was not Alcinoos' people divided into thirteen tribes and fifty-two brotherhoods (pp. 239 ff.)? Were the clans isolated when the mountaineers, marshalled in the three Doric tribes (p. 223), conquered the Peloponnese? Did they lack community of action in the Mycenaean Age, when the great road was built from Mycenae to Corinth, and Cnossus ruled the seas? Perhaps their day belongs before 1500 B. C. If so, M. Glotz should have operated with Schrader's *Lexicon*, and not so much with those will-o'-the-wisps, Greek myths. To the reviewer M. Glotz seems to have exaggerated the autonomy of the clan in the seventh century B. C., and to have projected it backwards to the age of origins. He certainly contradicts himself in his description of the decline of *la solidarité familiale* in Athens. On page 50 he affirms that in classic times the initiative in a murder case must come from the relatives of the slain man, while in his fine apology for the study of Greek public law (p. 292), he properly credits Solon with the removal of this restriction. What a difference that makes! Is it right none the less to insist upon the importance (p. 289) of the family in Greek criminal law?

The other essays in the volume deal with the Ordeal (novel and suggestive), the Oath, the Exposure of Children (a sympathetic treatment

in the manner of Duris of Samos), Navy and City from Epos to History, a very pretty edifice which, however, rests on sand so long as the general and exclusive prevalence of the three Doric and the four Ionic tribes is not proved (*cf.* Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad.*, 1906, p. 71), the Olympic Games (a graphic and fascinating description). The disquisition on the Oath seems to the reviewer a solid contribution to Greek public law.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Questions d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Chrétienne. Par JEAN GUIRAUD. (Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1906. Pp. 304.)

UNDER this rather pretentious title M. Guiraud publishes eight essays of very unequal length and merit, and with no discoverable principle of unity except, perhaps, a permeating gratulatory sense of the infallibility of the Roman Church. The questions *d'archéologie* reduce themselves actually to a panegyric on the great "founder of Christian archaeology," de Rossi, and an essay on "L'Esprit de la Liturgie Catholique." The former is an appreciative but entirely obvious review of some of de Rossi's chief discoveries in Roman archaeology: there is not a sign of a critical discussion of a *question d'archéologie*. The latter is simply a review of Dom Fernand Cabral's *Le Livre de la Prière Antique* (Paris, 1900).

It fares somewhat better with the *questions d'histoire*, which include essays on the morals and the liturgy of the Cathari, on the repression of heresy in the Middle Ages, on St. Peter's visit to Rome, on Roman relics in the ninth century, and on St. Dominic's independence of St. Francis in the cult of poverty. Here again it is difficult to discover any *question* in most of the essays. The one on St. Peter at Rome, for example, simply restates the testimony of the fathers from Clement of Rome down to Hippolytus, concluding with the rather humorous confession that the pages are a work of supererogation, since the fact of Peter's Roman residence "n'est plus contesté que par quelques retardataires du protestantisme et du vieux-catholicisme." The phrase is suggestive of the tenor of the whole book: it could enlighten only "retardataires". The essay on "Les Reliques Romaines au IX^e Siècle", which by its title might lead one to expect some discussion of *questions d'archéologie*, is simply the amusing story of deacon Deusdona, the Roman agent for supplying ultramontane monasteries with saints' bones, translated from the *Monumenta Germaniae* (Script., XV., p. 240 *et seqq.*). The author devotes but twelve pages to the interesting question (raised by Sabatier) of the dependence of St. Dominic on St. Francis in his ideas of poverty. He dismisses the enumeration of the goods of the Dominicans in the bull *Religiosam Vitam* (March, 1218) as simply some tithes given by the Church to "the poor" of the monastery of Prouille. But in these few pages the author gives us only an abstract of the arguments already furnished to historical scholars in the lamented Balme's *Cartulaire de St. Dominique*.

The discussions of the morals and the liturgy of the Cathari are interesting, especially the careful comparison of the ceremony of the Consolamentum with the sacraments of penance and baptism in the Christian Church. In this essay the author comes nearest to constructive critical work on a *question d'histoire chrétienne*.

Unfortunately the first essay in the book, "La Répression de l'Hérésie au Moyen Age", is not free from slight misrepresentation of the thirteenth-century heresies, for the larger vindication of the confessed "draconienne" severity of the Inquisition. While rightly calling our attention to the fact that the Church was called upon to exercise that protection of society which to-day falls to the care of the state, the author attempts to strengthen his plea for the necessity of Rome's cruelty by confounding all the heresies under the worst type ("la plupart [des hérésies] se sont inspirées plus ou moins directement du manichéisme," p. 15). Surely it is an unpardonable exaggeration to say that the Waldenses spread "des doctrines aussi dangereuses pour l'organisme sociale" (p. 24), in the face of what we know of the Waldensian principles and of the distinct testimony of their adversary Capocci that they were "longe minus perversi comparatione aliorum haereticorum".

But it is only in rare instances that M. Guiraud's book offers any opportunity for "reviewing" in the sense of the examination of theses and conclusions. It is rather edifying than critical in purpose—and its title is ludicrously misleading.

D. S. MUZZEY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Political History of England. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. In twelve volumes. Volume I. *The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest*. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., Litt.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxii, 528.)

THE first volume of *The Political History of England*, now in the process of publication, deals with early Britain, the Britain of the Celt, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Dane. It is peculiarly fitting that the learned historian who has written so entertainingly of *Italy and Her Invaders* should be chosen to write the story of the many invasions of Old England. Furthermore, Dr. Hodgkin's extensive knowledge of the earlier Middle Ages and his sympathetic attitude toward the Germanic race as a whole enable him to look at English history from a point of view somewhat different from that of Lappenberg or Freeman. We have, therefore, in this volume a shifting of emphasis and a slight change of historical content. Particularly does the author emphasize the fact that Saxon England, instead of passing through a peculiar development almost undisturbed, was profoundly affected by movements originating elsewhere in Europe.

In the first pages the author goes back to the earliest appearance of man in Britain and describes conditions as they were before the coming of Caesar; but as neither the Stone-worker nor his successor the Celt left any records of much value to "political history" this discussion is necessarily brief. On the other hand, the story of the Roman conquest and occupation is told with a great variety of details in seventy pages out of a total of less than five hundred. Next follows an interesting discussion of the sources dealing with the Anglo-Saxon invasion, with the usual meagre results. An effort is made to tell the whole tedious story of the interminable quarrels that make up the first four centuries of Old English history, but when the author reaches the eighth century he wisely refrains from continuing the detailed account. In these chapters the emphasis is placed on the activities of the Church, not so much as a civilizing force, but as a power that made for national unity. When we come to the accession of Egbert we are surprised to find that the work is already more than half finished. The remainder of the book gives a large place to that other and greater unifying force, the Norse migration.

Of the many problems that the student meets in this period, Dr. Hodgkin attempts to solve but a very few. He believes that Caesar landed at Deal rather than at some port west of Dover (p. 24). Without attempting to fix the date when the Anglo-Saxon conquest began, he is inclined to believe that the first effort to conquer and settle was made in 441; the earlier expeditions were mere piratical raids (p. 106). He discredits the story that the Germans were called in to help fight the northern tribes, and attributes the migration to the fear of Attila (p. 109). The British patriot Arthur was in all probability merely a Romano-British general, as native kingdoms could hardly have sprung up so soon after the Roman occupation (p. 107). Dr. Hodgkin does not agree with Professor Freeman that the native population was to any great extent exterminated; on the contrary he is prepared to "accept and glory in the term Anglo-Celt rather than Anglo-Saxon, as the fitting designation of our race" (p. 111).

Recent English writers, notably Sir James Ramsay, have begun to see that the overlordship of Egbert was a relatively unimportant matter, as we have no evidence that it was exercised or even claimed by his immediate successors. This view is accepted and stated quite forcibly in the present work. The author holds, it seems, the apparently correct view that the founder of England was Alfred the Great. The old statement that the treaty of Wedmore made Watling Street a boundary line is again refuted. Dr. Hodgkin also appears to see that in Alfred and Guthrum's *frith* the boundary (as Dr. Steenstrup pointed out some years ago) is drawn to, not along Watling Street (p. 287). He believes, however, that this Street "practically" became the boundary of the Danelaw. A fairly successful attempt is made to show how extensively English territory was actually occupied by Danish settlers, the author's con-

clusions being based largely on the evidence of survivals in the form of place-names (pp. 315-316).

From Dr. Hodgkin's excellent account of Alfred's life and achievements we pass at once to the most unsatisfactory part of the work: England in the tenth century. Though the author makes an effort to trace the expansion of Wessex somewhat carefully, the reader will hardly obtain a clear idea of the territorial gains and losses of each particular period or reign. In the controversy over the claims of the Saxon kings to the overlordship of Scotland, Dr. Hodgkin favors the English contention, though he cheerfully admits that the Scottish submission was of no practical importance (pp. 324-326, 356-357). An interesting suggestion is made with respect to the battle-field of Brunanburh: the author locates it in southern Scotland, at Brunswark in Dumfriesshire (pp. 334-335). The collapse that came in the reign of Ethelred he attributes only in part to the incompetency of that king. "Had Edgar left the country a really strong, well-organized state, it could hardly have gone down so speedily before the assaults of the sea-rovers" (p. 398).

On the institutional side Dr. Hodgkin's work shows very little independent research. In matters of government and land-tenure he follows the "tradition of the elders" as modified by the studies of more recent writers such as Maitland and Vinogradoff. On a few subjects, particularly the origin of the sheriff's office and the formation of the Mercian shires, he inclines toward the views recently put forth by Mr. Chadwick. The suggestion that the hundred may have originated in the "need of grappling with agrarian crime" (cattle-theft) seems original and is at least interesting (p. 427). To identify the staller with the chamberlain (p. 450) is an evident error; on the whole, the author does not seem to realize how extensively Saxon institutions were modified by the Danish conquest.

The narrative is written in Dr. Hodgkin's usual charming and easy, though somewhat diffuse style; his work will delight the general reader, but to the student it will prove a disappointment. On some subjects it is remarkably clear and suggestive; but, in general, too little space is devoted to difficult problems and too much to materials that have little value in serious study. All the old anecdotes that we have read so often are again related and a few more are added from foreign sources, excellent tales, but tales nevertheless. In his attitude toward the sources the author shows that he still retains his sublime faith in the written word; he even displays a kindly feeling toward the Old Norse sagas, though of these he seems to have used only the translation of Snorre's history. In his estimate of men he is charitable and generous, too generous it would seem, particularly in his treatment of such ambitious characters as St. Dunstan and Godwin and Cnut.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Irish History and the Irish Question. By GOLDWIN SMITH. (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co.; Toronto: Morang and Co. 1905. Pp. viii, 270.)

IN two hundred pages of large print Mr. Smith has here given a brilliant narrative of Irish history from the earliest times down to Gladstone's day. To this he has added a chapter on Ireland's political relation to England, and a chapter by another hand on the Irish Land Code. For his narrative Mr. Smith has selected what is most significant and of permanent influence; his selection is usually good. His condensation is masterful. To the French invasion under Hoche, for instance, Lecky gives forty pages; Mr. Smith gives twenty lines; Lecky argues the Fitzwilliam episode in sixty pages; Mr. Smith states it in less than two. Transitions are so skilfully made that the reader makes the leap of a century unawares; there are no dates as sign-posts of his rapid progress. Controversial points are affirmed with a decisiveness which leaves no chance for the hesitation of doubt or the delay of *pro* and *con*. Great men, great deeds, great horrors crowd upon each other with dramatic distinctness. And still the thread of the narrative stands out clearly and binds the whole together. The style has all the vigor and freshness of youth, though the author is past four-score. The sentences are short, crisp, and suggestive. It is interesting and stimulating, but not always impartial or impersonal. The author does not hesitate to judge past history according to his own view of present politics.

"Of all histories the history of Ireland is the saddest." These words open the first chapter, and form the refrain of the whole book. The blame for the "seven centuries of woe" Mr. Smith appears to lay about equally on (a) Nature, (b) Irish character, (c) the Roman Catholic Church, and (d) English greed. (a) Nature made "the theatre of this tragedy" an island densely clothed with woods, which, with the broad and bridgeless rivers, tended to perpetuate the division into clans and prevent the growth of a nation; it also made the English conquest partial only, long, and agonizing. England, with her coal and minerals, and Ireland, with her pasture land, were meant to be commercial supplements of each other, but "Nature made a fatal mistake in peopling them with different and uncongenial races" (p. 294). (b) The Celt has everywhere shown himself "impulsive, prone to laughter and to tears, wanting, compared with the Teuton, in depth of character, in steadiness and in perseverance. He is inclined rather to personal rule or leadership than to a constitutional polity" (p. 3). The circumstances of Irish history have all tended to foster and prolong this notion of personal rule, and make it a means of agitation against government and law. "To set up a stable democracy in Ireland would surely be an arduous undertaking" (p. 222). (c) The existence of the Roman Catholic Church has not merely added religious hatred to race hatred and stirred the Irish to make common cause with England's enemies, but at the present

as in the past is wholly medieval in its influence. "An Irish peasant lad, having been intellectually secluded for seven years at Maynooth, comes out proof against the intellectual influences and advancing science of his time" (p. 219). (d) Under the Restoration Irish interests began to be systematically sacrificed to English commercial greed. "Protectionism was the creed of that dark age" (p. 82). Cut off from manufactures and from trade by English laws made in English interests, the wretched people of Ireland were thrown back for subsistence wholly upon the land, for which they competed with the eagerness of despair, undertaking to pay for their little lots impossible rents. The chapters which follow on Ireland in the eighteenth century,—the Penal Code, the cottier's unutterable misery, the Whiteboy outrages, and the corruption, selfishness, and subserviency of the Irish Parliament before and after 1782,—are the best part of the book. An occasional ray of cheer lights up the general gloom. "Dublin was gay, mansions rose, claret flowed, wit sparkled, the dance went round" (p. 125).

Mr. Smith makes no pretense at original research. His authorities are Bagwell, Froude, and Lecky and half a dozen others whom he mentions in the preface, but whose conclusions he does not always follow. In a book of such brief compass and effective contrasts there are some exaggerations of statement. Grattan's Parliament is condemned too unqualifiedly, and Burke, Wolfe Tone, and O'Connell judged too severely. Overpopulation, due partly to the Church's "inculcation of early marriages, the effects of which may be morally good but are economically perilous" (p. 219), is reiterated (pp. 192, 211) as the chief of Ireland's economic ills. It is not, however, general overpopulation, but the congestion of population in certain districts which is the great evil. No mention is made of the recent attempts to relieve this congestion. In fact Mr. Smith's whole account of the last forty years is very disappointing. It was some forty years ago that he visited Ireland and wrote a book on *Irish History and Irish Character*; it would seem that he has no special interest in, and has made no special study of, Ireland since that day. Gladstone's Home Rule bills, with which he has no sympathy, he dismisses in a few ironical sentences. He tells practically nothing of the great agrarian questions, of England's new solicitude for Ireland, of the substance and working of the great Irish Land acts; nothing of Sir Horace Plunkett's activity and optimism for Ireland in the New Century, nor of his efforts to turn the sentimental Irishman from political agitation back to practical agriculture. Yet these are the very questions of which the student of Irish history and Irish questions will be most anxious to know, and upon which he ought to be informed. Conscious perhaps of this deficiency, Mr. Smith has appended "An Account of the Irish Land Code, by Hugh J. McCann, B.L.," but this is altogether unsatisfactory. It consists for the most part of ill-digested verbatim extracts from the various Land Purchase Acts and the Dunraven Conference; it is legal but not lucid; it lacks the economic point of view

and gives no real insight into the essence and working of these great acts. The reader, leaving the clear path of Mr. Smith's delightful narrative, loses himself in a maze of "present tenancies" and "future tenancies", "statutory terms" and "hanging gales".

As a sketch of Irish history this book is, on the whole, excellent. It will find a natural and worthy place on the shelf by the side of the author's *United States* and *United Kingdom*; its general characteristics are much the same as those of the two earlier books, but it ought to be more serviceable because there is less that is good in brief compass on Ireland than on England or the United States.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Records of the City of Norwich. Compiled and edited by the Rev. WILLIAM HUDSON, M.A., and JOHN COTTINGHAM TINGEY, M.A. Volume I., containing Documents relating to the Government and Administration of the City, compiled and edited by the Rev. WILLIAM HUDSON. (Norwich and London: Jarrold and Sons. 1906. Pp. cxlvi, 456.)

THE activity displayed during the past decade by the municipal corporations of England in the publication of their ancient records is gratifying to students of history. The good example set by London and Nottingham has been followed in recent years by Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Carlisle, Colchester, Doncaster, Dublin, Gloucester, Leicester, Northampton, and Reading. The latest addition to this list of valuable record publications is a collection of documents relating to Norwich, which for scholarly editing will rank with those of Nottingham and Leicester, and which probably excels these in the value of its contents. The first volume, dealing with municipal history, is edited by Mr. Hudson, and this will be followed by a second volume dealing with economic history, the compilation of which has been entrusted to Mr. Tingey.

It would require several pages to give a satisfactory summary of the mass of rich materials collected by Mr. Hudson, extending from the time of William the Conqueror to the close of the seventeenth century. They comprise royal charters granted to the city, plea rolls, a custumal, assembly rolls, deeds enrolled in the city courts, leet and muster rolls, and many other documents. The custumal is particularly valuable, perhaps more valuable than any other code of municipal customs hitherto published in England. It was probably compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and most of it seems to have been of a still earlier date. Its fifty-one chapters relate mainly to the civil and criminal procedure of the city court and to the regulation of trade, but some of the by-laws set forth the qualifications of citizenship, the duties of town officers, and other aspects of municipal administration. Some matters are dealt with concerning which we find little information in other custumals, for example, the action of fresh force and the probate

of wills in the municipal court. Chapter XVIII. indicates that wills were proved in the church court when movables were bequeathed, and in the city court when lands were bequeathed. As wills of burgesses often disposed of both kinds of property, it was a common practice in Norwich and other boroughs to secure probate before both tribunals. The editor, on pages 153 and 296, evidently misapprehends the meaning of the term of forty days mentioned in the chapter of the custumal which describes the action of fresh force. This term did not apply to the time within which the plea must be completed, but to the period following the act of intrusion or dispossession within which the action must be begun (see Fleta, bk. II., ch. 55). In this connection attention may also be called to the misleading explanations of the *essoin* "*de malo veniendi*" and the writ "*ex querela*" on pages 151 and 291; the former is the *essoin* which Glanvill calls "*de infirmitate veniendi*", and the latter is an early reference to the writ "*ex gravi querela*" to recover bequests of *burgage tenements*. Usually however the editor's notes are lucid and free from error.

The introduction contains an excellent account of the history of municipal government in Norwich from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Mr. Hudson fortunately has at his disposal data throwing light on the growth of the governing body of Norwich in the Middle Ages. He shows that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the source of all authority in municipal affairs was a general assembly of the citizens, and that a marked oligarchical tendency is not clearly visible until early in the fifteenth century, when the mass of the commonality allowed the burden of government to rest on the shoulders of their wealthier neighbors, who constituted the board of aldermen. The writers who contend that the government of English boroughs rested on an aristocratic basis throughout the Middle Ages will find it difficult to reconcile the development of Norwich with their theory.

The Corporation of Norwich may well be proud of its ancient muniments and deserves much credit for having spared no expense in making them accessible to historians in a sumptuous and scholarly form befitting their value.

CHARLES GROSS.

Innocent III. La Papauté et l'Empire. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1906. Pp. 306, 4.)

M. LUCHAIRE, who by his excellent works on the early Capetians had made their periods his own in a peculiar sense, has in the last few years pre-empted, though in a somewhat different way, the pontificate of Innocent III. His works on the Capetians, being supplied with the necessary apparatus, and critical notes, and cast in the form of manuals, were written for the student alone. His works on Innocent III., on the other hand, are "popular" in the best sense of that much-abused word. In

this, his latest volume, he makes no reference either to sources or to other works which treat the same subject. Not more than two or three times does he indicate that he differs from others in his interpretation of the documents or in his construction of events. And even in such cases he merely states the fact without attempting either to justify his own position or to show the error of those from whom he differs—a bold procedure, and refreshing in a time which demands that even high-school text-books should contain many pages of “sources” and “literature” in all languages.

Neither does M. Luchaire indulge in a dramatic narrative of events. It is surprising how few historical details are found in his book. And yet his book is a masterpiece of historical writing. By means of a few really important documents he takes his reader to the “high places”, from which he commands a view of the struggle in its different phases. M. Luchaire possesses profound scholarship and the literary sense which characterizes the French. The historian and the artist combined in him have produced a work which is both history and literature—a combination as rare as it is charming. Of all the historical books of the year, it will easily take the first place as delightful reading.

His first chapter the author begins with the statement that the Middle Age was dominated by the belief that over all nations and peoples there must be a chief power, a central universal authority, which was a visible expression of the unity of the whole Christian world. Imperialism was a part of the divine order; the only question was, to whom this high office had been intrusted. To this question two answers had been given. For some time it was agreed that the emperor possessed this supreme power, but in the eleventh century the pope set up a counter claim to it. The dispute over it led to the tremendous struggle between the pope and the emperor. During this struggle both popes and emperors often yielded to the force of circumstances, and made concessions each to the other, so that a third answer seemed to be given to the question stated above: namely, that the government of the Christian world had been confided conjointly to pope and emperor, who must work together in harmony. Unfortunately, experience quickly showed that harmony between two universal sovereignties was impossible.

It was the great good fortune of Innocent that during the first ten years of his reign there were rival candidates for the German crown, neither of whom was able to get possession of all Germany, and both of whom were willing to make large concessions to the pope in order to gain his support. Innocent remained neutral for three years in order to have the opportunity to destroy the imperial government which Henry VI. had built up in Italy and Sicily, and to re-establish the papal government in its place. Nothing could have been more opportune for him than this disputed royal election. M. Luchaire recognizes in the document which has hitherto been regarded as the coronation oath of Otto IV. merely the letter in which Otto informed the pope of his election.

The fact that in this letter Otto conceded hardly more than did Philip of Suabia also helps to account for the long delay of Innocent in declaring in favor of Otto. For three years Innocent refused to say which of the two candidates he would support, although he admitted that his mind was made up. He also said that he was sure that that candidate would be successful who should receive the papal favor. The responsibility for the misfortunes of Germany during the long struggle between rival kings must to a certain extent, therefore, be laid to the pope.

In the second chapter the author recounts the vigorous but ineffectual efforts of Innocent to secure the unanimous recognition of Otto. He resents with some fervor the charge that Innocent was not eager to make Otto's success too great. He forgets, apparently, that Innocent after three years of pronounced neutrality could afterward write that his affection for Otto had never grown lukewarm, but had continually sustained him quite up to the time when Innocent had declared in his favor (p. 81). In the third chapter the author develops the chain of events which caused the pope to recede from his position, to desert Otto, and to make terms with Philip. Here too it is impossible not to feel that the pope in his diplomacy overstepped the bounds of truthfulness in his letter to Otto (p. 161). For this letter was written long after he had made up his mind to the inevitable. The fourth chapter traces the change in Otto's policy, his violation of his oaths, his seizure of all the lands in central and southern Italy to which the empire had ever laid claim, and the consequent estrangement between him and Innocent. It contains a good sketch of the conditions prevailing in Italy at the beginning of the thirteenth century (pp. 110 ff.). It ends with the public excommunication and deposition of Otto. The last chapter sets forth the complete triumph of Innocent: Frederick II., a mere tool in his hands, making every concession that he could ask, was established king of Germany. The supremacy of the pope was realized. But for this victory the pope was not indebted to Frederick, whose military successes in Germany were insignificant. It was the work of the French king, Philip Augustus, who by his victory over the combined Guelf forces at Bouvines established Frederick on the throne of Germany, and ended in a great triumph for Innocent the struggle which he had carried on for sixteen years. *Gesta Dei per Francos!*

A few errors should be noted. On page 281 *goulfe* should be *ghibelin*; Brabant is in the northwestern part of the empire, not in the northeastern (p. 178); Gervase of Tilbury (page 12) was a layman, not a cleric. It seems strange that M. Luchaire should accept the speech which Guillaume le Breton puts into the mouth of Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, while properly rejecting that which he attributes to Otto IV., especially since both are found in his *Philippis*, a metrical eulogy of Philip Augustus.

O. J. THATCHER.

Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland. Von DR. MORITZ JULIUS BONN. (Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1906. Zwei Bände. Pp. viii, 396; 320.)

FROM time to time a book comes out of Germany or France or America which so closely concerns England and English interests and yet so far surpasses anything which Englishmen have done in the same line, that it impresses one with a certain sense of unfitness of things and one almost hesitates to attribute to it its full value. This book is of such a character; a work of scholarly thoroughness and impartiality, of inclusiveness of subject and minuteness of detail, and yet of originality and breadth. The author, who has already published a history of the decline of Spain during the revolution in prices in the sixteenth century, has not only studied his materials on the ground in Ireland, as he tells us, during repeated and prolonged visits during a number of years, but he has evidently pondered his subject and its problems maturely and now expresses his results clearly and pleasantly. It is perhaps no loss to his treatment of his subject that he has, as he confesses, felt in his own experience the *verführische Reize des irischen Volkes*.

A book on a subject on which so little of serious value has been written as the history of Ireland can probably best be reviewed by simply giving a statement of its contents. The first volume covers the period from the conquest in the twelfth century to the rebellion of 1641, the second volume brings the account down to the great famine of 1845-1847, and its immediate consequences. The three books of the first volume are devoted respectively to the first or Anglo-Norman colonization, its history and decay; the battle between the English administration and the clan organization in the sixteenth century; and the new colonization in the seventeenth.

The first English conquest and settlement of Ireland was more definite and limited in time than we are perhaps in the habit of recognizing. From May 1169 when the first band of *conquistadores* landed on the southeast coast to March 1172 when Henry II. sailed from Wexford after receiving the submission of all the English and many of the Irish chieftains the original conquest had been completed and the foundations of English administration in Ireland laid. The settlement extended over a longer period. For almost a century and a half, till about 1315, Norman, Welsh and English adventurers, with a sprinkling of Flemings and Jews, came over as members or followers of the early bands of invaders, or in the wake of successive viceroys. But with the early years of the fourteenth century this immigration ceased and the history of the English in Ireland was the history of these men and their descendants until immigration was resumed almost three centuries later, at the close of the sixteenth century.

Dr. Bonn gives a careful description of the political and economic organization of these immigrants and of the Celtic community amidst which they settled. In many ways the body of settlers represented Eng-

lish life—its feudal dues, three-field system of agriculture, the common law—along with English dress and speech. In many other ways it was so deeply modified by the presence of the Irish—the clan-system, Brehon law, military dependents of English and Irish landholders quartered on the free and servile inhabitants, both English and Irish, that the appearance is not of a transplanted England, but of a merely modified native community. On the whole, for its first century and a half the English colony in Ireland might be considered a successful experiment. It was self-supporting and tended to extension and consolidation. Later things did not go on so well. The campaigns of Edward Bruce in 1315 ravaged the land and broke the prestige of English administration; some English colonists left the island and others changed a farming for a hired soldier's life; the Celtic tide flowed in correspondingly, not only in material ways but in speech, dress, law and customs. The old Celtic chieftains rose in power and many English became indistinguishable from those of purely Celtic blood. By 1500 the first English colony may be considered to have almost disappeared, and Ireland to have slipped practically out of the hands of England and out of the domain of English institutions.

Some of the most persistent problems of Irish history, however, go back to this period. The discord between permanent English settlers and temporary officials and adventurers, the uncertainty of the status of the Irish parliament as compared with the English; the contrast between the law, with its prohibition of intercourse between English and Irish, its refusal to recognize Irish land-titles and customs, and its blind adherence to English conceptions, and the actual facts of life, with the ubiquity of Irish blood, customs and ideals—these things not only have their roots in the earlier period but are already full-grown with the first century of the conquest.

With the strong government of the Tudors came a process of reaction consisting in the gradual destruction of the power of the Irish chieftains, the dissolution of the clans, and the partial rehabilitation of the colony. Lapping over these processes, and vastly more significant than they, beginning about 1550 but attaining its full activity only in the reign of James I., came the second great process of colonization. The incentives to this, its methods, its difficulties, its partial success and its essential failure occupy the third book; as the third colonization, that under the Commonwealth, does the fourth, and the rule of the colonists in Ireland since that time does the fifth and concluding book. Dr. Bonn looks upon the history of the English colonization of Ireland as a profound and melancholy failure. The effort to colonize a country already occupied by a self-supporting race was at best a difficult experiment but it was made impracticable and calamitous to both peoples by certain prevailing errors on the part of the colonizing race. Dr. Bonn's work is in essence a study and analysis of all the steps in this process.

We should be glad if the author had given somewhat more narrative

and less analysis. The salient occurrences in Irish history he rather takes for granted than tells. Closely connected with this fact is his disregard of secondary works. It is certainly a good fault to rely too much on primary sources, but it is a fault, and we should be glad to have seen the few good modern works on Irish history more utilized and also listed in some kind of bibliography. A historian should not only tell his own story but acknowledge those who have preceded and assist those who are to follow him. It is also noticeable that English sources and English control of Irish policy are largely neglected. We have not found a reference to the Acts of the English Privy Council, though that body was much occupied with Irish affairs, and we are told much more fully how a policy worked out in Ireland than why it was adopted. The author is rather prone to make comparisons between conditions in Ireland and those in South Africa or India; it is somewhat curious that he sees no occasion for comparison between the contemporary problems of English colonization and the efforts toward their solution in Ireland and in America. But all these are matters in which the author has a right to use his own judgment, and there is no doubt that this book is one of first-rate importance in the largely neglected field in which it lies.¹

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Magellan's Voyage around the World. By ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.

Original text, with translation, notes and bibliography by JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1906. Two volumes, and index-volume. Pp. 273; 313; 88.)

THIS is a separate print, in a limited edition, of the Pigafetta relation as presented in volumes XXXIII. and XXXIV. of the Philippine historical series now being issued from the same Cleveland press. That work also being limited, a separate issue of this first complete version of Pigafetta in English was well justified, while the thorough and painstaking labor of Mr. Robertson as translator and editor have made a place for it in all good historical collections.

The Italian adventurer and cavalier Antonio Pigafetta set out in one of the five ships of Magellan in August, 1519, and was one of the handful of men who survived all the vicissitudes of this the most eventful voyage of history and reached Spain again in the little *Victoria* in September, 1522. His relation of the voyage is by far the best and most authoritative document upon the subject, and was very early recognized as such. Not the same reliance may invariably be placed upon his accounts of native customs in the islands visited, particularly the Philippine Islands; for it seems evident that Pigafetta has mixed with his

¹ We understand that a part of the book has been translated into English and published under the title *Modern Ireland and her Agrarian Problem* (London, Murray, 1906, pp. 172).

own observations and experiences on shore a good deal of hearsay, sometimes gathered from careless witnesses among the soldiers and sailors. However, there is no little material of value in his accounts of the natives seen, and it is all most interesting, even where not to be accepted implicitly.

As stated, this is the first complete version in English of this relation; and it is, moreover, the most complete and accurate presentation of the Pigafetta manuscript and the data appertaining to it that has ever been made in any language. In the introduction and in his excellent bibliography, Mr. Robertson has brought together the most complete array of data on the subject yet available. He has given the history of the four oldest manuscripts of this relation and extracts from them illustrating the variance of the three French manuscripts (from which the early English versions of Pigafetta were drawn); also an account of the early printed versions of this relation in Italian, French and English, dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century; and has justified his adherence to the manuscript in the Ambrosian Library as, though, in all probability, not the original itself, at least the nearest to it and the manuscript from which the other and more or less altered versions were drawn. The Pigafetta relation has suffered, even more than most such documents, from the "editing" of its various versions; even the Amoretti edition of Pigafetta in Italian and French, taken directly from the Ambrosian manuscript as late as 1800, which has commonly passed as authoritative, has an "edited" and altered text, so that Lord Stanley's translation for the Hakluyt Society, besides other defects, was thereby vitiated. In the Italian government publications for the Columbus celebration (*Raccolta di Documenti e Studi*, Rome, 1894) Andrea da Mosto edited the first complete version of the Ambrosian manuscript, but he altered punctuation, spelling, etc. The editor of this version made the transcript himself at Milan, and took pains to preserve the original in literal form, with all peculiarities of abbreviation, punctuation, etc. This text is presented exactly as copied in the work before us, page for page with the translation into English.

In fact, one must repeat the word "painstaking" as the best characterization of the way in which the editor has performed his task; and must add that it was evidently a labor of love and enthusiasm with him. The annotations are most copious, drawing much help from the Mosto edition, and comparing the text passage for passage with the older Paris manuscripts, the Eden version (as published by Arber) and other variant readings. A most elaborately made index accompanies the work.

The volumes are handsomely presented, in silk bindings, on deckle-edged paper, with gilt tops. Pigafetta's charts of the islands visited, more than a score in all, are photographically reproduced from the originals at Milan, and there are other appropriate illustrations.

JAMES A. LeROY.

Jean Calvin: les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps. Par EMILE DOUMERGUE, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Tome III., *La ville, la maison et la rue de Calvin.* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 1905. Pp. ix, 722.)

PROFESSOR DOUMERGUE's third volume bears the entirely deserved mention: "Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française (Prix Guizot)". It is devoted to the town of Geneva, the Geneva of the sixteenth century, out of which Calvin's genius made the bulwark of French Reformation, the first of Puritan states and, in the world of thought, the metropolis of a new, far-reaching Commonwealth.

That town of Geneva began to disappear outwardly, some fifty years ago, when its old ramparts, its gray stony towers, were levelled down by a nineteenth-century government, which thought it advisable to make a clean sweep of everything of the past, and the work of destruction has gone very fast during the last decades under the combined influences of time and architects. To revive the same it really needed the pen of an artist and a scholar like Doumergue, lifted over insuperable difficulties by a powerful, never-failing enthusiasm. For achieving such a task he is entitled to the grateful acknowledgment, not only of the Genevese, but of the students of history everywhere.

The present volume, lavishly illustrated like the others, contains, in quotations of documents, in reproductions of old engravings of scenes, interiors, costumes, even in the reconstruction of perspectives and sites, all that can possibly be placed under the eyes of an inquirer. The whole is worked up with a skill, a mastery of details, a richness of style which I have no more to introduce to the readers of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. To quote an instance of the fullness of information which will be found, I only refer to the chapter, in three parts, entitled: "Calvin's income." No less than a complete essay in economics, concerning especially the relation of prices and values in the middle of the sixteenth century, is here before us. It has enabled the writer to refute victoriously the gross exaggerations, the calumnies, which from Bolsec down to J.-B.-G. Galiffe and even Kampschulte, who did not take sufficient care to scrutinize Galiffe's aspersions on that point, have totally obscured the subject. It is now at last a settled matter. Far from drawing from the town a fat prebend, as was said and repeated, the intellectual ruler of Geneva lived and died, if not in poverty, at any rate in the straitened circumstances which were then the city's own.

This book is at the same time a study in archaeology and in biography. After having shown his readers through Calvin's house, which he had to rebuild for the occasion on documentary evidence, the author gives an impressive and exact account of the reformer's daily life, of his stupendous, never-ceasing work, of the bodily sufferings which made the latter part of his life akin to martyrdom. After having paid his debt to Calvin, he undertakes to give us biographic studies of every one

of Calvin's familiars. The chapters on his relatives, on his friends and especially on his secretaries, Nicholas des Gallars, Jean Budé, Charles de Jonvilliers, Raguenier, etc., are precious, being based on information more complete than any note of previous biographers.

Concerning the reformer himself, Professor Doumergue has honored me with a special chapter answering my last criticism in this REVIEW. We disagree on a question of chronology and of measure as to the part to be attributed to heart-impulses in Calvin's conduct. My learned colleague is bent on making that part a leading one in his hero's public life and even his theology. To the numerous quotations he had gathered from the correspondence of his youth he now adds some new ones from letters of the Genevan epoch to and from his friends and insists upon the devoted feelings he inspired in them up to his last days. I never doubted that Calvin remained sympathetic to his friends, even in those troubled times to which I had to refer. I spoke of historians, who are by duty neither friends nor foes, and who have to judge on facts as well as on formulae. But I do not wish to impose to-day on my American readers the continuation of a controversy which nevertheless will have to be pursued later, when the monumental work of Professor Doumergue receives its last crowning volume, which will bear the announced, promising title: "Struggle and Triumph."

For the present I ought to be contented with quoting the following extracts from the excellent chapter: "Calvin at home" (p. 548), which proves beyond dispute how much the author has progressed in his knowledge of Calvinian psychology by studying him, with the help of luminous medical advice, on the spot:

"Nous constatons cette chose simple, naturelle, nécessaire, à savoir
 "que Calvin a eu le caractère exigé par sa situation exceptionnelle.
 "Certes, pas plus ici qu'ailleurs, nous ne contestons les défauts de
 "Calvin, ni ce côté, cette face de son caractère, qui est l'austérité, la
 "sévérité. Même nous reconnaissons qu'il était nerveux, irritable, très
 "irritable, et que cette irritabilité naturelle était sans cesse augmentée par
 "l'énervement de la maladie, et par l'énervement plus agaçant encore
 "d'une opposition souvent méchante. Nous ne contestons pas davantage
 "qu'un homme de cette énergie, de cette volonté, de cette clarté de con-
 "ception, de cette confiance en la vérité, telle qu'il la concevait, n'ait eu
 "un penchant très naturel à exercer la domination dont il était capable,
 "qui lui était offerte par les circonstances, et qui était indispensable au
 "succès de sa mission et de son œuvre. Mais toutes ces restrictions
 "faites, il n'en reste pas moins que ce qui est incontestable dans le carac-
 "tère de Calvin, c'est la séduction, l'attrait."

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

The Scottish Parliament: its Constitution and Procedure, 1603-1707; with an Appendix of Documents. By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1905. Pp. x, 228.)

Six years ago Mr. Rait in *The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns* drew needed attention to the neglected condition of Scottish constitutional history. His essay has since been supplemented by the informing chapters on Scotland in Mr. Porritt's *Unreformed House of Commons*. Now comes a valuable monograph from Professor Terry. The book contains nineteen chapters (which should have been numbered for convenient reference) and, as an appendix, fifty-six pages of well-chosen documents—all but one from *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*. Here appears the evidence for a surprisingly large portion of the text.

Seven chapters describe the constituent elements of Parliament, especially the representatives of the shires and burghs. Qualifications, distribution, the narrow electorate, the tardy approach of Parliament toward the character of a national representative assembly, to which it never really attained, the influence of the different classes and of the Crown, are all admirably expounded. Concerning shire representation, however, the addition to what Rait and Porritt have said is not extensive. We learn something about electoral methods, proxies, payment of members, etc.; but occasionally, as concerning the acts extending the franchise of 1661 and 1681, the account is clearly inferior to Mr. Porritt's. These and certain other acts should at least have explanatory notes in the appendix. The nature of wadsetters and the exceptional conditions in Sutherlandshire should have been set forth. Of burgh representation the account is on many points, for example on the relations between trade privileges and representation, a distinct improvement upon anything we have heretofore had. There is, however, no map of parliamentary representation.

Valuable chapters follow on the house (here one misses a diagram), officials, ceremonial, and discipline of Parliament. The last subject is well cleared up. New light—still more is needed—is shed upon the "Speaker". On these matters, as well as on the whole subject of parliamentary procedure, Professor Terry far surpasses Mr. Porritt, who uses much of the same material, but with less grasp upon its relations and significance. In fact, beginning with the chapter on the Lords of the Articles come Professor Terry's best results. After cautiously presenting a new and plausible theory concerning the rise of the great committee's power, he shows how heavy its tyranny really was, how the Parliament did not adopt, much less reject, its proposals, but simply observed their transformation into law by touch of the sceptre. On this point Porritt and even Gardiner go wrong, though

a nearly correct view was set forth by Rait and many years ago by Cosmo Innes. Then comes the process by which Parliament threw off its bondage to the Articles, and rose "to a reasonable level of procedure with the English Parliament". There is slight contribution, to be sure, on the two constitutional revolutions. Gardiner, for example, explains the essential facts of 1640, and those of 1689-1690 are well known. What Professor Terry does show is that Parliament made a great advance in procedure in 1640 and the years immediately following and held much of that gain between 1660 and 1689. The evidence for all this is scattered through several chapters, and some minor positions (for example, see the first half of page 146) appear mistaken. Also the more independent procedure of Parliament is not reconciled with its political docility. This illustrates a general limitation of the book—too few explanatory references to political history. Nevertheless, the general contribution of the later chapters is of highly substantial value.

The book ends with a patriotic lament. "Pathetic in other aspects, the Union is tragic in this, that it forever closed the career of Parliament at the moment when, after long preparation, it was ready and able to play a fitting part in the nation's history." All of which is, no doubt, affecting; still it seems possible that Professor Terry and those who share his regret might forget their tears by contemplating the present supremacy of Scotsmen in the British Empire.

JOSEPH PARKER WARREN.

Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution.

(Publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE.) *Louis XIV.:*

La Fronde, Le Roi, Colbert (1643-1685). Par E. LAVISSE.
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1906. Pp. 404.)

As the supplementary title implies, this volume has to deal with the institutional history of France during the period of Louis XIV.'s reign, prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The following is an analysis by chapters. "Livre I., *la Période Mazarine*: Avant la Fronde, La Fronde, Après la Fronde; Livre II., *l'Installation du Roi*: Le Roi, le Premier Ministère, L'État en 1661, L'Offre de Colbert; Livre III., *le Gouvernement économique*: Finances, Travail, Grand Commerce et Colonies; Livre IV., *le Gouvernement politique*: Réduction à l'Obéissance, Lois, Justice et Police; Livre V., *le Gouvernement de la société*: Artisans et Paysans, l'Ordre des Officiers; Noblesse, Clergé."

The fact that this volume is from the pen of the editor-in-chief and projector of the series of which it is a part gives it great interest. The historical world has known that M. Lavissee has been devoting his time for some years past to the reign of Louis XIV. Intimations of this have been conveyed to the public through the medium of essays from his pen bearing upon this period, which have appeared in various reviews from time to time, and M. Lavissee has lectured upon it at the Sorbonne.

The difficulty attending the writing of a history of the reign of Louis XIV. is very great. The magnitude of the politics of that time, the long length of the reign and the vast mass of material to be consulted, are three considerations. But independent of these circumstances, which laborious study may overcome, there is an added difficulty. For, in spite of the enormous mass of literature upon the subject, there is a paucity of essential material for an adequate study of it. At first blush, this statement may seem an exaggeration. Nevertheless it is true. We know much more of the history of the French Revolution or the Napoleonic era—though there are great gaps here—than we know or can know, for a long time to come, of the period of Louis XIV. Thanks to M. Clement's monumental publication of the correspondence of Colbert, supplemented by the work of other scholars, like Depping and Boislisle, the administrative history of Louis XIV. in its larger aspects is known, although M. Lavissee says, "It is impossible to actually give a precise idea of the transformations which have taken place in the government [of France] since the sixteenth century. They are complicated and confused; they have been made by measures of detail which have not been codified." He adds with a tinge of regret: "This chapter can give nothing but an appreciation of what the government was in general appearance."

We know much about the character of cultivated and court society in France during the reign of the Grand Monarque; but on the other hand, we know more of the structure of medieval society, of Roman society, of ancient Egyptian society, than of lower and middle-class society in France in the seventeenth century (p. 323, note).

When we turn to the history of the foreign politics of Louis XIV.'s reign, there is a much greater amount of published material. Yet even here, except in the case of the *Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs*, the investigator has to be guided largely by authorities instead of sources. He may consult Mignet and Legrelle for Spanish affairs; Lefebvre-Pontalis and Lonchay for the Netherlands, Auerbach for Germany, Goedecke for Austria; Reuss for Alsace; Carutti for Savoy; the recent books of MM. Waddington and Pagès upon the Great Elector, and M. Camille Rousset's *Louvois*, and Klopp's *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, a monumental political history of Europe from 1660 to 1714 in fourteen volumes, throughout. But the direct correspondence of Louis XIV.'s diplomatic agents,—Barillon, Lyonne, Colbert de Croissy, Vrillière, Château-Neuf, Louis de Crecy, Harlay Bonneüil, Callières and others, still lies unpublished in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. Prussia is ahead of France in this particular in having the *Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1864—), which Professor Philippson used to such advantage. Ranke and Fox made large use of Barillon's correspondence and printed selections from it, but the body of it is yet unpublished.

It is on the side of English affairs, however, that there is the greatest

void. English scholars have done nothing in years upon the relations of their country to Louis XIV.

Few of the English foreign state papers have yet seen the light, and many have not even been examined in their manuscript form by historians. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, only the Venetian Archives have been explored beyond the year 1600. Ranke made considerable use of the English foreign state papers in writing his *History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*, and the same may be said of Lingard; but the volume of these papers in the Record Office is so great that, under the present circumstances, it is impossible for any student, however diligent, to penetrate the mass of them. Few of them have been printed. There are private editions of the Lexington papers and Grimblot in 1848 published the *Letters of William III. and Louis XIV.* in two volumes. The Camden Society in 1859 published the *Savile Correspondence*, which throws valuable light upon the history of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; in 1874 it published *Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson*, two vols., and Mr. Curran has lately edited the *Despatches of an English Agent in Paris in the Reign of Louis XIV.* for the Royal Historical Society. May one not now hope that balance may be given the *Calendars of State Papers* by resuming the long-arrested publication of those pertaining to foreign affairs, which have yet advanced no farther than 1580, while the *Domestic Calendar* is well down through the seventeenth century?

In the main, the history of the relations of England and France in the seventeenth century is as yet imperfectly known. The Historical Manuscripts Commission has helped somewhat by printing summaries of certain correspondence, as in the case of the two Montagues, Ralph and Charles, dukes of Manchester, each of whom was an ambassador in Paris during the reign of Louis XIV. (1669, 1676, 1699; see *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, I. 193; IV. 245; VI. 316; VII. 207, 418; VIII. 35, 47; X. Part V., 130). The same is true of Vernon, secretary of state in 1698-1699. But the Egerton MSS. and the B.M. Additional MSS. abound in unpublished letters of his. We sorely need a life of the earl of Sunderland; some of his letters are in the Shrewsbury correspondence; others have been published by Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, n. s., vol. V.; and by Harris, *Life of William III.* But there are unpublished letters of Sunderland in B.M. Additional MSS. 28,094, 25,079, 25,082, 25,569. The Skelton papers too ought to be published. Skelton was English ambassador at Vienna and Venice, and warned James II. of William of Orange's designs upon England, being hand in glove with Barillon, Louis XIV.'s ambassador in London. There is a mass of his papers in both the Harleian MSS. and the B.M. Additional MSS. The history of the reign of Louis XIV. needs many more such works as Mignet's mighty compilation of documents upon the Spanish succession.

In the light of all these facts, it may be appreciated how great a

task M. Lavissee has undertaken. That it is admirably done goes without saying. Certainly no other person in France except perhaps M. Émile Bourgeois, the brilliant editor of Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* and of Spanheim's *Relation*, could have done so well. The author has chosen to devote the first volume to a study of the institutions of the reign, reserving political history for the one to follow. This method preserves the unity of the theme and is in harmony with the practice of the preceding volumes. But there are disadvantages in so doing in the present case. Europe was not only intensely interested in the internal affairs of France at this epoch (as M. Lavissee says, on p. 357), but the external politics of France profoundly affected the ways of things within. This is notably true in the case of the relation of the clergy to the king, during the war with Holland; Colbert's commercial policy at home, and independent of his protective tariffs, reacted upon Holland and Venice. In the present volume we see these things in half-face only.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Les Deux Frances et leurs Origines Historiques. Par PAUL SEIPPEL. (Lausanne: Payot; and Paris: Alcan. 1905. Pp. xxxvi, 409.)

I RECOMMENDED this book lately to an American friend who was in search of French reading at the same time serious and attractive. He followed my advice and wrote expressly to say that he had seldom found so exactly what he desired.

In a few months the work,—the conclusion of which is dated: Zürich, June, 1905,—has made its way through the mass of contemporary publications and one can say, without exaggerating, that it is one of the events of the French literary year. The best proof is that, being from a Swiss pen and not written in Paris, it had nevertheless the honor of a special article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Professor Seippel's study was suggested by the Dreyfus affair, but it does not belong to the literature of that eventful case. It is a clear-sighted, impressively written chapter of the psychological history of nations, or as Germans would say, "Völkerpsychologie". The two Frances in question are "la France noire et la France rouge", the France of the Kings and the Church and the France of the Revolution. The author shows with striking evidence how these irreducible adversaries are daughters of the same mother, how the mentality of both is at the bottom Roman and how they fought their fiery battles, from the times of the Renaissance and the Reformation down to the Revolution and the nineteenth century, with exactly the same swords.

"Following the example of the American states, France draws up a 'Declaration of Rights'. It is intended for all nations and for all times. As in the Crusades, France feels a divine mission, the mission of converting the world to her new ideals. Thus liberty, which in

"the English Revolution remained local, acquires through the communitative genius of France a power of universal expansion. Her writers, her armies or simply her example was to sow it throughout Europe from one end to the other. The storm blew a gale, throwing down thrones and ruining edifices of the past. But, scattering ruins, as it did, everywhere, the seeds it brought sprang up only in the countries which were ready to receive them. The French Revolution freed the nations which were ripe for liberty. It did not free France. Her Roman training on the contrary tended to the extinction of moral individuality, which is the elementary substance of every liberty. And liberty becomes to the French people an intellectual tenet, to be contrasted with the ideas of the past, a dogma to be dialectically laid down, defined, codified and imposed like an ordinance by force, by government. People ought to be constrained to be free, says Rousseau. Terrorism will do it.

"In order to found liberty, the men in power started by suppressing it more radically than ever did the most despotic monarchy. But French liberty was not to take root any more than liberty trees under the pavement of public streets. It did not grow up from the soil like a plant, it was driven in it like a stake. It did not respond to a moral want in men's souls" (p. 81).

The following enumeration of a few chapters will show how accurately the author's demonstration is conducted: "The Roman Tradition", "Calvin's Reformation", "From Renaissance to Revolution: The *Encyclopédie*", "From Reformation to Revolution: Rousseau", "Revolutionary Theocracy", "Caesar back again", "The Concordat", "The Counter-Revolution", "The Revolution of 1848 and the Second Empire".

This is the purely historical part of the book. In a second part, which bears the title: The Moral Causes of the Present Conflicts, the reader will find progressive studies on Auguste Comte and the religion of Science, The Church of Freethinkers, Roman Church and French Society, The Struggle of the Future, etc.

The book contains literary portraits of leaders of French thought which are *chefs-d'œuvre*. It is evidently the subject in which the writer is a master. In the historical part of his work his acknowledged guide was Taine, the Taine of the *Origines de la France Contemporaine*. The latter's judgments being accepted as bases of the argumentation, some of the results are open to the criticisms which ought to be made against his information. When Taine studied the French Revolution he was under the influence of political events which biassed his mind. As one may see in his letters just published, he was frightened by the Parisian Commune of 1871 and wrote under the obsession of disorder. This made him often unfair to men and times of the great event he had to judge. The riots concealed from him the revolution.

I think Professor Seippel has relied too much on his main source. The safe habit not to found an opinion on a single instance has lessened

the fault. It exists however and examples of its consequences might be pointed out. It would be a difficult task to translate in a quite satisfactory manner such a book, full of finely penned observations, of delicate, of eloquent pages; but among works of its kind few do better deserve a translator.

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late LORD ACTON, LL.D. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Vol. IX. *Napoleon.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Pp. xxviii, 946.)

THIS volume deals with the history of the world for a few short years; years, however, in which the furnace was heated seven-fold, and when much that had long passed for sterling metal was proven to be base, flowing off into oblivion with the slag. Bound up together in this work are twenty-four monographs by sixteen different authors: British, French, German, Swiss, and Russian. Within the covers are about four hundred thousand words of text and fifty thousand, more or less, of bibliography, chronology, and index. The contents deal with the histories of all historic lands in this fiery epoch, except with that of America. In some sense the career of Napoleon Bonaparte affords the observation tower from which events are viewed, but every one of the contemporary sovereignties has its turn in that capacity, so that the eye of the mind is occupied now with one perspective, now with another, and frequently is confused by the overlapping of two or more historic systems, conceptions, and methods. Throughout there is an apodictic air of ultimacy, a magisterial appearance of soundness, completeness and finality.

The reviewer has not read this ponderous work in its entirety: few persons are likely to do so, except those whose time and diligence are not limited nor otherwise engaged. Yet he has noted, almost at every venture with the book, certain facts which must not be overlooked and which are proven, on further examination, to be characteristic of the enterprise as a whole. Granting that the plan here executed remains substantially that marked out by Lord Acton before his death, a claim frequently reiterated, we must nevertheless remark that the excellent editors who carry his charge, as ably as they may, have nevertheless been unable to string the bow of Ulysses. There are both assumptions and contradictions which would not have escaped his eye; from the array of facts as given in the book, conclusions are drawn which are illogical and must for consistency's sake be regarded as based on a quite different statement of the case; the authorities given in the bibliography have either been overlooked or rejected; and, finally, there is that which, according to Lord Acton's letters, his soul loathed—an air

of impartiality which when carefully scrutinized turns out to be a mere absence of enthusiasm.

Let us first take an example or two of gratuitous assumption. On page 52 is the account of Nelson's behavior at Copenhagen; given here as a conclusion from contemporary knowledge, yet standing exactly as it might have been written with the imperfect knowledge and national, patriotic enthusiasm of an earlier generation. The facts as stated on that page are dubiously questioned by every recent critic, and for sound reasons: the evidence is easily accessible in the second volume of Mahan's *Life of Nelson*. Again, on p. 235, it is calmly stated that after the treaty of Tilsit information regarding the secret articles "reached the ministry" and led to the second bombardment of Copenhagen: a declaration which, granting some credibility to hearsays and fictions, is even then misleading, and in the light of cold reason almost certainly untrue. The paragraph on pp. 297 and 298 gives a better and very different impression of the circumstances. Another assumption of similar character which caught the writer's eye is on p. 507, where it is stated that the Napoleonic wars depopulated France; this is a fiction based solely on *a priori* reasoning and long since exploded by careful investigations, easily accessible to any one. Should these be the only instances of so grave a fault, the reviewer would be amazed, for he did not set out to search for them, but fell upon them unawares.

In a similar way contradictions of a rather startling kind force themselves upon the attention. Regarding the events subsequent to the treaty of Amiens, the reader may, for instance, compare pp. 80, 103 and 244. On the first of these, Bonaparte foresaw and foretold the coming struggle; on the second is given the Tory account of the Wentworth scene, with the curious remark that Napoleon had no belief in the warlike intentions of England; on the third is, if not a flat contradiction, at least a very cautious hedging as to Napoleon's plans for war. Incidentally, in the last passage it is stated that in England trade was prosperous and credit good, while only two pages earlier the figures are given which show the ravages on British commerce begun in 1803, increased more than fifty per cent. in that very year 1804, and steadily growing until in 1810 and 1811 the country was on the verge of famine and ruin. Such confusing paradoxes are inevitable in two accounts by different authors from opposite points of view.

The treatment, or rather the varying treatments, of Napoleon's Boulogne camp is, however, on the whole the most bewildering and puzzling example in this volume of how "too many cooks spoil the broth". Some of the authors take for granted that Napoleon really intended the invasion of England; one gives minutely the successive stages in the evolution of his plan; others are uneasily conscious that the whole thing was a perpetual menace to wear out British patience and exhaust British resources; another judges that Napoleon as usual, so in this case, desired "faire toujours son thème en deux façons", and thinks the preparations

for continental war so incomplete as to indicate the greater seriousness of the invasion plan. The almost overwhelming counter-evidence is nowhere given. In 1802 Bonaparte declared his policy of keeping Great Britain "in constant dread"; he had already dropped the project of the Directory for invasion as a chimera; he declined propositions for the propulsion of his boats which would have made the plan feasible; all the best observers of the time, diplomats and memoir-writers, knew the purpose was not serious; his preparations for continental war may have been poor, but they were clearly explained by the emperor to his council of state and regarded by him as admirable, while his march across Europe was unsurpassed as a strategic move, being brilliantly successful against the Third Coalition, alike from the military, the diplomatic, and the political points of view; finally, what would have been the fate of any invading army, however large, thrown into the wasp's nest of a hostile population and cut off from its base, an event sure beyond peradventure in the relative conditions of the French and British navies. Surely Bonaparte had not merely strategic genius but ordinary common sense.

We had intended to discuss somewhat the idiosyncrasy which, in treating of military matters, emphasizes the checks in a great campaign triumphantly concluded, and says nothing of the unity in design which makes tactical defeats unimportant where a strategic combination must and does assure ultimate success. One example of this in the book under review is the weak and misleading treatment of the Marengo campaign by a Swiss professor; another, scarcely less reprehensible, is the account of the battles of the Marchfeld in 1809 by a retired German general. Had Bonaparte lost at Marengo, the campaign was nevertheless destined to success by reason of his larger combinations; Aspern was a partial defeat, but the strategic conception behind it and the means at Napoleon's command could only lead to one result; Wagram produced the peace of Schönbrunn. On the other hand, Waterloo likewise was the close of a brilliant campaign, but the Napoleonic strategy, entirely justified until after Ligny, seems, in the light of our latest knowledge as conveyed by Lettow-Vorbeck's study, to have been completely thwarted when the Prussians, instead of retreating to Namur as a matter of course, and as they probably would have done under Blücher's direction, drew off to Wavre, toward the French flank, under the direction of the staff, by a decision made at night when the general-in-chief was disabled; and so were ready for the timely junction with Wellington made next day. This march decided the fortune of war, not being disturbed by Grouchy's tardy movements; but the plan was not Blücher's, as is reiterated in this volume, the march was begun before the old general recovered, when he accepted the inevitable.

Most of the faulty points we have indicated are inherent in the co-operative writing of history. Even the best-considered and best-executed schemes, like those of the French publishers, which bear the

name of Lavissee, lack coherence and unity. It appears to the reviewer that the *Cambridge Modern History* falls far short of the moderate excellence attained even by them. This volume, moreover, bears the simple name *Napoleon* on the back to indicate its covering the epoch of that great man. It contains chapters on Great Britain and Ireland, 1792-1815, and on the British empire for the same years. But the act of Napoleon which has had a more profound significance in later history than any other is barely mentioned, the sale of Louisiana; and while it is true that the history of the United States for these forty-three years had no determinative influence on that of Europe at the time, yet its career as a neutral power was uncommonly interesting in Great Britain at the time and its history was far more pregnant for the later destiny of the world than that of most European powers, let alone Canada, India, or the West Indies. To Americans the omission must seem very strange indeed.

Considerable wonder must also be felt as to the public for which such a volume is made. The expert scholar will find little satisfaction in disconnected monographs, even by careful compilers; the intelligent layman must feel strangely confused by the contradictory views of the same events in the different divisions, where they so constantly overlap; the popular taste has not been consulted at all. Cyclopedias have their uses, and as a book of reference this one has a certain value, though it is neither a monument of British scholarship nor of Continental, there being neither continuity nor unity in the product of a well-meant effort to weld the two. The earlier years of the period are described, for different purposes, four different times; the second quarter, six; the third, eight; and the last, ten times; either wholly or partially. A single author might do this with clarity, sixteen cannot; and the limit of possible editorial revision and change for the sake of unity is quickly reached. The impersonal, mechanical quality must be avoided at all hazards in every manufactured article, much more in what purports to be history.

Of course, there is excellent work in this fascies of historical tracts. Viewed singly, most of them are good, especially those on the Codes, the Concordats, the Continental System, and the Peninsular War. The last chapter, that on St. Helena, is a dispassionate summary of excellent quality. Moreover, where so much has to be omitted, the selection of matter is generally judicious. For the adventurous reader the great channel of Napoleon's career is well charted and buoyed. Yet such will be few; there is little charm of style anywhere, no quality of mysterious evolution in the subject which compels attention, no magisterial character in the book to command the highest respect. As to the bibliography, no arrangement could have been invented more forbidding to the searcher after authors, titles, or subjects.

The History of England from Addington's Administration to the Close of William IV.'s Reign (1801-1837). By the Hon. GEORGE C. BRODRICK, D.C.L., completed and revised by J. K. FOTHERINGHAM, M.A. [*The Political History of England*, edited by WILLIAM HUNT and REGINALD LANE POOLE, Volume XI.] (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. xix, 486.)

MR. BRODRICK accepted a difficult task when he undertook to write the history of a period of English national life so full of controversial matter as that from 1801 to 1837. What he produced is certainly not a great book; it presents no particularly new views and draws upon no material hitherto unused; it is neither brilliant, nor striking, either in style or in matter. Nevertheless, it deserves greater praise than is due to these qualities, for it covers the field thoroughly, its writer's views of controverted questions are unusually sound; his judgment is excellent, his temper almost ideal. So fair is he, so impartial in his array of the facts and in the conclusions drawn from them, that it would be difficult to determine, if one judged from this book alone, whether Mr. Brodrick was in his politics a liberal or a conservative.

The writer is particularly happy in judgment and temper when he has to portray the characters and weigh the achievements of English politicians, statesmen or military leaders. His little character-sketches are models of their kind, admirable for insight, completeness and brevity. Perhaps the best are those of Brougham, Peel and Huskisson, though it is almost invidious to discriminate where all are so good. His tribute to Castlereagh is thoroughly deserved and does complete justice to a statesman who has so long suffered in the comparison with Canning, despite the fact that the materials for a correct judgment have always been at the disposal of historians.

What has thus far been said applies with especial force to the treatment of English affairs and English men. When the writer (in this case Mr. Fotheringham) touches continental or American affairs the sureness of touch vanishes, the knowledge is plainly not so full nor so accurate, the authorities depended upon are not so reliable—in a word, the work is distinctly below the standard of that part which is devoted to purely English matters. There are errors in fact and there are errors in judgment. The opinion of Napoleon and of his acts is the old-fashioned English one, though there is no trace of the old-fashioned English bitterness. In the treatment of American events, though the writer is fair in so far as his information permits him to be fair, he relies upon authorities which need constant checking, and so far as one can determine by reading over the list of books, this check has not been applied. Thus in treating of the naval events of the War of 1812 he draws upon James, apparently to the exclusion of all other writers, but a man versed in this history would not have neglected Henry Adams's ac-

counts of the sea-fights, if he chose to pass by our professional naval historians. The accounts of naval duels are not accurate. Neither is the relation of the facts leading up to the firing on the Chesapeake by the Leopard. Yet no fair-minded American can find fault with the general account or the general conclusions.

These criticisms fall to Mr. Fotheringham's share. On the other hand, even Mr. Brodrick departs from his judicial calm when he considers Irish events or Irish characters. O'Connell is almost the only person in the book who is treated with something less than his deserts, and whom the writer rarely mentions without a derogatory epithet. George IV. alone shares this unhappy distinction with the Irish champion, but in George's case the judgment is fair and righteous altogether; in the case of O'Connell it is not so. A similar criticism must be made wherever the writer touches upon the action of the Irish people. He lacks sympathy with them; he lacks understanding of them. In particular he cannot forgive O'Connell and his followers for what he calls their ingratitude in refusing to support the government which granted Catholic Emancipation. Yet he admits that this government was forced to grant emancipation; that it was nothing more or less than a capitulation to the Irish. It would more than task his abilities to explain to the world why the Irish or any one else should feel gratitude for a compulsory favor.

A fault common in most English books is not avoided in this. Everywhere the pages are crowded with wearisome and unessential details. Thus Mr. Brodrick never fails to name every member of a new administration when the new administration comes into office. Similarly he seems to think it necessary to mention every fact in English history which occurred during the period under consideration. It is not that he does not discriminate between the essential and the unessential. He does this admirably, but he seems to lack the moral courage to throw over the comparatively worthless part of his cargo. The multifarious details add nothing to the force of the story, while they tend to distract and confuse the reader.

Mr. Brodrick very properly stresses the importance of economic events in this period of English history, especially those economic facts which are connected with national politics. Thus he emphasizes Huskisson's policy, pointing out that it necessarily led to free-trade and was intended to lead to it. Huskisson's merit in procuring the overthrow of the old Navigation acts and the adoption of reciprocity as a step towards eventual free-trade is well and clearly told and proper credit given to Huskisson's foresight and clearness of vision. On economic questions, generally, the author is much more at home than is customary with historians, and it is only to be regretted that he did not bestow a little more space upon the sufferings of the factory population and the causes of those sufferings than he has seen fit to do. It is true that these things are not overlooked, but they might justly be stressed more than they are.

The account of the reform act of 1832 and its passage through Parliament is especially full and especially good. The writer points out clearly the importance of the act and the fact that it was in the nature of a compromise between the extremely radical demands of one party and the conservative opposition of the other. Issue may, however, be taken with his conclusion that the act created a revolution in the English state system by destroying the balance between King, Lords and Commons and throwing the final decision of all disputed questions into the hands of the lower house. The truth is that the act never could have been passed if the revolution had not already taken place, and if the Lords and King had not already been relegated to a position of secondary importance in the English constitution. What the act did was to furnish means for the completion of a revolution already far on the way to completion.

It is a pity that Mr. Brodrick did not live to give the book its final revision. As already intimated, Mr. Fotheringham was hardly equal to completing the task as well as his elder would have done it. Some minor criticisms connected with the failure to revise thoroughly may be made. For instance, Mr. Fotheringham very absurdly uses the names Peter and Pedro indifferently in speaking of the Emperor of Brazil. He does this constantly and on the same page. Such carelessness is inexcusable. Ibrahim Pasha was the adopted son of Mehemet Ali. It is doubtful if the break-up of the coalition killed Pitt. Napoleon did not need Santo Domingo in order to hold Louisiana, but desired Louisiana in order to carry out his Santo Domingo policy. The bibliography is lamentably weak in foreign titles, and Seknosos for Seignobos is an error sufficient to justify doubt of the compiler's knowledge of the French writer. Finally, it would have been better to omit the chapter on Literature and Social Progress.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

Lord Hobhouse, a Memoir. By L. T. HOBHOUSE and J. L. HAMMOND. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Company. 1905. Pp. 280.)

THOUGH the name of Lord Hobhouse will be known on this side of the Atlantic only to specialists, he played a considerable part in the readjustment of modern English society to changed conditions. As a member of the Charity Commission he was conspicuous in attacking abuses connected with charitable endowments. On the endowed Schools Commission he did similar work. He was partly instrumental in securing wider rights for married women to hold property independently of their husbands. He served in India as the legal member of the governing Council. In time he became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and he was made a peer in order that he might aid in the legal work of the House of Lords. He also was, in later years, a member of the London School Board and of the London County Council.

Hobhouse was a Liberal of the old school, somewhat doctrinaire, though in theory he scorned *a priori* reasoning, a little hard and lacking in sympathy, perhaps incapable by temperament of understanding the point of view of, for instance, the New Imperialism. He was high-minded and courageous; his biographer quotes with something like awe the statement that he bearded even Lord Rosebery in the London County Council. So public-spirited and so resolute a friend of freedom was he that, while not agreeing with Bradlaugh's and Holyoake's views, he helped them because their fight was, he thought, the fight for liberty. He could defy the opinion of his order as, for instance, when he was one of the few peers who supported Home Rule and when he declared for radical reform of the Upper Chamber. War with all its terrible consequences he hated, and, when his niece was deported from South Africa because of her agitation against the British concentration camps, he took up her cause with earnest asperity. Though such men serve society well, the biography is somewhat melancholy reading. We hear much of things going wrong, little of their going right. There is no touch of humor or of picturesqueness, though a career such as Lord Hobhouse's must have furnished abundant opportunity for both.

Of abuses in every form Hobhouse was the resolute enemy, and when he was first appointed to the Charity Commission there were plenty of them to attack. Large funds were still devoted to useless or eccentric purposes. The ringers at Abbey Church, Bath, had been bequeathed £50 a year by one Thomas Nash "on condition of their ringing, on the whole peal of bells, with clappers muffled, various solemn and doleful changes, allowing proper intervals for rest and refreshment, from eight o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening, on the fourteenth of May in every year, being the anniversary of my wedding-day; and also on every anniversary of the day of my decease to ring a grand bob-major and merry mirthful peals, unmuffled, during the same space of time, and allowing the same intervals as before mentioned, in joyful commemoration of my happy release from domestic tyranny and wretchedness."

It required a stern fight to get Parliament to interfere and change such endowments from their original purpose. The same fight was necessary to get the funds of endowed schools really devoted to education and not, as in many cases, to the practical pensioning of useless masters doing nothing to fulfil the purposes of the endowments. Here too were silly provisions to override. A founder at Barton had made a condition under which "All the children are to be taught to read, but none are to be taught the dangerous arts of writing or arithmetic, except such as the lord of the manor shall think fit." The city companies of London furnished another paradise of abuses; with an income of £440,000 a year they spent £150,000 on public and benevolent objects, £175,000 on the cost of maintenance and £100,000 for banquets. Lord Hobhouse's was just the type of mind to get to the heart of such absurdities. In the

wider political world he was against the forward policy in India just as he was against the Boer War. For him, as a Liberal of the old school, the times grew more and more out of joint. Shortly before his death, viewing the New Imperialism and the New Socialism, he said, "There is nothing for the isolated thinker to do but to sit by and wonder what will come next."

GEORGE M. WRONG.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XXVIII., 1637-1638. Vol. XXX., 1640. Vol. XXXI., 1640. Vol. XXXII., 1640. Vol. XXXIII., 1519-1522. Vol. XXXIV., 1519-1522, 1280-1605. Vol. XXXV., 1629-1649. Vol. XXXVI., 1649-1666. Vol. XXXVII., 1669-1676. Vol. XXXVIII., 1674-1683. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1905-1906. Pp. 370, 323, 301, 299, 367, 453, 325, 308, 307, 287.)

THIS large undertaking, despite the lack of appreciation with which it has met, goes forward with great promptness on the publisher's part and with much faithfulness of effort on the part of the diligent editors. Of the twelve volumes issued during 1905, four are here before us for review, in which matters ecclesiastico-historical dominate, while the volumes XXXIII. to XXXVIII., issued during the first half of 1906, are more general in character.

The "ecclesiastical appendix" occupies nearly all of volume XXVIII., while the Dominican history of Friar Diego Aduarte takes up two-thirds of volume XXX. and the entire two succeeding volumes. The appendix in question is a very useful compilation and translation of extracts from published works, from Colin's *Labor Evangélica* (Madrid, 1663), which goes back to the earliest missionary days, down to the Jesuit father Algaé's survey of the state of church and religion in the Philippines at the collapse of Spanish rule. The Jesuit Delgado and the Franciscan father San Antonio show very well the state of the Philippine church in the first half of the eighteenth century, after the most active missionary work was over. The best selections of all are the general discussions of matters religious and ecclesiastical in the Philippines by the French traveller Le Gentil (*Voyages dans les Mers des Indes*, Paris, 1781), the German traveller Jagor (*Reisen in den Philippinen*, Berlin, 1873; in the Philippines in 1859), and the Spanish official Sinibaldo de Mas (*Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1841* (Madrid, 1843). The statistical tables of the church (on population, parishes, etc.), taken from the Bazeta and Bravo *Diccionario* (Madrid, 1850) and a recent history of Philippine Recollects (Manila, 1879), fill a place,—but the narrative passages from the latter are not altogether reliable. Besides prefixing

to the appendix a little compilation of royal decrees regarding the regular clergy in the Philippines, the editors have chosen and displayed this material very well, giving us information particularly on these points: growth of Philippine population, also development of particular regions, indicated by the spread of parishes, the ecclesiastical censuses, etc.; upon the contests between regular and secular clergy, with evidence that there were proportionately more seculars in early years than later, and the hold of the friars upon Philippine parishes grew stronger quite steadily till the last half-century; upon the friars' attitude toward the Filipinos, and *vice versa*; upon the government's support of the church, the property of the religious orders, and the Philippine educational and charitable institutions. Of course, the appendix is not a complete survey of any one of these matters, which figure in every period of Philippine history; but a good deal of related matter is here brought together in convenient form for consultation.

Friar Aduarte's Dominican chronicles (Manila, 1640), though much less verbose, tedious and unproductive of vital information than most of the chronicles dignified by the title of "Philippine histories", are not worth three volumes' space. They have been synopsized very considerably in translation, with omission of much matter regarding Dominican missionaries in China and Japan not pertinent to this series. One could still eliminate the major portion of the work, and lose nothing that is really valuable to the historical student, as are the chapters and passages giving information on the early discussions over secularization, on Philippine population just after the conquest, and on the missions among the wild peoples in Pangasinan, Zambales and the Cagayan valley. The few readers who like to follow the old chroniclers for their very prolixity, their tales of miracles wrought in behalf of the faith, etc., may best be sent to the original texts with their quaint old Spanish that often defies rendition. The historical student has little need for accounts of Philippine chapter-sessions, or biographies of worthy missionaries long since dead; and he will begrudge the space given to this sort of thing. Not very much of historical value is to be gleaned from the 125 pages of Dominican, Franciscan and Recollect chronicles in volume XXXV., the latter continued in volume XXXVI., while volume XXXVII. is more than two-thirds made up of Dominican and Augustinian chronicles of very scant historical value, outside of Friar Diaz's account of the secularization controversy. Not so the sprightly, also well-directed, observations and information given by the Dominican traveller, Father Navarrete (*Tratados Históricos*, Madrid, 1676), at the end of this volume and the beginning of volume XXXVIII. The separate documents upon the question of secularization in the seventeenth century are very valuable, particularly the résumé in volume XXXVI.

Pigafetta's relation of the Magellan voyage, which has been published separately and is reviewed by itself, appears in this series also, occupying volumes XXXIII. and XXXIV. (in part). The latter

volume is enlarged to accommodate 25 documents of early Spanish-Philippine history (1565-1605) just obtained from the archives (nearly all from Seville). Of these, the royal instructions on slavery and other matters addressed to Governor Legaspi are the most notable. Place is made, too, for an extract from the Chinese geographer Chao-Yu-Kua (*ca.* 1280), a brief chapter describing Luzon (and vaguely the Bisayas) as the Chinese traders had come to know them in the voyages of their junks. This is the earliest (plain) reference to the Philippines yet brought to light in any writings. It shows the Filipinos of the thirteenth century weaving fabrics and gathering raw materials for trade, using silks and some iron implements and living in villages of some size (on the sea-coasts at least).

There is a brief account of Corcuera's 1638 campaign in Joló in volume XXVIII., and 100 pages in volume XXX. are occupied with the account of Philippine commerce up to 1640 that was given in Alvarez de Abreu's *Extracto Historial* (Madrid, 1736)—which summary of the early galleon-trade was gleaned mainly from documents of Grau y Monfalcon and is a well-nigh indispensable part of the literature of the subject. The chronology of seventeenth-century history in the Philippines is picked up again in volume XXXV. and in the remaining four volumes is carried forward, in a miscellaneous array of documents, from 1638 to 1683. The compilation of extracts from various early chroniclers regarding Philippine revolts of the seventeenth century, which fills half of volume XXXVIII., is well done and useful. The passages from Dampier's voyages bearing on the Philippine Islands, begun in this volume, are to be concluded in the next. We note, besides, only the extract from Sinibaldo de Mas on judicial conditions in 1842, appended to volume XXXVI. Despite the appendixes of this sort, covering in part the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one cannot but remark again, in connection with the comments made above as to the value of the friar-chronicles, that almost two-thirds of the volumes to be published in this series have been devoted to practically a single century of Spanish-Philippine history.

JAMES A. LEROY.

The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts. By CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, Associate Professor of History in Leland Stanford Junior University. [*Harvard Historical Studies*, Volume XII.] (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1906.)

THE subject discussed by Professor Duniway in this volume includes not only the history of the censorship or supervision of the publications of the Massachusetts press from its first establishment in 1638 down to the present time, but it also involves an examination of the restraints imposed in colonial days upon the importation and distribution of works

to the appendix a little compilation of royal decrees regarding clergy in the Philippines, the editors have chosen and do material very well, giving us information particularly on : growth of Philippine population, also development of part indicated by the spread of parishes, the ecclesiastical censu the contests between regular and secular clergy, with evide were proportionately more seculars in early years than hold of the friars upon Philippine parishes grew stronger till the last half-century; upon the friars' attitude toward and *vice versa*; upon the government's support of the clergy of the religious orders, and the Philippine education institutions. Of course, the appendix is not a complete one of these matters, which figure in every period of Philippine history, but a good deal of related matter is here brought together in form for consultation.

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(*of Mass.*, III. 213, 240.)

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published elsewhere, and at a later date of criminal prosecutions for libellous publications. The author tells us in his preface that it was his original intention to investigate the restrictions imposed upon the freedom of the press in the British American colonies, but the magnitude of the task involved in the examination of unpublished manuscript archives led to a decision to limit the investigation to Massachusetts. A mere glance at the pages of this work together with a cursory examination of the foot-notes therein would disclose the fact that the research was based upon material drawn from sources available only to one whose presence in Massachusetts must have been prolonged sufficiently for him to become familiar with the places of deposit of the archives, of the court records and of the files of the provincial newspapers. The title-page describes Mr. Duniway as a Californian professor, but the preface makes clear that this admirable research was prosecuted while the author was at Cambridge. It is evident that to examine the files of newspapers referred to, required that he should visit Boston, Worcester and New York, and repeated references in text and notes show that, in addition to an exhaustive examination of the published records of the colony, he carefully perused the manuscript records of the General Court in the days of the province and instigated a search in the bewildering chaos of the Massachusetts archives. Moreover, it is evident that the writer pressed his investigation still farther and caused a fruitful search to be made of the files and records of the Superior Court of Judicature at the Suffolk Court House and of the unpublished instructions to the royal governors, copies of which have been procured by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for publication.

The development of the subject required that the contemporaneous state of opinion in England should be brought out and that the causes for the difference of progress on the two sides of the Atlantic should be explained. At the outset, in Massachusetts, it is for a while the right of "freedom of discussion" which comes under the author's consideration, a right which comprehends "freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press" (p. 2). The people who undertook the settlement of Massachusetts did not, he says (p. 16), conceive that there was any legal right of discussion. Therefore dissenters from the ecclesiastical policy of the colony were expelled by Endicott and at a later date Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were banished. The outcome of all this was "the banishment of the spirit of free inquiry" (p. 21).

The first formal act for restrictive censorship of the press in Massachusetts was passed in October 1662 (p. 41). An unsuccessful effort was made in 1649 to secure the passage of a similar act (p. 25), but although a number of incidents occurred between 1641 and 1662 involving the circulation of printed matter and touching upon other forms of public agitation, their only effect was to show the tendency of Massachusetts to place restrictions on the freedom of discussion. The attempt

of Sir Henry Vane in one case to relieve an author from censure was met with the answer "we held it our duty and believe we were called of God to proceed against him." Books of the Quakers were seized and burned at this time and the author concludes that prior to the establishment of the censorship, 1662, "there was no recognition of a general right of freedom of discussion or of a special right of freedom of the press." The Act of 1662 was repealed in 1663, but in 1665 a new licensing act was passed which apparently remained in force until the colony charter was vacated.

Under Dudley in the days of the president and council, control over the press was arbitrarily exercised and the royal instructions to Andros required him to maintain supervision over the printing of "books, pamphlets or other matters."

Under the *ad interim* government inaugurated after the overthrow of Andros, the governor and council assumed that they had the right to issue an order forbidding any person "to set forth anything in print without license first obtained." Following this came the organization of the government under the provincial charter, and in the instructions to the royal governors down to the year 1730 sections are to be found ordering a careful supervision over publications in the province. During this period there were spasmodic exercises of control over the press, but the interference on the part of the government diminished as time went on, while the number of publications which were issued without license steadily increased. In 1722, however, the General Court intervened and passed an order forbidding James Franklin to "print or publish the New England Courant, or any pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the Secretary of the Province."

The instructions to Belcher in 1730 did not contain the clause requiring him to maintain a censorship of the press. Up to that time licensed newspapers printed in the province had paraded the fact that they were "published by authority". Now they were forbidden to do so, and resort was had to criminal prosecutions for protection from improper or injurious publications. The review of the libel cases which arose in the days of the province is quite interesting, but the author confines himself to the consideration of criminal prosecutions. This compelled him to omit reference to the suit of Admiral Knowles against Dr. Douglass, which resulted in the suppression of the *Summary, Political and Historical*, etc., as originally published and the withdrawal from the market of such copies containing the libellous matter complained of as could be procured. The *Summary* is one of the few contemporary contributions made to our provincial history, and Mr. Duniway might have been forgiven if he had stretched the limits which he imposed upon himself and enlivened his pages with some of the doctor's picturesque language. (See *Publications of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, III. 213, 240.)

In Bernard's day, the House asserted that the liberty of the press is a great bulwark of the liberty of the people and that it was their

duty "to defend and maintain it." Then came the period when military power dominated the situation and in Boston at least, pamphlets and newspapers opposed to the crown were arbitrarily suppressed.

The state constitution asserted that liberty of the press was essential to the security of freedom in the state and therefore ought not to be restrained. Unrestricted but undefined freedom of the press then became part of the organic law of Massachusetts. The author closes his exposition of the subject with a discussion of the law of libel in the state of Massachusetts from the adoption of the constitution to the present time.

An appendix is annexed to the volume containing copies of documents illustrative of the subject discussed. A second appendix has a valuable note on sources and a full list of the secondary authorities which are cited. A carefully prepared index closes the volume, which forms a valuable addition to the *Harvard Historical Studies* series in which it is published, and of which it forms the twelfth volume.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

Quakerism and Politics: Essays. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, LL.D.
(Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach. 1905. Pp. 224.)

THIS modest volume comprises nine essays or addresses chiefly historical in character. The majority of these relate to features of early Pennsylvania history not usually emphasized, as the following enumeration of some of the titles will reveal: "A Government of Idealists", "The Friend in Politics", "A Colonial Peace Controversy", "How the Friends Freed their Slaves", "The Welsh Settlers of Haverford". Two treat of subsequent periods in the history of the state; the one entitled "The Causes of Pennsylvania's Ills" was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* as a reply to an earlier article on "The Ills of Pennsylvania", which had attracted considerable attention, in part by reason of its attributing the political ill of the state to the non-militant habits impressed upon it by its Quaker founders; the other upon "The Improvement of Pennsylvania Politics" presents a picture of political depravity during the years immediately following the Revolution. The two remaining papers, treating of "The Friends' Meeting" and "The Basis of Quaker Morality", may be regarded as a presentation and justification of Quaker theory and practice. "As a whole", the author informs us, these essays "are intended to show that the foundation principles of the colony, on which it greatly prospered,—liberty, peace, justice to Indians and negroes, simplicity and fidelity in government—were logical outgrowths of the Quaker habit of mind and doctrine".

The papers relating to the early history of Pennsylvania, in the main, are non-controversial in tone and present a frank and truthful view of the part the Friends played in the politics of the colony. The author indicates how a great Quaker political machine was built up during the eighteenth century, and how effective it was in keeping control of the

provincial politics. To this end, at times its leaders resorted to acts which "verged on the methods of the sharp politician". While admitting that often "the basis of their morality was defective", that the Friends were often opportunists and sometimes violated their own principles, yet Dr. Sharpless maintains that in the main they remained true to their ideals and surrendered their political control rather than violate their principles. In discussing Penn's Indian policy, incidentally the opportunity is taken to controvert, with considerable success, the contention of Parkman and John Fiske that the success of this policy was due to the character of the Indians rather than to "Quaker justice". The author, however, in his admiration for Quaker principles is led to declare that "the Declaration of Independence was simply the assertion of Penn's position (in regard to liberty), and the negative of the New England statement and practice". This conclusion seems both forced and unjust.

In the essays dealing with later conditions of Pennsylvania politics, not only does Dr. Sharpless easily refute the contention of the anonymous author of "The Ills of Pennsylvania", but in several of the other essays he endeavors to show, possibly with less success, the enduring effect of Quaker principles in American politics. He summons Friends to participate again actively in politics in order to aid in their purification and in securing greater efficiency in the government. It is of interest to note that since the publication of this volume, the author has put his precepts into practice by responding to the call of his fellow-citizens to stand for political office.

There are a few instances of careless proof-reading in the volume, the most noticeable ones occurring on pages 39 and 42.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi.

By Captain PHILIP PITTMAN, with introduction, notes and index by FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1906. Pp. 165.)

Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818. By ELIAS PYM FORDHAM. Edited by FREDERICK AUSTIN OGG. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1906. Pp. 248.)

Audubon's Western Journal: 1849-1850, with biographical memoir by his daughter, MARIA A. AUDUBON, introduction, notes, and index by FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1906. Pp. 243.)

THIS Western publishing house continues its contributions to the study of Western history by three volumes, only one of which is a

reprint. Chronologically the books extend over nearly a century of American history and geographically they reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

In point of time, the first place belongs to Pittman's brief descriptions. The scanty observations on the posts and settlements along the Mississippi recorded by this British engineer would scarcely have been worth placing in type in 1770 or reprinting at the present day had chroniclers been more numerous in the isolated French villages after the Jesuit *Relations* ceased and before the advent of George Rogers Clark and Governor John Todd. Pittman as an ensign in the British army entered the Floridas with His Majesty's troops soon after the transfer in 1763 from Spanish to British control. During the ensuing five years he was engaged in making surveys along the Mississippi and the Gulf tributaries. The travel necessary to these labors gave him opportunity of making observations which he used later in his descriptions. Beginning with the Balise, a defensive post maintained on an island near the mouth of the Mississippi, Pittman described in order the settlements and the mouths of the principal tributaries as one advances up the river to the village of St. Louis. The latter contained at this time about twenty families. To New Orleans he naturally gave the largest space, making what is really a history of the beginnings of the city. In this connection he printed, as an appendix, an edict adopted by the council of the city in 1768 during a contest between the French inhabitants and the Spanish authorities. Pittman's maps, which have been used so frequently by writers and by other engineers, are reprinted in the present volume. The notes made for this edition while not voluminous are of decided value.

More than half a century after Pittman was describing the French villages in the fertile American Bottom of Illinois, another Englishman was picturing to his countrymen the attractions of the same lands as an inducement to migration. Fordham came to America with Birkbeck in 1817 when the latter attempted with George Flower to transplant a bit of old England to the Illinois Territory. The *Narrative* is made up of transcripts taken from the letters of Fordham and from a journal during his American trip, and "positively identified" as his work, although the names of the persons in England to whom the letters were addressed were not copied. The transcripts descended through Fordham's niece to her son, Dr. Spence, of Cleveland, Ohio, in whose hands they now are. They are here printed as originals.

Seven of the letters were written at various points on the inland journey from Virginia to southern Indiana and ten from the several places visited by Fordham in the region thereabouts. The journal was kept at the English settlements in Illinois during the winter of 1817 and 1818. The observations are chiefly on the quality of the soil, the variety of the trees, and the distinctive characteristics of the inhabitants. Fordham belongs to the class of writers such as Birkbeck, Flint, Fearon, Welby and others who journeyed along the Ohio River during the period

immediately following the War of 1812. He shared their antipathy to the system of slavery and abhorred with them the loose morals of many of the frontier settlers. But as the editor, Mr. Ogg, points out, he is less prejudiced than most of his fellow commentators, having no preconceived ideas and being no agent either for the encouragement or discouragement of immigration. "He represents the type of English emigrant all too rare, who appreciated to the full the manifold inconveniences and deprivations of a new country but yet had faith to believe that the difficulties were only temporary and that incessant industry was all that was needed to transform the crude backwoods settlements into flourishing and enlightened commonwealths." It might be added that Mr. Ogg's prefatory description of the westward movement during this period, showing the economic condition of both Old and New World under which Fordham made his tour and his observations, is as interesting as anything Fordham wrote. An excellent list of books is appended by the editor embracing contemporary descriptions of western travel.

The poisonous stings of mosquitos in the lowlands along the Ohio and the torturing thirst of the adjacent prairies were repeated in the experiences of another pioneer in the westward movement thirty years later and many hundred miles to the southwest. Of such labor was it to found a republic and to carry civilization across a continent. Audubon's narrative differs from the others in the extent of its scientific information and its observations on natural history. The son of the great naturalist, and reared to outdoor life and study as his father's helper, John W. Audubon was selected as scientific observer to accompany a large expedition sent out to the California gold-fields by some New York capitalists as a speculation. Owing to dissensions in the party and the abdication of the leader on the way, the command devolved upon Audubon, who conducted the company to Georgetown, California, above Sacramento. Here the *Journal* ends abruptly.

For various reasons, the route selected was that from Brazos, Texas, across Mexico and modern Arizona to southern California. On the Gila River the party struck the old Kearney trail to California, which had now become an emigrant route in the rush to the gold-fields. Scientifically, the expedition was worth little to Audubon. His material for preserving and mounting specimens was abandoned along the route as the pack-animals became exhausted from thirst and lack of forage. Likewise, the hardships of the way prevented such extended note-taking as the naturalist had in contemplation. The journal must therefore stand as an interesting and intelligent description of one route to El Dorado. Persons interested in early California history will find here some descriptions of the conditions in the early days really worth reading. The uncertainty of the gold search, the disappointment of the seekers, and the various methods employed in prosecuting the work are well described.

Nearly two hundred water-color sketches made on the journey were

lost at sea on the return trip. Of the few that were preserved, five are reproduced in the volume. Of these, a view of the city of San Francisco in 1850 is especially interesting. A map showing Audubon's route is added.

EDWIN E. SPARKS.

A Political History of the State of New York. By DEALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Two volumes, 1774-1832, 1833-1861; pp. x, 405; vi, 444.)

THIS work is almost the sole possessor of a very attractive field of study. Its only predecessor in the attempt to portray the whole panorama of political history in the state of New York is Jabez D. Hammond's old-fashioned and hopelessly inadequate work. Hammond's last volume, devoted to the biography of Silas Wright, does not quite reach the middle point of the nineteenth century. Our author interprets his title literally. Although the Revolution did not break the continuity of local party development, the political history of the colony of New York is ignored. To the closely balanced party strife during the initial stages of the Revolution he makes only a few confused and confusing allusions in his introductory chapter. John Lamb, probably the most influential of the four principal leaders of the Liberty party in the city, is not even named. Into the same oblivion has fallen William Mooney, the chief founder of the Tammany Society. With the second chapter the curtain rises at once upon the adoption of the constitution of 1777, and the inauguration of the first elected governor of the state upon the historic barrel in front of Kingston courthouse.

The author's plan of composition is indicated in these sentences from the preface to the first volume: "Indeed, the history of a State or Nation is largely the history of a few leading men, and it is of such men only, with some of their more prominent contemporaries, that the author has attempted to write. . . . Rarely more than two controlling spirits appear at a time, and, as these pass into apogee, younger men of approved capacity are ready to take their places."

This theory enables the author to follow rather closely in Hammond's track, although he avoids the dreary verbiage of the elder author, and makes good use of biographies and memoirs relating to the characters who sustain the constant duel in the centre of his stage. Three hundred and forty out of the four hundred and five pages in the first volume are devoted to the personal fortunes of the two Clintons on the one side, and to the long succession of their opponents on the other, Schuyler, Hamilton, Burr, the Livingston clan, Tompkins, Van Buren and the Albany Regency. The last fifty pages contain a rapid review of events from 1828 to 1834, setting the scenery for the next great duel between "two controlling spirits", Martin Van Buren and Thurlow Weed.

In the second volume the first seven chapters describe the leadership of Van Buren, Marcy, Wright and Croswell against the famous firm of Seward and Weed, to which Greeley was now to be added—and with

which Fillmore acted—down to Van Buren's overthrow in the Baltimore convention of 1844. Seven more chapters continue the same story down to 1854, and show how Van Buren and Seward each split his own party over the issue of Southern domination. Fifteen chapters are devoted to the fusion of various political elements into the Republican party, 1854-1861. This metamorphosis was more gradual in New York than in most states. The description of the transformation and of the corresponding re-alignments in the Democratic party shows the author at his best. His theory of the overwhelming importance of personality in history helps to enrich these pages with thoughtful analyses of the leadership on both sides, of Seward, Weed, Greeley, Raymond, Governors Morgan and Fenton, G. W. Curtis, D. D. Field, James S. Wadsworth and the Kings, and also of Horatio Seymour, Dean Richmond, John A. Dix, Greene C. Bronson, Amasa J. Parker, Fernando Wood and Daniel S. Dickinson.

In the preface the author promises a third volume that will bring the story down to 1896. As his second volume is much better written and more carefully studied than his first, we are disposed to look hopefully toward the third, which will deal with events in which the author has himself borne a share. He writes usually with clearness and force, although occasionally capable of freaks of phraseology that are either ludicrous or awkward. In the former case, witness the description of Hon. John Taylor (I. 196) who "moved around the Senate chamber, his tall spare form bending like a wind-swept tree". In the latter case this extraordinary sentence about George Clinton may be cited (I. 197). "If he left behind him a memory of long service which had been lived to his own advantage, it was by no means lived to the disadvantage of his country or his State".

The author seems to be unaware that recent revelations of the Clinton correspondence have revived the ancient accusation that George Clinton profited secretly by the sale of public lands. Certainly the man who would steal a governorship would not be likely to refuse an opportunity to share a public contract. The politics of New York city is, in these volumes, reduced to comparative insignificance. The author keeps his gaze fixed on the succession of executive officers at Albany. There is no coherent account of the development and influence of Tammany Hall. Strangest of all is the virtual elimination of Tammany from this account of the decade 1850-1860. Mozart Hall is named only in a foot-note, and although Fernando Wood himself is put under the microscope there is no attempt to analyze the political elements that, locally, supported or opposed him. Scant attention is given to any political force not proceeding directly from some "controlling spirit", though Anti-Masonry, through its connection with Weed and Seward, fares better than Anti-Rent, or the Equal Rights (Locofoco) faction in the metropolis.

These volumes will have small value for the special student of New York politics, but they are capable of rendering a real service to the

general reader until the time when a more thorough and comprehensive study of this subject shall appear.

The Electoral System of the United States. By J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. iv, 425.)

MR. DOUGHERTY'S volume belongs to the class of books with a purpose. Its object is to show, by means of a detailed study of the workings, from the beginning, of the provisions of the Federal Constitution in regard to the election of President and Vice-president, the imperative need of amending those provisions; the author's views regarding the needed changes, indicated from time to time as the discussion proceeds, being embodied at the end in a carefully drawn and elaborate proposition of amendment. The work falls, accordingly, into two parts: one, a critical survey of the history of the electoral system, important for the student of politics and constitutional law; the other, a proposal of change which, however sensible or practicable, has primary interest for the statesman or political scientist rather than for the historian.

While we cannot but think that Mr. Dougherty's work would have profited by condensation, particularly in its summaries of the opinions of members of Congress, its historical merits are both sound and considerable. So far as he has gone, his work is not likely to need doing over again. Although the primary authorities are seldom directly cited, the text shows that the main reliance has been upon the journals and debates of Congress, with the occasional addition of the statutes and court decisions. Secondary authorities, save now and then a magazine article, are rarely referred to.

After a brief introduction setting forth the need of amending the electoral system, Mr. Dougherty proceeds at once to examine the electoral provisions of the Constitution, with the debates attending them, and the law of 1792 fixing the time and place for the meeting of the electors and providing for the presidential succession. Two succeeding chapters survey the problems which developed from 1793 to 1857 in connection with the electoral count—problems which showed an irreconcilable difference of opinion in Congress as to the seat of final authority in counting, but which were to wait yet thirty years for statutory treatment. The elections from 1860 to 1872 emphasized the danger involved in disputed or defective returns, and demonstrated that "either the Constitution had proven faulty or Congress had for years shirked its duty in failing to pass any general law to regulate the count" (p. 85). The great contest of 1876-1877 and the electoral count act of 1887 are treated at much length, more than a third of the volume being allotted to this part of the subject. Mr. Dougherty pronounces the much-praised act of 1887 a "quagmire" (p. 246), and the term is not too strong; for not only does the act assume to give to Congress an unwarranted power over the count, but it also fails to provide for the settlement of some of the

gravest questions which a presidential election might easily produce, *e.g.*, the choice of an ineligible elector. The historical discussion closes with two chapters, in some respects the most informing of all, on the historical development of the appointment of electors, the evils of the general-ticket system, and the amendments relative to the electoral system presented in Congress.

Mr. Dougherty has little difficulty in proving—if there were need of proving—that the electoral provisions of the Constitution are hopelessly antiquated, that existing laws are no bar to the recurrence of difficulties such as have already convulsed the nation, and that the only safety lies in a constitutional amendment. What he proposes is to abolish the electoral college altogether, and while continuing to allot electoral votes to each state on the same basis as at present, to divide the electoral votes among the several candidates in exact proportion to the total vote cast for each candidate in the state. The person receiving the highest number of electoral votes in all the states would become President. The provisions for the return and count of the votes, too elaborate even for summary here, aim to cover all possible disputes incident to a tie, leaving to each state the canvass of its own vote by designated officials, and requiring the authentication of the returns of the canvassers by the executive of the state. All controversies being thus left to the determination of the state, the count at Washington would be reduced to a mere enumeration, and a formal declaration of the result of the vote.

This is not the place to discuss at length the merits of Mr. Dougherty's plan. Apparently, it covers the principal conditions from which controversy has hitherto sprung, save that of dual returns from rival state governments: and here the author frankly admits its insufficiency. It goes far to give minority representation in the choice of President, though we doubt if the average voter, if he be in the minority, values his vote as highly as Mr. Dougherty seems to think he does. Lastly, the plan attacks the existing difficulty in the only right way, that of amending the Constitution. To amend the Constitution, however, is a serious matter. It is a striking commentary on political thinking in this country that Mr. Dougherty's book will probably receive from Congress or its members no consideration whatever. Only students and reformers will see in it a valuable contribution to the history of our electoral system, a clear and forcible exposure of dangerous political and constitutional defects which ought to be cured, and a sensible suggestion of remedy.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume II. *The Federalist System, 1789-1801.* By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xviii, 327.)

It would be much to ask from a writer on the administrations of Washington and John Adams a novel presentation of the facts or a new

judgment on the leading characters. There were no secret manoeuvres to describe, no dark or devious methods in public policy, in politics, or in foreign relations to be brought to light. The nature of the leaders made them open and expressive. Jefferson put upon paper his inmost thoughts, and wrote much more than was to the purpose. Hamilton has given the best possible exposition of his financial measures, and of his own ambitions or wishes in administration and political activity. No one ever justly brought against Washington or Adams a charge of concealment or of finesse. The acts of the twelve years of the Federalist régime are well known and the relations of the leaders well established. It only remained for a writer to present a point of view that may contain enough of personality to color the narrative of facts. In this Professor Bassett has been fairly successful. The space allowed was barely sufficient for the marshalling of the incidents, and some criticism might be made over the selection of those incidents. No two writers would give the same relative importance to what was to be told. Apart from that the writer has preserved a catholic spirit, never severe in condemnation or extravagant in praise, and thus the book reads well, and is a careful presentation of the course of Federalism. The style is clear, and the selection of authorities excellent. That it is a full history of the time no one can assert, for the limitations of space are very evident. Nor was it possible to characterize individuals, a matter of some importance when the policies in state affairs were so represented by a small number of persons of strong personality.

The government once organized, the public credit and the foreign commerce were the two leading subjects of legislation and diplomacy. The entire service of the three administrations may be said to have turned upon these two matters. The writer gives full credit to Hamilton's ability and keen political foresight in framing and defending his financial measures. Hardly enough credit is given to the great secretary in his sinking fund, which embodied the very sound principle that every creation of debt should be accompanied by the means of extinguishing it. The opposition of the South to Hamilton's acts is properly traced to an entirely different economic practice and basis of society. Gallatin was the one great master of finance among the Republicans, and his doctrine of economy offered a wholesome check to Hamilton's tendency to extravagance and state intervention. Hamilton's own venture into domestic manufactures under his own tariff is not mentioned. Professor Bassett writes as a protectionist, believing in Hamilton's wish to do away with the concentration of the people upon agriculture. The first tariff, he asserts, contained incidental protection, but did little to encourage manufactures. Yet his account of the rise of the cotton manufacture shows that the field was ready for industries without protection.

On the foreign relations Mr. Bassett retells the story of our entanglements with France and our rebuffs from England, on which almost nothing could be said outside of the accepted interpretation of the lead-

ing incidents. The errors of the French ministers to this country were offset by the errors of the British ministry in not securing the friendship of the United States by timely concessions. The intrigues on the western frontiers, the questions of impressments and boundaries, and the closure of the West Indies to our trade were grievances against England, in which Spain and France shared according to their interests. The effects of the Jay Treaty in France are well told, and the weakness of Monroe developed, though too much credit is given to his published defense, which had a small circulation and little effect. Gouverneur Morris was thrown out of usefulness by the overturn of the French aristocracy; but Monroe, a Democrat, could make himself only partially acceptable to the democracy in Paris. The negotiations with France under John Adams are related with a very fair appreciation of Adams's fine qualities and unshakable patriotism. The unfortunate and well-meaning Gerry bears his usual load of blame tempered by some deserved praise for good intentions.

On internal affairs the chapters on the "State of Society" and "Economic Conditions" sketch lightly the outline, leaving much for the reader to supply. Mr. Bassett emphasizes the "intensifying of distinctively American traits and a corresponding loss of cosmopolitanism". The material development first engaged the attention of the people, and the modification of political ideals and institutions in consequence has extended to the present day. He gives three "notable influences": the great impetus given to Democracy; a modified dependence upon English constitutional liberty; and the rise of American private law; and states that the most significant social movement of the period was the extension of the frontier (of settlement) beyond the mountains. It was this last that aided in the overthrow of Federalism and in the establishment of Democracy. The protest against the collection of taxes and the campaign documents known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were as significant as the intrigue with Spain and the great land speculations. The admission of new states and the preparation for receiving others from the western territory materially affected the centre of political power. Naturally Professor Bassett writes liberally of slavery and the slave-trade. His chapter on economic conditions is lightly written, more suggestive than satisfying.

It remains to speak of a few matters that could be corrected in a second edition. The tobacco trade with England could not take all the growth of Virginia and Maryland. The continental trade was of vastly greater importance, and the restrictions then placed upon the weed were more destructive of the interest than were the English duties. It was Thomson Callender who wrote for and against Jefferson. The betrayal of Hamilton's connection with Mrs. Reynolds was made by John Beckley, to whom Monroe had given the papers, knowing the use he would make of them. The visit of Chateaubriand might have received mention among the list of foreign notables. The local politics in some

of the states, as for example in Pennsylvania, should have received further attention, for they explained the waning of Federalism. Still, the book itself is so sanely written that it seems ungrateful to call attention to what are very small defects.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 12. *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811.* By EDWARD CHANNING, Professor of History, Harvard University. Volume 13. *The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819.* By KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK, President of the University of Arizona. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xii, 299; xvi, 339.)

THE two volumes under review are numbered 12 and 13, respectively, in the series of histories edited by Professor A. B. Hart under the title, *The American Nation*. Professor Channing's book covers the period from the inauguration of Jefferson to the outbreak of the War of 1812. He correctly holds that the earlier years of Madison's administration are to be regarded as a continuation of the Jeffersonian period. With the declaration of war on June 18, 1812, the "Jeffersonian system was at an end: a new epoch in the history of the American nation was begun."

This new epoch forms the period treated by President Babcock, which extends from the outbreak of the war to the complete nationalization of the Republican party, *i. e.*, from 1812 to 1819, although for purposes of introduction and conclusion the narrative is somewhat extended beyond these dates. The defects and advantages inherent in books written as portions of a serial publication need no enumeration here, although they are illustrated in the volumes before us. Suffice it to say that the authors have ably seconded the editor in reducing these defects to a minimum. The chief defect arising from the serial nature of the two volumes consists in a repetition of subject-matter already presented in an earlier number. That is, it is a defect from the standpoint of the reader who regards the books as volumes in a continued history, but a decided merit when each volume is considered as an independent monograph on the period it covers. Neither author gives more of the material contained in an earlier volume than is necessary for a clear understanding of the subject under discussion by one who has not read the preceding volume. Henry Adams's invaluable work covers all but the last two years of the period from 1801 to 1819, and each author freely uses the work and amply acknowledges his obligation to Mr. Adams. Both, however, preserve independence of judgment and do not hesitate to maintain conclusions at variance with those of Henry Adams. The authors, while in general following him, show a knowledge and use of the more important printed sources and evince skill and excellent judgment in handling them.

A rigid classification would demand that these volumes be assigned to the class of historical writings designed for the general reader rather than for the special student. The books are not and do not pretend to be distinct contributions to the historical scholar's knowledge of the period traversed; yet the sane and impartial judgment displayed and the admirable sense of proportion evinced, together with the clear grasp and scholarly exposition of the subjects treated, make each a work that the special student cannot afford to neglect. The critical essays on bibliography at the end of each volume are judicious and adequate and should prove of especial value to the teacher. Opinions might differ as to the judgment displayed in excluding or including particular titles, but some selection was necessary and on the whole the choice is well made and the valuation of authorities is sound and discriminating.

Professor Channing's *Jeffersonian System* begins with an excellent chapter upon the organization of Jefferson's administration. It is followed by one entitled "Republican Reformations", in which it is shown that the exigencies of the political situation prevented Jefferson from urging a thoroughgoing reform of Federalist methods. A narrow Republican margin in the Senate, an able minority in the House, overmatching the Republicans in debate, and factional divisions in Pennsylvania and New York compelled the President to look to New England for the votes necessary for maintaining his control of the government; but the political conversion of New England could not be won by measures of radical reform. Add to this the natural desire of the possessor of power to retain power and we have the reasons, as stated by the author, for the moderation shown by Jefferson in effecting reforms in harmony with his pre-election views. The ability of Gallatin as a finance minister is fully recognized and credit is given to him for making the Treasury Department "one of the most perfect organizations of a great financial machine which can be found anywhere in the world". A short and somewhat conventional narrative of the Tripolitan War is followed by three chapters upon the Louisiana Purchase, which, while perhaps laying too little emphasis on the constitutional aspects of the cession, give an account of the subject that is a model of historical exposition. These chapters, although containing little that can be called contributions to our knowledge of the subject, give the best short history of Jefferson's great achievement that the reviewer has ever read. Professor Channing follows Henry Adams in his treatment but does not concur in all of his conclusions. He dissents (p. 78) from the latter's opinion that Gen. Victor's instructions from the French government ordering him to take possession of Texas to the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) fully justified the American contention, that, in acquiring Louisiana, we also gained title to Texas. The author maintains that all legal and historical hypotheses fall to the ground in face of the fact that Napoleon sold to us what he had no legal right to convey and what he did not even possess and that "In taking Louisiana we were the accomplices of the greatest highway-

man of modern history and the goods which we received were those which he compelled his unwilling victim to disgorge." Jefferson's relations with West Florida follow so closely, both in historical and in chronological sequence, upon the Purchase of Louisiana that the interjection, before the chapter on West Florida, of four excellent, but essentially unrelated essays, upon the Lewis and Clark expedition, slavery and slave-trade, the Chase impeachment and the Yazoo claims, decidedly weakens the interest in the narrative and breaks its continuity. Professor Channing intimates that the Lewis and Clark expedition, which was planned before the acquisition of Louisiana, was designed by Jefferson to pave the way for a possible future seizure of the western country and believes that the consummation of the purchase came "in the nick of time to save Jefferson from violating the code of international ethics". The author declares the struggle over the Yazoo claims to have been "one of the most far-reaching in the political history of the United States". The account of the long struggle is interestingly given but the facts presented hardly convince the reader that the opinion quoted is not somewhat too pronounced. Sobriety of judgment is, however, a marked characteristic of the work as a whole. The author is much more inclined to present the Scotch verdict of *not proven* than to hazard an opinion not fully warranted by the facts. This is noticeably true in the history of the Burr conspiracy, in which, in a treatment commendably free from bias, perhaps the verdict reached is the only possible one, namely, that everything was too hazy and indefinite in the mind of Burr himself to justify positive conclusions.

The remaining chapters of the book deal with foreign relations, and with the domestic events occasioned by them, which led up to the war with England. With a sure and impartial hand the author reveals the intricacies of the struggle for and against neutral rights. The policy of commercial restriction, he states, was in part formulated by Madison and was as much his policy as Jefferson's. Professor Channing corrects both Adams and McMaster in the matter of the blockade maintained by English vessels, before the war, off the port of New York, and shows that the blockade was not such a continuous one as they suppose.

The editor of the *American Nation* series says, in his introduction to this volume, that "the personality of Jefferson is in many ways the dominant note in the period" from 1801 to 1811. The editor's colleague has an excellent English style, well adapted to historical narrative, yet he does not seem to possess the dramatic power that makes a personality live again in his pages. Due credit is given to Jefferson, but the reader is not made to *feel* that his was the dominating, guiding personality of the early Republican period.

The thesis implied in the title of the next volume in the *American Nation* series, *The Rise of American Nationality*, is admirably and convincingly sustained by its author, who displays decided literary skill in keeping this thesis constantly before the reader. The details of the nar-

native, set forth in an exceptionally good English style, are never allowed to obscure, but rather emphasize, the central idea of the work. The standard of literary merit is not only high but so well sustained that a badly constituted sentence, such as the one which begins chapter XVI., stands out in marked contrast.

President Babcock begins his history with an account of the factions present in the Republican party just before the war, and ascribes to these divisions in the majority party the responsibility for the extremely important failure to recharter the United States Bank. The defeat of the bank bill, the culmination of a long series of rebuffs, marked, he says, the triumph of faction and the final refusal of the Republicans in Congress to recognize the President and cabinet as their real leaders. Dr. Babcock considers Madison lacking in the essential qualities of executive leadership, but does not stop with negative defects; he places full responsibility for the appointment of incompetents, both in the cabinet and in the army, squarely upon the President, and he severely criticizes Madison for his seizures of West and East Florida as justifiable neither from the standpoint of fair-dealing nor from that of international ethics. The history of the events leading up to the war is well told, although much of it is simply a review of Professor Channing's chapters on the same period. One-half of the book is devoted to the War of 1812, the political history of which is a highly creditable production, save that the treatment of war finances is not sufficiently exhaustive. Military history, however, is not so clearly the author's forte. It is deficient in the matter of proportion, as, for example, the description of the Chesapeake campaign, excellent in itself, occupies twice as much space as the entire account of the much more important naval warfare upon the Great Lakes; and in ability to render the narrative of battles and campaigns thoroughly intelligible. Strong and vigorous English is not spared in denouncing the disgraceful management of the struggles on the Canadian borders, and the author regards the conduct of the war throughout as weak and inefficient. Well-merited emphasis is placed upon the importance of the Indian campaigns of the west and southwest both as factors in the English war and as preparation for the great movement of westward expansion which followed the close of the war. He asserts that the Indian wars cost the nation almost as much in lives, money, and suffering as did the actual warfare against the British.

Perhaps the best chapter in the book is the one which deals with the Federalist opposition in New England. While little that is new is adduced, the facts are so clearly stated and the evidence is so convincingly arrayed that the nature of the war as one of faction and section is fully established and the gravity of the crisis caused by New England's hostility is completely proved. Grave as was the situation, the facts suggest but do not warrant the author's conclusion, that, with New England commissioners in Washington for the purpose of treating with the federal government, the overthrow of the national government and the

establishment of a New England Confederacy, possibly allied with England, "would seem to have been inevitable" had news of the failure of Jackson at New Orleans or of the peace negotiations at Ghent been received. Dr. Babcock underestimates the strength of the war party in New England and apparently forgets that Massachusetts furnished more recruits for the war than any other state. An error (p. 165) is noted in the account of the Hartford Convention. The commissioners to Washington are stated to have been appointed by the Hartford Convention; as a matter of fact they were sent by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut as representatives of those states.

In the remaining third of the volume President Babcock ably describes the manifestations of the new spirit of nationality, which the war evoked, in the chartering of the second bank, in the adoption of a policy of tariff and internal improvements, in the westward expansion, in the aggressive foreign policy which brought Florida under the American flag and finally in the formulation of the law of Nationalism in the great decisions of the Supreme Court delivered by Marshall or by associates inspired by him. Slight defects, only, mar the high character of this part of the book; the chapter dealing with the acquisition of Florida being exceptionally good.

Considering the limitations imposed by the nature of the task assigned to them, the credit of fully maintaining the high standard set in the preceding volumes of the *American Nation* series and of closely approximating the ideal standard for works of this class must be accorded both to Professor Channing and to President Babcock.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 14. *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829.* By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xviii, 366.)

THE book is written in an attractive style in which few errors of literary taste occur and is pleasing in appearance, like the others in the series. The text seems free from mistakes; but the foot-notes contain some which are troublesome. The frontispiece is a reproduction "from the original life-mask" of Clay by Browere. There are nine outline maps illustrative of the text.

An introductory chapter on the competing national and sectional tendencies of American life in the decade under review is followed by three chapters in which the characteristic sectional traits and differences of New England, the Middle States, and the South respectively are set forth with much cleverness and discrimination; and it is pointed out frankly that the several sections are not entirely homogeneous in respect of even the traits that are considered most characteristic. There are

four more chapters of a similar nature on the West, including the "Far West", during this decade: its colonization, its economic and social development, its commerce and ideals. Then come eleven chapters on the familiar topics of this period. The usual bibliographical chapter and the index conclude the volume—which altogether contains somewhat less material than either Schouler or McMaster has written on the same period.

Our author has left out much that others have said. But there is something in every chapter which makes it worth the time and effort to read. The new contribution may appear in the nature of new facts, oftener perhaps in some discerning observation upon the passing events, most often in points of broad view or depths of insight that show his mastery of the subject-matter which he treats.

The chapter on the Monroe Doctrine is typical of many passages in the book. The nature of the subject, the relation of this volume to the series, the limitations of space and of period compel the author to summarize the incidents and produce his literary and historical effects in a few bold strokes. The foot-notes refer to several preceding volumes in the series and to important sources; but chiefly to eight or ten studies, easily accessible, many of them by Professor Turner himself, in which the points stated in the text with judicial succinctness have been worked out in detail.

In other chapters the contrary method is pursued. The chapter on the election of Adams adds much to our lively appreciation of that struggle; and the result is secured by the author's wise selection and skillful narration of many details, showing by what accidents Clay failed to crowd Crawford out of the third place and how the election of Adams still hung in the balance even after the adhesion of Clay to his interests.

Still another method of treatment is illustrated in the chapter on "Party Politics, 1820-1822". The situation is presented to the mind of the reader by canvassing the candidates for the presidency which each section had to offer. "All these candidates and the dominant element in every section professed the doctrines of republicanism; but what were the orthodox tenets of republicanism . . . ? . . . Different candidates and different sections gave conflicting answers" (p. 191). Similarly in the chapter on the Missouri Compromise the great speeches of Clay, King, and Pinkney serve as the central points about which other incidents and facts are massed in order to tell much in few words.

Each volume of the series has an independent title and lays claim to some degree of individuality. Professor Turner's volume is on the "Rise of the West". But it is also plain "Volume 14" and it is this place next to the last in the third group of the series, on the "Development of the Nation", which gives it most of its important limitations. Frequently the author has to reach far back into the periods treated in other volumes to catch up the threads of a story that only reaches its climax in the period assigned to him; and he ends with apparent abrupt-

ness with the *South Carolina Exposition*, while a half-dozen questions, among them this sectional defiance by the South, are pending. The writer of the next volume must reach back a long, long distance to gather up the threads of the bank and nullification controversies; and must extract the essence of whole sections of Professor Turner's book for the introduction to his own.

So it would not be just to treat the *Rise of the West* as a monograph. If it really pretended to be such it would be exposed to severe criticism for lack of unity and proportion. Very rarely has the author failed to preserve the proportions which the subject under treatment holds to the series. Once, but perhaps only once seriously, has the author erred by straining the facts so as to connect the chapter on the Missouri Compromise to the subtitle more closely than is due by saying in the last paragraph, here quoted in full, that "The slavery struggle derived its national significance from the West, into which expanding sections carried warring institutions" (p. 171; cf. pp. 149 and 186).

The justification of the subtitle and of the developing thought of the book are both more discriminatingly and profoundly expressed in another line of thought. "Beginning with nationalism", a nationalism, however, in which abiding sectional dissimilarities prevent the growth of complete homogeneity, "beginning with nationalism, the period ends with sectionalism" (p. 330), a sectionalism, exemplified in the tariff for protection and the *South Carolina Exposition*, which is a struggle of section against section for the perpetuation of sectional peculiarities. But "one profound change, not easy to depict except by its results", is manifest in "the formation of the self-conscious American democracy, strongest in the West and middle region, but running across all sections and tending to divide the people on the lines of social classes" (p. 9), a democracy whose typical hero is Andrew Jackson.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 15. *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837.* By WILLIAM MACDONALD. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xiv, 345.)

THE author's purpose is to show how, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, our democracy formulated a new and definite creed of political principles, and how that creed was personified in Andrew Jackson. Professor MacDonald attempts to depict the movement as a whole rather than the unique central figure; nevertheless that figure inevitably holds the vision.

Two brief introductory chapters summarize the social and political conditions which brought Andrew Jackson to the threshold of the presidency in 1828. These chapters necessarily review some of the more extended studies in the volumes immediately preceding this one in the series, Turner's *Rise of the New West* and Babcock's *Rise of American*

Nationality. This initial analysis introduces the successful candidate of 1828, the first Allegheny mountaineer to take his seat in the White House, as a typical frontiersman, with all the characteristic virtues and vices of that mountain people, impulsive, affectionate, quarrelsome, uneducated yet not ignorant, masterful, and impatient of theoretical restraints. Says our author, "Of all the men whom the winds and currents of American life had thus far thrown to the surface, none had less respect for the past, less breadth of culture or personal experience, less self-restraint than Andrew Jackson."

Before Jackson became an object of political idolatry and sniffed the incense of popular adulation with increasing zest, if we may believe a story in Parton's life of him (still the most interesting biography of "Old Hickory"), he was himself in substantial agreement with the opinion quoted above. "Do they suppose", said he, "that I am such a damned fool as to think myself fit for President of the United States? No, sir! I know what I am fit for. I can command a body of men in a rough way; but I am not fit to be President."

The first chapter in this volume that begins the specific discussion of Jacksonian Democracy (chap. iv.) is appropriately devoted to the spoils system in the national civil service. Two chapters (vii., xiii.) tell the story of the destruction of the Bank of the United States and the removal of the deposits. One chapter to each topic tells (xviii.) how the development of roads and canals at federal expense was checked, (x.) how the Indian tribes were removed across the Mississippi, (xii.) how the pending controversies with England concerning the West India trade and with France and a company of smaller nations were all favorably settled, and finally (xi., xvii.) how Calhoun was thrown overboard and Martin Van Buren was placed in command of the Democratic ship of state by the iron will of this iron man. These events, together with the payment of the public debt, were the great triumphs of Jackson's administration.

Three chapters (v., vi., ix.) are devoted to the tariff and nullification controversy, out of which Jackson derived much personal credit, but which was unfortunately a drawn battle and no triumph. In two chapters (xiv., xvi.) there is an examination of what may be called the failures of Jackson's administration, such as his efforts to make the President ineligible for re-election, to secure a constitutional amendment, providing for the election of President and Vice-president by popular vote, to bestow a sensible plan of government upon the District of Columbia (which was not done until 1871), and, finally, his attempt to require the payment of specie for the purchase of public lands, which brought on the panic of 1837.

Chapter xv. reviews the internal history of the states during these eight years, with especial reference to constitutional changes and political affiliations. The prominence of the New York leaders is recognized, but perhaps the importance of the Equal Rights faction as an element

in Northern Jacksonian Democracy is not sufficiently emphasized. It is possible that the author has practised too much self-denial in dealing with the element of personality. Jacksonian Democracy was bound together by individual influence, and, while Jackson himself can scarcely fail to receive full consideration, his inner circle of advisers, and especially Van Buren, have not always been so fortunate.

The text concludes with a rapid but thoughtful and satisfactory criticism of Jackson as a party leader. A final chapter on authorities presents a selected list of references in a rather disorderly arrangement, with some critical notes. There are eight good maps, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, and an index, which seems in general sufficient, though it may be noted that Francis P. Blair's name does not appear in it and that Ambrister becomes "Ambuster".

The most striking omission in the volume is the absence of any discussion of the slavery question in reference to Jacksonian Democracy. This omission is made necessary by the plan of the series, which surrenders the subject "Slavery and Abolition" to the next volume (16). Such a reservation, however advantageous for the series, necessarily makes this volume incomplete as a study of its announced subject. The author does, however, venture to show how Jackson sympathized with and aided the movement for the annexation of Texas.

Professor MacDonald's contribution is, thus far, the best concise and brief essay upon Jackson's two administrations. It is not so complete and illuminating as Professor Sumner's biography of Jackson in the "American Statesmen" series, but the present volume does not claim to be a biography. For a gallery of portrait-sketches of the men of Jackson's circle and era, one may resort to the more leisurely page of Peck's *Jacksonian Epoch*, and for Jackson himself to Parton, or to John Fiske's brilliant essays, but for a lucid and temperate statement of all but one of the dominant questions during Jackson's presidency, Professor MacDonald's volume is adequate.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Lincoln, Master of Men. By ALONZO ROTHSCHILD. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. 531.)

IN view of all that has been written about Abraham Lincoln, an accession in the shape of a volume of four hundred pages may reasonably be asked to justify its existence. Readers of the REVIEW will insist upon knowing at the outset, whether the author has had access to hitherto unpublished material; or failing this, whether he has essayed a fresh interpretation of the career and character of the great man who has become the subject of a cycle of traditions. The first query must be met with a negative. Nowhere in the text, or in the copious notes, is there any evidence that Mr. Rothschild has used other than well-known authorities. As an interpretative study, the book has to do rather with a phase of Lincoln's character than with the whole man.

On the somewhat slender thread of what is termed Lincoln's mastery over men, has been strung an entertaining series of anecdotes and stories relating to his encounters with successive rivals. The Little Giant, Seward as the power behind the throne, Chase as the indispensable man, Stanton, Frémont, and finally McClellan as the Young Napoleon, are pitted in turn against the hero, only to be discomfited by this master of men.

This method of writing biography is exposed to peculiar hazards. Where the personal element is allowed to obtrude to this extent, there is always danger that the individual will be isolated from his world and made to act as though propelled by his own independent volition. It is easy to mistake for a personal antagonism what is really an opposition bottomed on quite different motives. The temptation is to treat the clash of wills as altogether volitional, prompted by jealousy, envy, resentment, and what not. Coincidentally comes the tendency to exalt the hero by belittling his opponents. Mr. Rothschild has not escaped these pitfalls, though his portraiture of Lincoln is fairly successful.

The account of Lincoln's career in Illinois is least satisfactory, though for that matter most biographers from Nicolay and Hay down have allowed their treatment of his early life to be colored by the memory of his bearing in the great crisis. It is somewhat extraordinary that nearly all should trust to Herndon and to the columns of the *Sangamon Journal* for accounts of Lincoln's early encounters with Douglas, when this is so clearly *ex parte* evidence. Both Herndon and Lincoln contributed freely to the editorial columns of the *Journal*, which was a strongly partizan paper. The corrective should be sought, of course, in contemporary opinion as reflected in the *State Register*, the rival newspaper of Springfield.

That Douglas should be systematically berated, and underrated, in these pages, was to be expected. The author quite naturally chose the conventional treatment of Lincoln's opponent. Doubtful statements abound. We are told that in the great contest of 1858 the aid of prominent Republicans throughout the country brought Douglas as many votes as Buchanan took (p. 110); that the single favorable letter of Senator Crittenden of Kentucky "turned the wavering scale in enough districts to ensure the election of Douglas" (*ibid.*); that after the debates Douglas hurried south "with speeches that commended slavery" (p. 117); that Popular Sovereignty and the Freeport Doctrine were "twin nostrums of an unscrupulous political quack" (p. 119); and that after the election of 1860 Douglas ceased to be a vital factor in political calculations (*ibid.*). It would be a difficult task to substantiate these assertions. Mr. Rothschild does not attempt to do so. Is it quite fair to picture Douglas as the discomfited rival, "humbly holding the victor's hat", at Lincoln's inauguration, when the authority from whom Mr. Rothschild borrows the incident adds the further touch "he [Douglas] told me that he meant to put himself as prominently forward in the

ceremonies as he properly could, and to leave no doubt on any one's mind of his determination to stand by the new administration in the performance of its first great duty to maintain the Union"?

Seward fares somewhat better at the hands of Lincoln's biographer. But the same fault is in evidence. By selecting only what suits his purpose the author often leaves an unfair impression. After the first four weeks in office, we are informed, Seward knew Lincoln to be his master. "When his inclinations and purposes conflicted with those of his chief, he gave way,—nay, more, he put forth all his powers to carry out Mr. Lincoln's wishes" (p. 150). How complete this submission was, is then illustrated by "a few well-known incidents". But Mr. Rothschild omits to mention the Trent affair, when Seward contended for the return of the Confederate commissioners against the President and a majority of the cabinet, and finally brought both over to his way of thinking.

Scant justice is done to "the indispensable man" whom Lincoln chose as his Secretary of the Treasury. The key to the personal antagonism in this instance is found in the abiding resentment cherished by Chase at Lincoln's nomination in the Chicago convention (p. 182). Earlier Mr. Rothschild assured us that "none of his rivals for the nomination had given more loyal support" than Chase (p. 160). We doubt seriously whether Chase is understood when he is described as the "Ches-terfield of the Cabinet" (p. 185).

The hazards in the path of the anecdotal historian are well illustrated by the story of the ignorant young lawyer (p. 421). Mr. Rothschild, following Arnold—and his own literary instinct—has made Lincoln apply his "little story" to McClellan; but as originally told by Holland (*Life of Lincoln*, pp. 370–371) it had no such application. We mistrust that many Lincoln stories have undergone a similar metamorphosis.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

MINOR NOTICES

Readings in European History. A Collection of Extracts from the Sources chosen with the purpose of illustrating the Progress of Culture in Western Europe since the German Invasions. By Professor James Harvey Robinson. Abridged Edition. (Boston, Ginn and Co., 1906, pp. xxxiv, 573.) In this abridged edition of Professor Robinson's excellent source-book, the two volumes of the fuller edition have been compressed into one by the omission of many extracts or, in a few cases, of parts of extracts, and by the excision of the portions of the bibliographies intended for advanced students. The work of condensation has been carefully and judiciously performed, apparently with special reference to the requirements of pupils of high-school grade, since many of the more difficult texts and official documents and formulae are excluded, while more readily intelligible passages are retained. The book is so admirably adapted to its purpose of aiding the imagination and rendering

more vivid the history of Europe from the period of the German Invasions that it is gratifying to have it in a form in which it will find its way into the hands of many pupils who would not otherwise have known it. The two-volume edition should however be used wherever practicable; it remains indispensable to the teacher and is greatly to be preferred for college work.

F. G. D.

The appearance of the third volume of the *Rôles Gascons* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906, pp. cc, 792) in the *Collection de Documents Inédits* completes the task on which Professor Charles Bémont has been so long engaged. The work was committed to his hands in 1891, the first volume, covering the reign of Henry I., having been published in 1885 by M. Francisque Michel. In 1896 appeared a supplement to this volume by M. Bémont containing numerous additions and corrections to the texts already published, and valuable chapters on the history and administration of Gascony during this period. The second volume bears the date of 1900, and contains the texts of Edward I.'s reign to 1290. Volume III. completes the reign, and opens with a long introduction rendering the same important service to the student of this period that the supplement to volume I. performs for the reign of Henry III. It is divided into three chapters; the first is descriptive of the material on which the text is based and gives an itinerary of Edward I. in France; the second is on the administration, and includes a list of the seneschals of Gascony and of the constables of Bordeaux, with many biographical and other details and many documents; the third is on the war between England and France from 1294 to 1303, and is especially valuable. As to the beginning of the war, M. Bémont finds himself in accord with the more recent French opinion of the bad faith of Philip IV. The chapter is chiefly devoted to the make-up of the English army, which is analyzed in detail, and to the financial side of the war, and much new material is published from the accounts in the Public Record Office. An especially noticeable feature in the editing of the texts is the careful identification of the names of persons and places, and M. Bémont's editorial work in general is fully on the level of the best in the great collection to which these volumes belong.

The Teutonic Order and Its Secularization: A Study in the Protestant Revolt. [University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History, Vol. III., No. 2.] By Professor Harry Grant Plum. (Published by the University, Iowa City, Iowa, 1906, pp. 88.) This is a clear and interesting account of the organization of the Teutonic Order and its establishment in Prussia; the government of the Order and its lands; the organization of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights; the struggle with Poland; the development of the Reformation in Prussia and the secularization of Prussia. Many of the most important primary and secondary sources have been used and are indicated in the foot-notes and

in the final bibliography. The author shows that after the Order had fulfilled its mission of military aggression and defense, it adopted an economic policy that injured the cities over which it ruled, and by causing internal dissensions weakened the Order in its struggle with Poland. The latter half of the paper deals with the two-fold policy of Albert, Grand Master in the early sixteenth century, who aimed at reforming the Order and freeing it from Polish control. The secularizing of the lands of the Order is accounted for as being the method that Albert adopted to attain his political purposes.

F. G. D.

The English Craft Gilds and the Government. An Examination of the accepted theory regarding the Decay of the Craft Gilds. By Stella Kramer. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Vol. XXIII., Number 4.] (New York, Columbia University Press, New York, 1905, pp. 152.) After a brief and somewhat inadequate introduction, surveying the decay of the gild merchant and the rise of the craft gild, Miss Kramer examines in four chapters the policy of the English government toward the craft gilds from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. A concluding fifth chapter entitled, rather too pretentiously, "English Economic Policy in the Middle Ages", emphasizes chiefly the subordination of the craft gilds to the municipality and the state. The more valuable part of the monograph is the analysis of the acts from 1437 to 1563. In these Miss Kramer finds no sufficient evidence to support the view, held by some writers, of a settled government policy antagonistic to the craft gilds.

The author has used her own eyes to read the statutes and though there are occasional slips she has on the whole judiciously interpreted the national legislation and such of the contemporary local and gild ordinances as she has used. Within her limited and well-chosen field she has done a useful piece of work and she is to be welcomed among the students, still too few, of English craft-gild history. It must be added, however, that in knowledge of the literature Miss Kramer shows some regrettable deficiencies.

EDWIN F. GAY.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France. XVI^e Siècle (1494-1610). Par Henri Hauser, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. I. *Les Premières Guerres d'Italie: Charles VIII. et Louis XII. (1494-1515).* (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1906, pp. xx, 197.) "Ce n'est pas sans une réelle appréhension que j'avais accepté l'offre très honorable qui m'était faite de préparer, pour le XVI^e siècle, la suite de ces *Sources de l'Histoire de France*, si brillamment et si solidement étudiées, en ce qui concerne le Moyen Age, par Auguste Molinier. Le voisinage d'un tel maître, rompu depuis si longtemps aux travaux critiques, était fait pour effrayer les moins timides."

It is thus, in a modest preface, that M. Hauser explains his presence among the Olympians. Modesty may induce him to depreciate what he has done, but he has no other reason for so doing. Indeed, he may be proud of the work here accomplished. There are grave difficulties attached to a bibliographical study of French history between 1483 and 1515. The period falls between two stools. Potthast and Chevalier both come to an end and there is a great lack of previous critical work in this field. Moreover in the transition from the Italian to the French Renaissance history and literature run together. Commynes and Machiavelli are men of letters as well as historians; the same is true of Brantôme. But the question is a relative one in another way. Brantôme is a direct source for the history of the civil wars in France; yet he cannot be wholly excluded for the history of the Italian wars, since his information thereon was gathered from actual participants and eye-witnesses. This is the case also with De Thou in the subsequent generation, who was born in 1553, yet began his great history with the year 1546, learning much of what he wrote from his father and his father's friends. But there are other difficulties still attending bibliographical research in this period of history which do not characterize the historiography of the Middle Age. Diplomacy becomes a science, and the records thereof are beginning to become a primary historical source. Printing adds a new historical source (as M. Hauser indicates in a most interesting way in section 3) and magnifies the volume of all the others.

The reviewer has little to add and nothing to subtract from the work here done, for it seems to have been most thoroughly accomplished. The *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, is much beyond 1594, which is stated in section 89 to be its present terminal point. There are two typographical errors not noticed in the Errata. On p. 105 the proper name Gough is misspelled, and on p. 165 XIV^e is obviously a misprint for XVI^e.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Briefe an Erasmus aus einem Bresslauer Codex. Edited by L. K. Enthoven. (Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz, 1906, pp. xiv, 223.) Professor Enthoven of Strassburg publishes a valuable addition to Erasmian literature in the form of one hundred and sixty-three letters addressed to the great Humanist by nearly as many correspondents. These letters form together a codex of the town library of Bresslau. They were known and used by Adalbert Horawitz, the lamented Erasmian scholar, whose early death disappointed so many just expectations in this field. Moreover, other scholars have made occasional extracts from them, and at least sixty-six have already been published by various editors. The actually new contribution of the present edition reduces itself, therefore, to about one hundred numbers, but a careful comparison has been made in the case of the letters already published, and a very considerable service has been rendered in making the reading of obscure passages more intel-

ligible. Textual criticisms and explanations appear in foot-notes. Extended comments are placed in an appendix. Among the correspondents are some of the most interesting persons of the day, such *e. g.* as Margaret Roper, Stephen Gardiner, Duke George of Saxony, Boniface Amerbach, Conrad and Margaret Peutinger; but the great majority are distinctly among the lesser names of the humanistic circles.

E. EMERTON.

Studies in Constitutional History, by James O. Pierce (Minneapolis, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1906, pp. 330), is composed in considerable measure of a series of lectures and book-reviews. The topics discussed are in the field of American constitutional history. The lectures or addresses are pitched in a somewhat exalted key and are calculated to stimulate patriotism and extol the progress of America. It cannot justly be said that any of the studies add anything to the well-known facts or disclose any remarkable skill in analysis or interpretation. Those that are directed to prove the nationality of the American people before the Civil War are not without force, but this subject has been gone over after this manner so many times that nothing of originality can be said, and the author, as is customary, fails to see the fundamental differences in the use of terms which have befogged discussion for generations; he fails to see the elementary philosophic principles in which men have differed without knowing why. To discuss such subjects without a strict definition of terms, without a clear recognition of the basic principles of political philosophy, is a waste of time—if one wishes to add anything new or to convince those not already assured of their opinions.

Judge Pierce has not always been careful in the use of authorities. If he relies for example on Cobb's *Rise of Religious Liberty*, what are the chances that he will not fall into blunders (*cf.* p. 124)? The statements concerning Maryland's religious history on page 113 are misleading, not to say absolutely wrong. The author accepts at the full the old notion that the migration of the people to Connecticut was caused by distinct religious differences—"by way of protest against" the Massachusetts "form of church establishment" (p. 106). Surely we should be told that at the best there is only some reason for thinking that dissatisfaction with the political and religious régime of the older colony may have entered into the motives of Hooker and his followers; more than this is surmise. The author apparently cites Gerry as favoring the adoption of the Federal Constitution (p. 148). "1778" on page 149 should read 1788. The treatment of the origin of the New England town again is an evidence of a lack of familiarity with local records or the best secondary treatises. "An entire church organization emigrating in a body, established itself as a township in the new world in a selected territory, the government of which was vested in the members of the church congregation."

On the whole we must conclude that the volume has no peculiar

interest and makes no special appeal to the specialist, the student, or the general reader. The reviews and addresses, on the whole well adapted for their purposes, do not make an indispensable volume for the library.

Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes á la Historia de América. Volumes 5 and 6. *Relación de los Naufragios y Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca.* Edited by M. Serrano y Sanz. (Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1906, pp. xxx, 388; xii, 428.) This edition of Cabeza de Vaca's writings and deeds first makes easily accessible the language in which they were written, for so scarce are the original editions of 1542 (the *Naufragios* alone) and 1555 (the *Naufragios* and *Comentarios*) that but few have had access to them. The importance and interest of these narratives are evidenced by the translations and adaptations (most of them faulty in one or more particulars) that have appeared, in whole or in part, in English and other languages, since almost the first appearance of the works until the present day. The accompanying unpublished documents, which are found in volume 6, relate entirely to the *Comentarios*, i. e., to Cabeza de Vaca's life in the ancient Spanish South American province of Rio de la Plata. These documents are as follows: General relation by Cabeza de Vaca of his deeds in the province of Rio de la Plata, presented to the council of the Indies; two documents containing evidence in regard to the trial of Cabeza de Vaca held in Spain upon his recall from Rio de la Plata; an investigation made at the request of Cabeza de Vaca for the same trial; a relation written by Pero Hernández in 1545 in regard to the events of Rio de la Plata (this Pero Hernández being the same one who wrote the *Comentarios*, probably at Cabeza de Vaca's direction)—published in volume II. of *Pequeña Biblioteca Historica* (Asuncion del Paraguay, 1895); a relation by Domingo Martinez de Yrala (the great opponent of Cabeza de Vaca), 1541; and a letter by the same of 1545. The text of the *Naufragios* and *Comentarios* is a reprint of the 1555 edition; in the preparation of the same, the editor has corrected many typographical errors, and inserted punctuation and capitalization not in the original. It is to be regretted that he did not reprint the former work from the edition of 1542, with perhaps readings from the edition of 1555 where the two editions differ (a serious variant being the date when Cabeza de Vaca left the Spanish port for the American continent). The *Naufragios* is naturally of the greatest interest to North Americans, and no documents are given in illustration of it (except extracts in the preface to volume 5), the Spanish editor seeming to consider rather a Spanish and South American than a North American audience. The reprint appears trustworthy. The bibliographical notes are inadequate, and serve rather for suggestions than for thorough knowledge. The books are edited with scarcely a note other than the bibliographical, and there are no maps or other illustrations. There is an apparent lack of true historical criticism, in which Spanish historical workers are often wanting. Volume 6 con-

tains indexes of persons and places mentioned in the two volumes, but no attempt at a general index. The chief value of the work consists in the original text, by which the student may assure himself of the accuracy of the various translations that have been published.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

An Introduction to the Records of the Virginia Company of London, with a Bibliographical List of the Extant Documents. By Miss Susan M. Kingsbury. Published by the Library of Congress (Washington, 1905 [1906], pp. 214). The Library of Congress has long possessed a contemporary copy, in two manuscript volumes, of the official records of the meetings of the Virginia Company from April 28, 1619, to June 7, 1624, the period of the Sandys-Southampton administration. Many plans have been made for the printing of these invaluable memorials of the early days of our first colony, but only portions have been published, and these not in a satisfactory manner. Finally the library itself resolved upon a worthy, indeed a monumental edition, and fortunately entrusted the task to Miss Kingsbury. She has spared no pains in its execution. Not contenting herself with the main record and the numerous subsidiary documents of Company days already possessed by the library or preserved elsewhere in America, she has with remarkable energy and thoroughness ransacked all England for additional material. The harvest which she has obtained, for instance among the papers of judicial courts, among the Manchester papers, and especially among the Ferrar papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge, can be better estimated when the Library of Congress has printed her documents. Several hundred, many of them quite unknown heretofore, are noted for such printing in connection with the "court-books". The publication before us presents in advance, in handsome quarto form, the editor's introduction. In a hundred pages she describes, with elaborate care, the extant documentary materials for the history of the Virginia Company, the bearing which various classes of them have on that history, and the successful efforts she has made to increase their number. There can be no question of the great debt which students owe her for the interesting labors here described. Her general remarks on the development of the Company and its career are less valuable, partly because not expressed in a clear style. Pages 118-205 are occupied with a catalogue of documents ("records" in Miss Kingsbury's phrase), embracing all those of date between 1616 and 1625 which have come to her knowledge and also all those of earlier date which have not been printed or cited in Brown's *Genesis*. This catalogue is extremely well executed. Less satisfactory in respect to form is the list of authorities with which the introduction closes. Scholars will eagerly look for the volumes of text which are to follow. No portion of the general commemoration next spring of the founding of Virginia will be more worthy of that great event than the issue of these scholarly and stately volumes.

Mr. Nelson P. Mead's *Connecticut as a Corporate Colony* (printed at Lancaster, New Era Press, pp. x, 119) is a Columbia University dissertation, constructed upon the same well-known formula as those of Messrs. Shepherd, Mereness, Smith, Raper, and Spencer on Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, and New York respectively. Connecticut institutions have been so much studied heretofore that Mr. Mead, careful and thorough as he has been, makes no very signal contribution to knowledge, unless in the chapter on military institutions. Perhaps the most striking statement in the book is that (pp. 20, 21) "In fact the Charter was no more 'fundamental' than was the original constitution. Its provisions were changed or modified by the General Court with the same freedom as had been done with the 'Fundamental Orders'." There is a lack of shading in such a frank acceptance of colonial public opinion as necessarily decisive. Surely Winthrop *vs.* Lechmere and Clark *vs.* Tousey show that such doctrines were by no means accepted as law by certain authorities to whom history may properly listen.

Constitutional Conflict in Provincial Massachusetts. By Henry Russell Spencer. (Columbus, Ohio: Fred. J. Heer, 1905, pp. 134.) This monograph is a useful addition to the now familiar Columbia studies of provincial government in the Anglo-American colonies. Massachusetts brought to the provincial relation the independent traditions and peculiar ideals of the old "Colony" government, and Mr. Spencer describes effectively the conflicts and compromises by which the province reached a kind of rough adjustment between "imperial" and "commonwealth" ideals. Nevertheless, the reader who is already familiar with the earlier studies of this group must be struck with a certain sameness in the plot. This is no fault of the writer's; it means simply, that, in the purely constitutional experience of, let us say, Massachusetts and South Carolina after they had once been organized as royal provinces, the resemblances are more important than the differences. There was the same conflict between the "prerogative bodies" and the "popular house"; and for both the vital issue, in one form or another, was the control of the purse.

Without attempting a complete description of the constitutional system, Mr. Spencer limits himself closely to the conflicts between the governor and the house of representatives on distinctly constitutional issues, covering, roughly, the first fifty years of the provincial period. He selects for emphasis the salary question, the control of the treasury, and the control of military and diplomatic affairs. Without containing much that is strikingly novel to the student of provincial institutions, this essay may be commended as a scholarly and really readable treatment of a subject not easily made interesting. It gives us the most satisfactory account we have of the Massachusetts government during the first third of the eighteenth century.

The bibliographical apparatus is defective; but the writer appears to have used diligently the official records, both printed and manuscript, including the commissions and instructions to royal governors, in process of publication by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. For important parts of the colonial correspondence, the author acknowledges, as so many others must do, his obligations to the veteran Palfrey. The unofficial records seem to have been less thoroughly exploited.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Volumes V. and VI. of the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York* (published by the State under the supervision of Hugh Hastings, state historian, Albany, James B. Lyon, 1905, pp. xlix, 3447-3800; lix, 3801-4413) cover the period from 1701 to 1810. The general plan of the work has already been outlined and discussed in this REVIEW, VIII. 551-553. Owing to the characteristic reticence of the editor in omitting explanatory introductions to every volume since the first, we are left in the dark as to whether or no more are to follow. However, the following note is tucked away at the bottom of vol. VI., p. 4394: "with the political troubles then prevailing in Holland, the reference to New York and New Jersey is finally dropped in the minutes of the Synod of North Holland". This, and the fact that this volume concludes (pp. 4395-4413) with an "inventory" or catalogue of the old archives of the classis of Amsterdam, together with lists of the Dutch and French ministers and churches in the Middle Colonies before 1700 and lists of early graduates of Holland universities who came to America, would seem to indicate that the series is finished. If so, one has still to regret the absence of an index, a lack for which the careful analytical table of contents prefixed to each volume hardly compensates.

Among the noteworthy extracts in the volumes before us are several relating to the foundation and early history of King's College (now Columbia University), and Queen's (now Rutgers) College, particularly William Livingston's fervid brjef cited from the *Independent Reflector* against the evils of a sectarian college supported by public funds. Also a letter from the Reverend Gideon Hawley of Marshpee containing a narrative of his journey to Onohoghwage in 1753 furnishes some graphic and picturesque details concerning the Mohawk Indians and their country and the hardships which beset a missionary of those times. The source of this letter is not mentioned, while its date, July 3, 1794, surely must be wrong. Although some items in the letters from the New York churches to the classis of Amsterdam, *e. g.*, one of October 7, 1757, relating to a proposed plan of union with Princeton for educational purposes and another of October 8, 1778, containing references to the war, touch on questions of general moment, most of the new material in these, as in the previous volumes, will concern only those particularly interested in the Dutch Reformed Church.

A. L. C.

Vol. XXV. of the *Archives of the State of New Jersey* (Paterson, Call Printing and Publishing Company, pp. 568), edited by Mr. William Nelson, bears date 1903, which doubtless should be 1905, as the preface is dated in the latter year. It consists of extracts relating to New Jersey derived from the newspapers of Philadelphia and New York for 1766 and 1767, when as yet New Jersey had no journals of her own. It is the sixth of such volumes in this series, and illustrates the social, industrial, educational, and political history of the province in the same varied and interesting manner as its predecessors. As in previous volumes, advertisements supply more of the material than the news columns, and advertisements for runaway slaves, indented servants and prisoners are especially numerous and entertaining. The political contents of the present volume are mostly concerned with the repeal of the Stamp Act. In educational history the chief event is the foundation of Queen's College; but Princeton commencements have their place, and schools and their affairs figure not infrequently in the pages.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Vols. V., VI., 1776 (Washington, 1906, pp. 417-856; 857-1173). The form and manner of Mr. Ford's editing are now so well understood and have been so generally admired and commended, that it will sometimes be needless to say much in these pages concerning the successive volumes. Of those before us, volume V. extends from June 5 to October 8. The fullness and skill with which Mr. Ford presents his data respecting the development of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation are all that call for special comment. Volume VI. extends to the close of the year. At its end the editor prints a list of standing committees for 1775-1776, Adams's and Jefferson's records of debates in the latter year, and Witherspoon's speech on the message from Lord Howe. Then follows a series of learned bibliographical notes, numbering 145 titles, and an excellent index to the volumes for the year 1776.

Early Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia. By John C. Hildt. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906, pp. 195.) It is a dubious experiment, to attempt to write of the diplomatic relations between two governments with only those materials that have been preserved in the archives or printed in the public documents of one of them. It is not quite true that such a procedure affords the writer only half the necessary light; but it is often nearly true. In the case before us, the Russian language and the cost of a journey to Russia interpose formidable obstacles to the processes which alone can ensure results approaching finality; but it does not appear that Mr. Hildt has made much attempt to see the negotiations from the Russian side by large use of materials in French and English, nor by deep study of European diplomatic history. He gives us a careful and clear but pedes-

trian account, based on the printed American materials and, after 1816, on an extensive use of the manuscript materials in the archives of the Department of State. Patiently summarizing each dispatch and conversation, the author is able from this source to cast some new light on the relations of Russia to Spanish America and on the negotiations for the treaty of 1824, with which the treatise ends.

Les Droits Législatifs du Président des États-Unis d'Amérique. Par Henri Bosc, Avocat, Docteur en Droit, Licencié ès Lettres. (Paris, Arthur Rousseau, 1906, pp. viii, 286.) This monograph professes to be a study of the influence exercised by the President of the United States over legislation by means of the message and the veto. (Other means of influence exercised by the President over legislation are, however, discussed at length.) The President, M. Bosc contends, does not constitutionally possess the right of initiative in legislation, because the exclusion of members of his cabinet from the floors of Congress prevents him from forcing Congress to consider the measures proposed in his messages. The President can, however, get his political friends to introduce measures which have been prepared in the executive departments. If the President's part in legislation stopped here, our author continues, his powers would not be very great, but the real work of preparing legislation is done not in the House and Senate, but in committees, and the committees are in the habit of calling members of the cabinet and other executive officials before them to give oral information, so that in this way the President has the opportunity of having his views presented and of making his influence felt. In addition to this, the President invites senators and representatives sitting on various committees to confer with him and thus he has the chance to modify their views. When a measure comes to the vote, there are various ways in which the President can influence the result. He can secure certain votes through the promise of patronage, or, in an emergency, he can do as McKinley did at the special session of 1897, when he refused to send in the general list of nominations until a vote had been taken on the tariff bill. M. Bosc's conclusions as to the permanent effect on the executive power of President Roosevelt's personal interference in legislation would probably be considered by most Americans as somewhat premature.

In discussing the veto our author contends that this power is, in its nature, legislative and not executive, and that the President constitutes in a sense a third branch of the legislature; that in giving the President the veto power the framers of the Constitution departed to that extent from the principle of the separation of powers. He objects to the use of the term veto, which he reminds us does not occur in the Constitution, and prefers the term sanction.

The monograph is a careful, interesting and lucid discussion, and the author seems to be thoroughly familiar with the theoretical aspects of the question. For the practical workings of the American system he

follows Bryce and Woodrow Wilson. The following errors are noted: on page 37, the statement that the Chief Justice presides over the Senate in all cases of impeachment; on page 66, *stradding* for *straddling*; on page 77, George Adams for John Adams; on page 79, the statement that the United States was not represented at the Conference of American States at Mexico in 1901; on page 254, 1846 for 1864.

JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ.

The Mississippi Territorial Archives, Vol. I., 1798-1803. Edited by Dunbar Rowland, Director, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. (Nashville, Brandon Printing Company, 1905 [1906], pp. viii, 615.) Beside his annual reports and statistical year-books Mr. Rowland proposes to print three series of documentary volumes,—Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1540-1798; Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1817; and Mississippi State Archives, extending from 1817 to the present time. The preparation of the first will require long researches, which it is understood that he has already set on foot, in the archives of Spain, France, and England. The second series is the nearest to being ready, and a beginning of its publication is now made by the issue of this substantial volume, which embraces the executive journal of the first territorial governor, Winthrop Sargent, and that of the first two years of his successor, W. C. C. Claiborne. They consist, in part, of copies of proclamations, orders and appointments made by the two governors, but mostly of copies of their official letters. Sargent's journal (pp. 14-334) begins May 21, 1798, at Cincinnati, where he received from Pickering the news of his appointment, and extends to April 3, 1801. Claiborne's (pp. 342-603) begins July 10, 1801, and the portion here printed ends March 27, 1803. Portraits of both governors are inserted, and a facsimile of the first page of Sargent's journal. His portrait and his letters make it easy to see why Jefferson should finally have written him that his administration "had not been so fortunate as to secure the general harmony, and the mutual attachment, between the people and the public functionaries, so peculiarly necessary for the prosperity and happiness of an infant establishment."

Mr. Rowland has given us a volume of great importance and value for Mississippi history. His editorial work seems to have been conscientiously done throughout. A less sparing use of explanatory footnotes would have been of advantage. It is a blemish that Governor Gayoso de Lemos, rightly entered under Gayoso in the index, should be entered under De Lemos in the table of contents. So also of Salcedo. A line from p. 367 has been lost, or rather has escaped to an odd place on p. 366.

Volumes XXII., XXIII., and XXIV. of the series of "Early Western Travels" (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company) are given up to the *Travels in the Interior of North America* by Maximilian Prince of

Wied. He was the eighth son of a princely house of Rhenish Prussia, and took his part in the struggle of fatherland against Napoleon. Before the wars were over, his passion for travel and for scientific exploration led him to South America, where he spent two years in studying the native races of Brazil and the natural history of the country. About fifteen years later (July 1832) he landed in Boston and began a journey to the great West, hoping to study with care the Transmississippi region and above all to get intimate knowledge of the habits and the speech of the Indians. He was accompanied by Charles Bodmer, a young Swiss artist of talent, who devoted himself with enthusiasm and industry to sketching the red men, their dress and adornments. Plates engraved from his sketches are to form volume XXV. of this series. The editor, Mr. Thwaites, says that in some respects Bodmer was "the most competent draughtsman who has thus far sought to depict the North American tribesmen".

Maximilian was two years in the United States. The account of his experiences and the description of what he saw are of very unusual interest. The style in translation is singularly clear and simple. No small portion of the narrative is of historical value; considerable portions describe the cities and the settlements east of the Mississippi, others throw light on the fur-trade and the early commerce of the Missouri, and the whole story is told in such a way that one is led to read for the pleasure of reading. The editing appears to have been done with exceptional fullness and care, the notes are abundant and supplement the text with information of a scientific and historical character. Few volumes of travels have received such careful attention from the editor. The amount of information thus given on places and persons that are incidentally mentioned by the author is very large.

Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877. By John S. Reynolds. (Columbia, S. C., The State Company, 1905, pp. 522.) Alongside of this book should be placed Allen's *Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina* (New York, 1888), which covers the last two years of the same period. Neither author has penetrated beyond the mere partisan narrative of political events into the profounder questions of South Carolina's reconstruction history. Students should examine both books, not for the conclusions, but possibly for the points of view and especially for the documentary material they contain; though both fail in indicating where, either in print or in manuscript, the material can elsewhere be found.

It is easy to make out a case of criminal wastefulness and bald corruption against the ruling party; and even to show that the courts could not be relied upon to punish the guilty, to vindicate the innocent, or to avenge the wronged. But the case in favor of those charged with Ku-Klux outrages, with intimidation in the "red shirt" and "hurrah for Hampton" campaign, and with ballot-box frauds in Edgefield (and in Beaufort too) is not so convincing.

The economic history of the state during this period—the recovery from war, the revival of business and industry, and the readjustment to the conditions of free labor, with whatever effect, favorable or unfavorable, the course of politics may have had on these things, needs exhaustive treatment but does not get a whole page. The basis of taxation was changed so that land—in the hands of those who were now land-poor—bore a heavier burden. Was this change made vindictively or in wisdom or in unthinking accord with the practice elsewhere of those who proposed it? The “carpet-baggers” imposed upon this extreme type of the southern state a New York code with New England embellishments; and Mr. Reynolds says that the result was not in all points unhappy. But he does not go further into this interesting experiment.

Through the enfranchisement of the blacks and the disfranchisement of many of those who had been leaders among the whites state governments were constructed to which Congress was willing to accord the rights of protection and the immunities of local self-government provided by the Constitution. Every one of these state governments fell, that of South Carolina last of all. Their failure suggests the timely inquiry whether it is possible ever to establish democratic self-government upon the basis of a mere numerical majority, whether there must not also be on the side of the rulers at least a fair share of the prestige, the integrity, the intelligence, and perhaps also of the property of the community; whether, in other words, Congress did not undertake an impossibility and did not set forces in motion that would inevitably produce evil results. Mr. Reynolds loses sight of the philosophy of history in the combat of opposing parties.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

The Virginia State Library (Mr. John P. Kennedy, librarian) has just published a large and well-printed volume entitled *Calendar of Transcripts, including the Annual Report of the Department of Archives and History* (Richmond, 1905, pp. 658, xlv). More exactly, the book is a report of the newly-created Department of Archives and History, by Mr. Edward S. Evans, acting chief, including a calendar of transcripts. About one-sixth of the book (pp. 7-118) consists of an inventory of the manuscripts, archival and other, relating to Virginian history, now in the custody of the state librarian. It would be convenient if somewhere it were stated, in statutory terms, just what this collection embraces; not, it is evident, the papers of the state land-office, which are described in a separate place in the volume, nor those of the offices of the auditor-general, adjutant-general, and attorney-general, which are not mentioned. After the inventory follows (pp. 118-640) an itemized list of transcripts, nearly 6400 in number, possessed by the state library, made chiefly from documents in the Public Record Office in London, and relating to Virginian history. Five-sixths of these documents, by the way, are abstracts, not full texts. Lastly, on pp. 640-658, comes a provisional in-

ventory of Virginian manuscripts preserved by the land-office, by the Virginia Historical Society, and at Washington. An ample index follows.

It is obvious that the book presents a great mass of data useful to historical scholars, making available large treasures at Richmond whose magnitude and variety could heretofore be only matter of surmise. Nevertheless it lays itself open to severe criticism by great want of care and skill in arrangement. It is worth while to dwell somewhat upon its defects, if only because we seem to be at the beginning of a period of great activity in documentary publication by states and societies which hitherto have done little of such work. Why should men proceed as if there were in existence no good models for the printing of historical inventories, calendars, and collections of documents? The book before us, for instance, has no table of contents. It sacrifices all the help and guidance that running headlines can afford the reader, by presenting, from p. 1 to p. 658, only the useless if not misleading heading "Report of the State Librarian". In the first section, the individual journals of the Council and of the House of Delegates, each of which a prudent compiler would describe in one line with perfect sufficiency, are each given five or six lines by repetitious printing, wasting twenty pages out of twenty-five. Throughout this section each item, as if the copyist's cards had been sent to the printer unedited, begins with the word VIRGINIA in capitals, so that that name, repeated eight or nine hundred times as the catch-word, makes it exceedingly difficult to find the word which is really significant and should catch the eye. The list of transcripts, the main contents of the book, begins in the middle of a page (p. 118) without proper heading, and ends with as little ceremony as it begins. In it also there is a considerable waste of space. The Sainsbury abstracts, the main division (pp. 119-534), are listed in the order in which they are bound, which apparently is the casual order in which Mr. Sainsbury found or sent them, and which anyhow is far from chronological. Now aside from the obvious convenience and propriety of the chronological order, it saves much print, because one never needs to print the year-date except just before January 1 and, of course, in the running headlines. Also, a non-chronological arrangement prevents the discovery of duplicates between, *e. g.*, Sainsbury and Winder abstracts, and so wastes more print. After each abstract or transcript is printed in italics an abbreviated designation of its provenance in the Public Record Office, but nowhere are these terms of designation explained.

COMMUNICATIONS

QUOGUE, N. Y., July 25, 1906.

THE EDITOR OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dear Sir:—

IN the issue of the REVIEW for July, in the review of my *War of 1812*, your reviewer, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, has fallen into an inadvertence of statement which I cannot afford to leave uncorrected. He writes:

"The naval victories on Lake Champlain and the military victories at New Orleans are treated as events irrelevant to the objects and outcome of the war."

As to New Orleans, this is exact as regards the outcome; scarcely so, I think, as regards the objects. As to Lake Champlain, it is entirely contrary to what I explicitly stated. Thus, in concluding my account of Macdonough's victory, Vol. II., p. 381, I say:

"The battle of Lake Champlain, more nearly than any other incident of the War of 1812, merits the epithet decisive."

This is certainly not saying that the battle was irrelevant to the outcome of the war; and that this was not an accidental comment on my part, but in keeping with my steady point of view, appears both from the preface, which I refrain from quoting, and from the following other extracts:

"As, on a wider field and in more tremendous issues, the fleets of Great Britain saved their country, and determined the fortunes of Europe, so Perry and Macdonough averted from the United States, without further fighting, a rectification of frontier," etc. (Vol. II., p. 101.)

"In 1814 there stood between the Government and disastrous reverse, and loss of territory, in the north, only the resolution and professional skill of a yet unrecognized seaman on the neglected waters of Lake Champlain." (Vol. II., p. 267.)

Whatever may be thought of these two estimates, in themselves, they show that I considered this battle far from irrelevant to "the objects, or the outcome, of the War."

The statement of your reviewer affects too seriously my sanity, as an historical writer, to be passed over in the silence with which an author of many years' experience learns to accept differences of opinion. But for it, I should not have written at all; but, as it has drawn me out, I will say further that, in my judgment, your reviewer has failed in another respect to reach the high standard which should be expected in the REVIEW. The *obiter dicta* of the periodical press are one thing; the REVIEW is specialist in aim and character. Mr. Hunt writes:

"Nor is Captain Mahan without injustice in his treatment of the controversy which terminated in the dismissal of Jackson, the British minister. No minister had ever gone so far in insolence, and no self-respecting government could have done other than dismiss him."

Insolence, doubtless, may be cause for dismissal; the degree that demands it is matter of opinion. Mr. Hunt says Jackson's insolence reached it; an opinion about which I am not solicitous to differ. But in an historical magazine, should it be thought necessary to express an opinion, the opinion should speak to the facts. The fact is that our Government dismissed Jackson, not on a general charge of insolence, but on the specific ground that in his letters to it he had made, and afterwards repeated, a specific implication, which was false and insolent. The American letter ran thus:

"I *abstain*, Sir, from making any particular animadversions on several irrelevant and improper allusions in your letter. . . . But it would be improper to conclude the few observations to which I *purposely limit* myself, without adverting to your repetition of a language implying a knowledge on the part of this Government that the instructions of your predecessor did not authorize the arrangement formed by him."

The abstention, and the limitation, here italicized by me, exclude other grounds for action than the language construed by Madison to imply the meaning which he repelled; and the letter of dismissal rests directly, and solely, upon the same ground: "language reiterating, and even aggravating, the same gross insinuation." After a very diligent examination of the correspondence, I elaborated in the book under review a demonstration that Jackson's language, carefully and fairly scrutinized, did not imply the statement put into his mouth. My conclusion was expressed in these words:

"Prepossession in reading, and proneness to angry misconception, must be inferred in the conduct of the American side of this discussion; for another even graver instance," etc. (p. 226).

This is simply a statement of opinion, with which any one is at liberty to differ; but, as an opinion, it relates not to a general charge of insolence, but to the specific reason alleged by the American Government for its action, which I endeavored to show was unfounded. The opinions advanced by me currently in my account of the transaction, and summarized in the above extract, constitute my injustice in this matter to the administration of Madison; that injustice, if it exists, should have been indicated, not by a general sweeping mention, but by the statement that the facts contained in my demonstration failed to sustain the judgment that "prepossession in reading and proneness to angry misconception must be inferred from the American conduct of the discussion." From first to last the action of the American Government was based on a specific implication, alleged to be in Jackson's letter. If that implication was in the letter, fairly and dispassionately read, I have been unjust; if it was not in the letter, but, as I have asserted, and I think

demonstrated, was read into it, wilfully or carelessly, I have not been unjust. Either view is open to a reviewer's conscientious conviction; but the conviction, when stated, should be in reference to what I have said, and not to what I have not said.

The matter is of consequence because, if I am right, the whole correspondence throws light on Madison's characteristics, confirming impressions which his other diplomatic letters produce; because the examination of the phraseology which I gave I have found nowhere else, and by it the diplomatic incident is essentially transformed; and, finally, because the character of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* demands on the part of its reviewers more exactness in stating the position of an author, when they charge him with injustice.

A. T. MAHAN.

IF Captain Mahan had ever seen the instructions which the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* sends its reviewers he would have known that they are discouraged from sacrificing space to argumentative criticism. He is probably aware that they are always strictly limited to the matter of space. To review Captain Mahan's volumes in a thousand words seemed to me a task which could not under any arrangement of ideas be satisfactorily performed, and I thought it advisable to merely express a dissent to his treatment of the Jackson incident without setting forth the treatment and an argument to show wherein it is unjust, which would have taken all my space. It is the very thing I wanted to do, but I do not believe my readers would have liked it. I believe Captain Mahan to be in error in thinking he has discovered a meaning, or an absence of meaning, in Jackson's most insolent letter to Madison, which no one (not even Madison) ever discovered before; and I hope to show it on an occasion in the near future.

As for the sentence about Lake Champlain and New Orleans it is obviously too sweeping, being a mistake which I was carelessly led into by the following passage of Captain Mahan's:

"For these reasons, whatever transactions took place in this quarter [Lake Champlain] up to the summer of 1814 were in characteristic *simply* episodes; an epithet which applies accurately to the more formidable, but brief, operations here in 1814, as also to those in Louisiana. *Whatever* intention underlay either attempt, they were in matter of *fact* almost without any relations of antecedent or consequent. They *stood* by themselves, and not only may, but should, be so considered. *Prior* to them, contemporary reference to Lake Champlain, or to Louisiana, is both rare and casual. For this reason, mention of earlier occurrences in either of these quarters has heretofore been deferred, as irrelevant and intrusive if introduced among other events, with which they coincided in time, but had no further connection." (Vol. II., p. 357.)

GAILLARD HUNT.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

The volume of General Index to the first ten volumes of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, may be expected from the press about the end of October, and may be obtained from the publishers, The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

M. Albert Sorel, one of the most distinguished of French historians, member of the French Academy and Professor at the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, died on June 29, at the age of sixty-four. During the Franco-German war he was chief secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Government of National Defense, and in 1875 published his *Histoire Diplomatique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*. His monumental work, remarkable alike for erudition and brilliancy, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, was published in eight volumes during the twenty years 1885-1904. Among his minor writings are *The Eastern Question in the Eighteenth Century* (1877), which was translated into English (1898); *Essais d'Histoire et de Critique* (1883); *Bonaparte et Hoche en 1797* (1898); and biographies of Montesquieu (1887) and Madame de Staël (1891).

Dr. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, librarian and late fellow and assistant tutor of Emmanuel College, died suddenly on July 10 in the sixty-third year of his age. He was the author of a life of *Augustus* (1903) and of histories of Greece and Rome, all of which were addressed to the general reader rather than to the specialist. He also edited and translated a considerable number of Greek and Latin works, and wrote a history of his college.

Professor Giuseppe Mazzatinti, editor of the serial publication *Gli Archivi della Storia d'Italia* (1897 —) and compiler of the *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia* (1890 —), died on April 18 at the age of forty years. He edited a number of chronicles and other writings, among which was a volume of letters of Giuseppe Mazzini.

Professor Charles M. Andrews has been appointed professor of history in Johns Hopkins University. He will not assume the duties of his new position until the fall of 1907.

Professor Franklin H. Giddings has been appointed to the chair of the History of Civilization in Columbia University, founded by Mrs. Maria H. Williamson.

Professor Henry Ferguson, D. D., has resigned from the professorship of history in Trinity College (Hartford) and has been elected to the rectorship of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire.

Mr. W. L. Grant, formerly of the University of Toronto, has been appointed Beit Lecturer on colonial history in the University of Oxford, as assistant to Professor Egerton.

Professor E. L. Stevenson of Rutgers College has been appointed lecturer on historical cartography in Columbia University.

Among other faculty changes and appointments we note the following: Dr. Guy S. Ford of Yale is to be professor of European history in the University of Illinois; Dr. G. H. Roberts has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of California; Mr. William K. Boyd goes from Dartmouth College to Trinity College (Durham, N. C.); Dr. A. H. Shearer of Trinity College (Hartford) is to be instructor in history in Dartmouth; Mr. Cecil F. Lovell, of Bates, has been appointed professor of history in Trinity College (Hartford); Dr. Charles E. Fryer is to be instructor in history in McGill University; Dr. J. F. Willard has been appointed assistant professor in the University of Colorado.

Professor Samuel B. Platner has spent the summer in Rome in the study of recent explorations, as a preliminary to the preparation of a new edition of his work on the Forum.

During the coming academic year the Viscount Georges d'Avenel will deliver before the Cercle Français at Harvard University a course of lectures on "The Economic History of France from the Middle Age to the Twentieth Century".

The Prussian Ministry of Education has established in Columbia University the Kaiser Wilhelm chair of German history and institutions, corresponding to the Theodore Roosevelt professorship, previously described in these columns. The first appointee to the new chair is to be Dr. Hermann Schumacher, ordinary professor of political economy in the University of Bonn.

The third volume of the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (Rome, April, 1903) is concerned with medieval and modern history, historical method, and the auxiliary sciences. (Roma, R. Accademia dei Lincea, 1906, pp. lii, 719.)

The general governments of Indo-China and of Madagascar have founded a course in colonial history at the Sorbonne, in charge of M. Prosper Cultru. M. Cultru's *Leçon d'Ouverture du Cours* has been printed by Jacquin (Besançon, 1906, pp. 30).

A work on *Lord Acton and His Circle* by Abbot Gasquet is announced for immediate publication by Mr. George Allen. The book will contain many letters to various correspondents hitherto unpublished.

We congratulate the editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift* upon the enlargement and improved appearance of their excellent and celebrated journal; and upon the adoption of Latin instead of German type—a change that will be especially welcomed by foreign readers. A general index to volumes 57–96 is now in press.

An index to the reports of the meetings of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres has been compiled by M. A. G. Ledos and published under the title: *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-rendus des Séances. Table des Années 1857-1900* (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. xix, 232).

The fourth fascicle of the twenty-fourth volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht* (1904) contains 508 pages devoted to ecclesiastical history (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1906).

The sixteenth fascicle of the series of *Studi e Testi* (Rome, Imp. Vaticane, 1906, pp. x, 695) is entitled *Initia Patrum Aliorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum ex Mignei Patrologia et ex compluribus aliis Libris*, part I., embracing the first half of the alphabet, by M. Vattasso.

Professor H. M. Gwatkin's work on *The Knowledge of God and its Historical Development* (Edinburgh, T. Clark, 1906) represents the Gifford lectures delivered at Edinburgh in 1904 and 1905. The second volume contains historical chapters on The Early Church; The Nicene Age; Rome Pagan; Rome Christian; the Reformation; and Modern Thought.

Dr. Charles Bigg, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, has published through Longmans a volume entitled *Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History* (1906, pp. ix, 230), comprising nine lectures dealing with the making of the medieval system, the decay of the medieval system, and the beginning of modern Christianity. The lectures bear the following titles: Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius Apollinaris, Grosseteste, Wycliffe, A Kempis, and the English Reformation (three lectures on this last subject).

The new manual of canon law by M. André Mater, entitled *L'Église Catholique, sa Constitution, son Administration* (Paris, Colin, 1906, pp. 461) contains an account of the formation and history of the canon law with a bibliography of sources.

Not many books are addressed to both the historian and the astronomer, but students of both sciences will be interested in Professor F. K. Ginzel's enormously learned work entitled *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie. Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906, I., pp. xii, 584). The first volume, recently published, deals with the methods of reckoning time employed by the Babylonians, Egyptians, Mohammedans, Persians, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and the peoples of southeast Asia and Central America. Two later volumes will treat of all other peoples concerning whose systems of chronology there is attainable evidence.

Christliche und Jüdische Ostertafeln (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 197) is the title of a work by E. Schwartz, which also appeared in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse*, new series, VIII. 6. The results arrived at are

conveniently summarized by the author in his article "Osterbetrachtungen", in the *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, VII., 1906.

In *Heresies of Sea Power* (Longmans, 1906, pp. 341) by Fred. T. Jane, "no attempt is made to go into the details of past history. Only the main facts are selected for comparison with accepted theories of Sea power, and thence is deduced a new theory as to what history really does teach."

Seiji George Hishida's study of *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power* (Macmillan, 1905, pp. 289 [Columbia Studies in History, etc.]) deals with "the International Society of Ancient Asia," 660 B. C.-930 A. D.; "Dreams of Universal Empire", 894-1595; the first intercourse of Japan with European nations, 1541-1638; the re-opening of sealed Japan, 1643-1863; entry into the comity of nations; modern relations with Asiatic nations; and the Far Eastern question. Appendixes contain the treaty of Portsmouth and the renewed Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The first work selected for editing in Father Beccari's notable series, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI. ad XIX.* (Paris, Picard), is *Historica Aethiopiae* by the seventeenth-century Jesuit, Father Petro Paez.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Lindner, *Reaktion und Kontrast in der Geschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 3); P. Allard, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); G. Liebe, *Waffenkunde und Kulturgeschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 3); P. Sakmann, *Die Probleme der Historischen Methodik und der Geschichtsphilosophie bei Voltaire* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 2); G. d'Avenel, *Les Riches depuis Sept Cent Ans. I. Les Millionnaires d'Autrefois, II.—En quoi consistaient les Anciennes Fortunes* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The first volume of *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome* (pp. iv, 220) has been published by the Macmillan Company. The *American Journal of Archaeology* will continue to publish papers by members of the school, but those that cannot be included in its pages will appear in the series inaugurated in the above-mentioned volume.

Messrs. Longman announce for immediate publication a history of *Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome and among the Early Christians*, by Dr. J. Donaldson, Principal of the University of St. Andrews, and *Stoic and Christian in the Second Century*, by Leonard Alston, Burney prizeman of Cambridge.

Mr. G. F. Hill, author of *The Coins of Sicily*, has brought out a work on *Historical Greek Coins* (London, Constable, 1906) with plates illustrating over 100 coins.

The British Museum has published a *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia* (pp. 491, plates 53) compiled by Dr. B. V. Head, keeper of the department of coins and medals.

G. Colin's work, *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1905, pp. 683), which forms the ninety-fourth fascicle of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, has been crowned by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. A detailed statement regarding the fascicles of this series which have appeared from 1904 to 1906 is given in *Le Moyen Âge*, May-June, pp. 182-183.

The third volume of P. Groebe's revised edition of W. Drumann's *Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung* (Berlin, Borntraeger, 1906, pp. xii, 829) comprises the sections relating to the families *Domitii-Julii*. The portion dealing with the Roman calendar in the years 45-43 B. C. is published separately by the same house.

Studies of Roman Imperialism by Mr. W. T. Arnold, edited by Mr. E. Fiddes with a memoir of the author by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Mr. C. E. Montague, forms the fourth number in the Historical Series published by the University of Manchester (University Press, 1906, pp. cxxiii, 281). The volume contains seven chapters, of which two deal with the constitution and the rest mainly with the several provinces of the Empire, not including Roman Britain or Africa.

Professor E. Kornemann's critical study *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom* treats of various questions connected with the life of the Emperor and with the historical work of the Anonymous of the time of Alexander Severus. (Leipzig, Dieterich, pp. viii, 136.)

Dr. E. C. Clark, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge, has published through the University Press the first part of a *History of Roman Private Law* (1906, pp. 168) dealing with its sources, and including a chronological sketch. The work aims at a systematic treatment of Roman Private Law as a matter of historical development.

A Short History of Roman Law (Toronto, Canada Law Book Company, 1906, pp. 220) is the title under which Professors A. H. F. Lefroy and J. H. Cameron, both of Toronto, have published a translation of the first part of Professor P. F. Girard's *Manuel Élémentaire de Droit Romaine*.

Die Verfassungsgeschichte der Germanen und Kelten (Berlin, K. Siegmund, 1906, pp. viii, 208) is a contribution by Julius Cramer to the comparative study of antiquity, based largely upon the information furnished by Caesar and Tacitus regarding the two peoples.

Die Germanen im Römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins I. is the subject of a work by M. Bang, published by Weidmann (Berlin, 1906, pp. viii, 112).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Revillout, *Amasis et la Chute de l'Empire Égyptien* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); J. B. Bury, *The Homeric and the Historic Kimmerians* (Klio, VI. 1); M. J. Chabert, *Histoire Sommaire des Études d'Épigraphie Grecque en Europe* (Revue Archéologique, March, 1905–April, 1906); J. Beloch, *Griechische Aufgebote*, II. (Klio, VI. 1); F. Cumont, *Les Cultes d'Asie Mineure dans le Paganisme Romain* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, January–February).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Mgr. Duchesne, the learned editor of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Liber Censuum* of the Roman church, has written a *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 577), which comes down to the end of the third century. That the subject has been treated not only in a masterly but in an interesting manner may be inferred from the fact that a second edition has appeared two months after the first edition was put on sale.

Documentary publications: A. Bruckner, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelagianischen Streites* [Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften, II. 7] (Tübingen, Mohr, 1906, pp. viii, 103).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Leipoldt, *Christentum und Stoizismus* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, June); H. v. Schubert, *Hypatia von Alexandrien in Wahrheit und Dichtung* (Preussische Jahrbücher, 1906, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Prize Bordin has been awarded as follows: to M. J. Gay, for his work *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin depuis l'Avènement de Basile I. jusqu'à la Prise de Bari par les Normands, 867–1071* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 90, Paris, Fontemoing, 1905) 2000 francs; to MM. C. Samaran and G. Mollat for their work *La Fiscalité Pontificale en France au XIV^e Siècle, Période d'Avignon et Grand Schisme d'Occident* (ibid., fasc. 96, pp. xv, 278) 600 francs; and to P. Champion for his volume on *Guillaume de Flavy, Capitaine de Compiègne: Contribution à l'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc et à l'Étude de la Vie Militaire et Privée au XV^e Siècle* (Paris, Dumoulin, 1906, pp. xix, 307) 400 francs.

A *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* by M. Ch. Diehl is announced to appear in 1907 through the house of Picard.

The new series, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich, Beck) edited by L. Traube, opens with a work by S. Hellmann entitled *Sedulius Scotus* (1906, pp. xvi, 203), which includes the first complete and critical edition of the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, and studies on his *Collectaneum* or collection of extracts and of his commentary on Saint Paul.

A contribution to the history of medieval exegesis has been made by Dr. J. B. Hablitzel in his work on *Hrabanus Maurus* (1906, pp. viii, 106) which forms the third number of the eleventh volume in the series of *Biblische Studien* published by Teubner, Leipzig.

The first of the series of *Mémoires et Travaux publiés par des Professeurs de Facultés Catholiques de Lille* is E. Lesne's important volume on *La Hiérarchie Épiscopale, Provinces, Métropolitains, Primats, en Gaule et Germanie depuis la Réforme de Saint Boniface jusqu'à la Mort d'Hincmar, 742-882* (Paris, Picard, pp. xvi, 350).

Dr. G. H. Putnam's new book on *The Censorship of the Church, and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature* is being published by his own firm, Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The memoirs of Guibert de Nogent, the historian of the crusades, are to be published in the *Collection de Textes destinée à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Picard). A monograph by B. Monod on *Le Moine Guibert et son Temps* was published last year through Hachette, Paris.

M. L. de Kerval has contributed to the series of *Opuscules de Critique Historique* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1906, pp. 221-288) a study of *L'Évolution et le Développement du Merveilleux dans les Légendes de S. Antoine de Padoue*.

Dr. A. Meister, whose book on the beginnings of modern diplomatic cryptography published in 1902 did not include a study of papal cipher-writing, has now made good this omission in a comprehensive work entitled *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der Päpstlichen Kurie von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts* [Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, Görres-Gesellschaft, Vol. XI.] (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1906, pp. 450).

An important study of the origins and early history of indulgences has been made by Dr. A. Gottlob in his work entitled *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass* (1906), which forms the thirtieth and thirty-first volumes of the *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* edited by Dr. U. Stutz and published by F. Enke, Stuttgart.

E. Gerland's *Geschichte des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel, I. Geschichte der Kaiser Balduin I. und Heinrich. 1204-1216* (Homburg v. d. Höhe, Gerland, 1905, pp. vii, 264), which is said to contain fuller references to authorities than any previous work on the same subject, forms part of a general history of the Frankish dominion in the Greek world—an undertaking whose starting-point is furnished in the manuscript remains of K. Hopf, historian of Greece in the Middle Ages.

The autobiography of the Franciscan Fra Salimbene (1221-1288) is being published under the editorship of Professor Holder-Egger in the *Monumenta Germaniae* (Scriptores, Vol. XXXII., Part I.). The stu-

dent who wishes to obtain quickly and easily an idea of the contents of the book may do so by reading Mr. G. G. Coulton's *From St. Francis to Dante* (London, Nutt, 1906, pp. vi, 364), which is a translation of a large part of the chronicle together with illustrations from other medieval sources, and a running commentary.

Entstehung und Ausbreitung des Klarissenordens besonders in den Deutschen Minoritenprovinzen (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906, pp. 179) is the title of a monograph by Dr. E. Wauer, who in 1903 published a dissertation on *Die Anfänge des Klarissenordens in den Slawischen Ländern*. The book includes chronological lists, arranged under countries, and an alphabetical table of the 135 houses of the order that are dealt with.

A life of Cardinal Giordano Orsini, who played an important rôle in the Councils of Pisa and Constance and was one of the earliest adherents of humanism in the papal court, has been written from printed sources and from the manuscript material in Italian archives by Dr. E. König (Freiburg, Herder, 1906, pp. xii, 124). [Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, ed. by H. Grauert, V. 1.]

Documentary publications: H. Otto, *Ungedruckte Aktenstücke aus der Zeit Karls IV.* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); A. Sorbelli, *Il Trattato di S. Vincenzo Ferrer intorno al Grande Scisma d'Occidente* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1906, pp. 159); M. de Alpartil, *Chronica Actitatorum Temporibus Domini Benedicti XIII.*, I., ed. F. Ehrle [Quellen und Forschungen, Görres-Gesellschaft, XII]. (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1906, pp. xlii, 616) [published for the first time, with introduction, text, and appendix of unprinted documents].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Schneider, *Zur älteren Päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); H. U. Kantorowicz, *Schriftvergleichung und Urkundenfälschung: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Diplomatie im Mittelalter* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); A. Meister, *Burggrafnamt oder Burggrafentitel? Die Präfektur* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 2); P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales, III. La Patrie des Fausses Décrétales; 1. Les Provinces de Mayence et Reims* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); K. G. Hugelmann, *Der Einfluss Papst Viktors II. auf die Wahl Heinrichs IV.; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Päpstlichen Approbationsrechts bei der Deutschen Königswahl* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 2); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Das Papstwahldekret des Jahres 1059* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1); H. Thurston, *The English Pope and his Irish Bull* (The Month, April, May) [a critical study of the bull *Laudabiliter*, which the author believes to be authentic]; K. Hampe, *Zum Erbkaiserplan Heinrichs VI.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1); C. Kohler, *Mélanges pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Orient Latin et des Croisades* (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VIII., IX., X. and separately, Paris, Leroux, 1906, 2d

fascicle, pp. 279-574); P. A. Kirsch, *Der Portiunkula-Ablass* (Theologische Quartalschrift, LXXXVIII. 81-101, 221-291).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Messrs. Macmillan announce the immediate publication of Lord Acton's *Lectures on Modern History*, which have been edited by the Rev. J. N. Figgis and Mr. R. V. Laurence.

The third and latest volume in the series of *Geschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Gotha, Perthes), edited by Professor Karl Lamprecht, contains three essays on the cultural history of France and Germany: *Jean Bodin*, by F. Renz; *Thomas Abbt's historisch-politische Anschauungen*, by O. Claus; and *Die Anschauungen der Franzosen über die Geistige Kultur der Deutschen im Verlaufe des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*.

La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et Traités d'Asiento (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1906, two volumes, pp. xxii, 849, xxvii, 716) is a study in public law and diplomatic history drawn from the original sources and accompanied by several hitherto unpublished documents, by M. Georges Scelle.

The third volume of E. Bourgeois's valuable *Manuel Historique de Politique Étrangère* covers the period 1830-1878 (Paris, Belin, 1905, pp. 866).

Documentary publications: L. Cardauns, *Ein Programm zur Wiederherstellung der Kirchlichen Einheit aus dem Jahre 1540* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); A. Clergeac, *Inventaire Analytique et Chronologique de la Série des Archives du Vatican dite "Lettere di Vescovi" [1657-1669]* (Annales de Saint Louis des Français, X., pp. 319-375, con.); F. M. Kircheisen, *Die Schriften von und über Friedrich von Gentz* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der Modernen Welt* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 1); P. Herre, *Mittelmeerpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, July); L. Willaert, *Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598-1625)* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Question in 1718* (English Historical Review, July); F.-C. Roux, *La Politique Française en Egypte à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle*, II. (Revue Historique, July-August); *Canning and the Treaty of Tilsit* (Edinburgh Review, April); G. Yakschitch, *La Russie et la Porte Ottomane de 1812 à 1826*, I. (Revue Historique, July-August).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

An Historical Association has recently been formed in England to which all persons are eligible who are engaged or interested in the teaching of history. The aims of the association are the collection of

information as to existing systems of historical teaching at home and abroad; the distribution of information amongst members as to methods of teaching and aids to teaching; the encouragement of local centres for the discussion of questions relative to the study and teaching of history; the representation of the interests of the study to governmental authorities; and co-operation for common objects with similar associations of teachers of other subjects. The secretary *pro tem.* is Miss M. A. Howard, 7 Chenies Street Chambers, London, W. C.

The Royal Historical Society has removed its headquarters from Serjeants' Inn to South Square, Gray's Inn, where it will have increased accommodation.

Abbot Gasquet will publish through Mr. George Allen a book on *Parish Life in Mediaeval England* dealing with parochial finance, parish church services, festivals, gilds, and amusements.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Third year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1176-1177 (London, Spottiswood, 1905, pp. xxx, 260) forms the twenty-sixth volume published by the Pipe Roll Society. In a brief but comprehensive introduction Mr. J. H. Round indicates the more important contents of the Roll, such as the destruction of castles which had been held against the king in the civil wars, the great sums exacted for offenses against the forests, and for final concords; the evidence relating to the working of the king's judicial reforms, to his passion for building and the splendor of his court; and the aids exacted from boroughs and villis, which if compared with earlier similar payments, throw light on the economic development of the country.

A monograph by F. Hardegen on the *Imperialpolitik König Heinrichs II. von England* forms the twelfth number of the *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by K. Hampe, E. Marcks and D. Schäfer. (Heidelberg, C. Winter.)

The second volume of the *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (1906, pp. xxvii, 267), edited by Abbot Gasquet, has been issued among the Camden publications of the Royal Historical Society. Whereas the first volume contained documents relating to the general administration of the Order in England, the second volume includes documents relating to individual houses, alphabetically arranged. The last house included is Irford. A third volume will contain the rest of the special documents and the index.

Another recent number in the Camden publications is *Acts and Ordinances of The Eastland Company* (1906, pp. lxxxviii, 175), edited for the Royal Historical Society from the original muniments of the Gild of Merchant Adventurers of York by Miss Maud Sellers. The volume also includes extracts from the court-book of the York Eastland Company, an appendix of charters and other official documents, and an introduction by the editor (pp. 80) dealing with the organization and activities of the

company; its relations to the Merchant Adventurers and the government; and the provincial courts.

The Oxford University Press is issuing a second edition of C. P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, revised and brought up to date by Mr. R. E. Stubbs. The first volume, dealing with *The Mediterranean and Eastern Colonies*, has already appeared.

The Clarendon Press has published an *Illustrated Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits of English Historical Personages who died between 1714 and 1837*, exhibited at Oxford in the spring of this year (pp. 106). A detailed account of the similar publication of last year will be found in this REVIEW, XI. 209.

The June *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* contains some twenty-five pages of "Correspondence between the Duke of Newcastle and Admiral Lestock and General St. Clair, relating to the expedition against L'Orient in 1746."

A series of *Selections from the Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Governors-General and Viceroys of India* edited by Mr. G. W. Forrest with introductions, maps and plans will be published by Mr. B. H. Blackwell, Oxford. The first volume, *Warren Hastings (1772-1785)*, is announced for immediate publication.

The first volume of Professor Felix Salomon's exhaustive biography, *William Pitt der Jüngere*, of which a part, pp. 1-208, was issued in 1901, has recently been published in its entirety by Teubner (Leipzig, pp. xiv, 208, 600) and comes down to the year 1793. The work will be completed in a second volume.

Mr. E. Fraser has made an important contribution to the literature of the Trafalgar campaign in his volume *The Enemy at Trafalgar* (Hodder and Houghton, 1906, pp. 456), which is an account of the battle from eye-witnesses' narratives and letters and despatches from the French and Spanish fleets.

We should have noted earlier the interesting monograph *Die Wirtschaftlichen und Politischen Motive für die Abschaffung des Britischen Sklavenhandels im Jahre 1806-1807* (1905, pp. x, 120) contributed by Dr. Franz Hochstetter to Schmoller and Sering's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot). The author tries to show that ethical motives did not suffice to bring about the abolition of the British slave-trade, but that it was abolished when England found it to be unprofitable.

Among Mr. Murray's autumn announcements are *Nelson and other Naval Studies* by James R. Thursfield, and *The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, 1792-1861*, first Lord of the Admiralty in the Ministries of Lord Grey and Lord Aberdeen, and Home Secretary in the administration of Sir Robert Peel, edited by C. S. Parker.

Messrs. Longman announce for immediate publication a work by

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb on *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act—The Parish and the County*; and Major-general J. Ruggles's *Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran*, 1845–1876.

Two parts of the first volume of the *History of the War in South Africa, 1899–1902*, compiled under the direction of the British Government by Major-general Sir Frederick Maurice with a staff of officers, have been published through Hurst (1906, pp. 546 and maps). Four volumes are intended.

British government publications: *Early Chancery Proceedings*, vol. III., Lists and Indexes, no. xx.; *Proceedings in the Court of Requests*, vol. I., Lists and Indexes, no. xxi.; *Feudal Aids, 1284–1431*, vol. IV., Northampton-Somerset; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. VI., 1531–1538; *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls (Irish)*, 1295–1303; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore, vol. V., and on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Marchants' Quay, Dublin.

Other documentary publications: Mary Bateson, *Borough Customs*, vol. II. [Selden Society Publications, vol. XXI.] (London, Quaritch, 1906, pp. clvi, 242); H. Maxwell, *The Reign of Edward II. as recorded in the 'Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray* [trans.] (Scottish Historical Review, July).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Nisbet, *The History of the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire* (English Historical Review, July); B. H. Putnam, *The Justices of Labourers in the Fourteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); *Memoirs of the Whig Party* (Edinburgh Review, July); A. Lawrence Lowell, *Lord Randolph Churchill* (Atlantic Monthly, August); A. W. Moore, *The Connexion between Scotland and Man* (Scottish Historical Review, July); R. S. Rait, *John Knox and the Scottish Reformation* (Quarterly Review, July); H. Bingham, *The Early History of the Scots Darien Company: Investigation by the English Parliament* (Scottish Historical Review, July); R. Dunlop, *Origins of the Irish Race* (Quarterly Review, July).

FRANCE

A French Society of Bibliography has been organized at Paris under the honorary presidency of MM. L. Delisle and G. Darboux and the active presidency of M. M. Tourneux. Among its objects are the perfecting of the bibliographical apparatus of France, the re-establishing of the repertory of French reviews formerly published by Jordell and the compiling of a bibliography of official publications since 1815.

M. Georges Bourgin has compiled two important guides to the material for French history in foreign archives, *Inventaire Analytique et Extraits des Manuscrits du 'Fondo Gesuitico' de la Bibliotheca Nazionale*

Vittorio-Emanuele de Rome concernant l'Histoire de France, XVII^e-XIX^e Siècles (Paris, Champion, 1906, pp. 80, extr. from the *Revue de Bibliothèques*, January-February) and *Les Archives Pontificales et l'Histoire Moderne de la France* noted in our last number as having appeared in *Le Bibliographe Moderne* and since printed separately by Jacquin, Besançon (1906, pp. 114).

A new and entirely revised edition of the *Bibliographie des Bénédictins de la Congrégation de France* by the Fathers of the same Congregation (Paris, Champion, 1906, pp. xxviii, 190) contains more than 10,000 titles of volumes, articles and collections concerning history and the auxiliary sciences. A biographical notice of each author is given and a bibliography of works relating to the abbeys and the orders.

The subject of *Die Normannen und das Fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)* (Heidelberg, C. Winter, pp. xv, 442) is treated at length by W. Vogel in the latest number (14) of the series of *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by Karl Hampe and others. The thirteenth number of the same series is a study of *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Karolingern bis zum Tode Ludwigs II.* (pp. 93) by G. Lokys.

Dutton and Company have published a new English version by Mrs. Ethel Wedgwood of the *Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville* (1906, pp. 428).

During his researches in the London Public Record Office, M. Eugène Déprez discovered a great number of missives of the English kings, dating from 1272 to 1485, written for the most part in French, and largely relating to the history of France. While the royal letters in Rymer's *Foedera* are the official letters patent and close, the series that has hitherto remained unprinted consists of personal and private correspondence, issued under the privy seal. The Société de l'Histoire de France has accepted M. Déprez's proposition to publish the most important of these letters in three or four volumes of its collections.

M. J. M. Vidal's *Le Tribunal d'Inquisition de Pamiers* (Toulouse, Vidal, 1906, pp. 313) is based upon a study of Vatican manuscripts and throws new light on the religious history of southern France. Several pontifical documents, and documents of the Inquisition, all dating from the fourteenth century, are included.

Du Breuil's *Stilus Parlamenti*—an important text for the history of French law and institutions—is announced for publication in the *Collection de Textes destinée à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Picard).

M. Henri See, the well-known economic historian, has published a work on *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1906, pp. 545).

The Commission on the Economic Life of the French Revolution has

published the first number of its *Bulletin Trimestriel* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, and E. Leroux, 1906, pp. 104), which contains the circulars already published, a list of the members of the central Commission and of the departmental committees, a chronicle of various matters relative to the activities of the Commission and of the committees, reports of their meetings, announcements regarding their publications, etc.

P. Boissonnade's *Études Relatives à l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* (1789-1804), which appeared in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, have been published separately (Paris, Cerf, 1906, pp. 172).

M. Dry has written an extended account of *Soldats Ambassadeurs sous le Directoire* in two volumes published by Plon, Paris.

M. Paul Gruyer has published a well-documented and well-illustrated volume on *Napoleon, Roi de l'Île d'Elbe* (Paris, Hachette, 1906, pp. 288).

A translation of M. Herriot's book on *Madame Récamier and her Friends*, the French edition of which has already been reviewed in this journal, is announced for publication by Mr. Heinemann.

The seventh volume of the *Histoire Socialiste* (Paris, J. Rouff), directed by M. Jaurès, deals with the Restoration and is by M. Viviani; the eighth volume, on the reign of Louis Philippe, is by M. Eugène Fournière. Both writers are Socialist deputies, and the latter is historical lecturer at one of the great military schools.

Documentary publications: Br. Krusch, *Die Urkunden von Corbie und Levillains letztes Wort* (Neues Archiv, XXXI. 2); J. Fraikin, *Nonciatures de France: Nonciatures de Clément VII.*, vol. I. (1525-1527) [Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France, vol. III.] (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. 87, 450); Vicomte de Noailles, *Épisodes de la Guerre de Trente Ans: Le Cardinal de la Valette, Lieutenant Général des Armées du Roi, 1635-1639* (Paris, Perrin, 1906); Vicomte de Grouchy and P. Cottin, *Journal Inédit du Duc de Croy, 1718-1784* [from the manuscript in the Library of the Institute] (Paris, Flammarion, 1906, two vols., pp. lxiv, 528; 531); J. Baudry, *Une Ambassade au Maroc en 1767, Documents Inédits* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Comte de Lort de Sérignan, *Correspondance Intime du Duc de Lauzun, Général Biron, 1791-1792*. [published for the first time in extenso from the original manuscripts of the historical archives of the Ministry of War] (Paris, Perrin, 1906); C. Ballot, *Le Coup d'État du 18 Fructidor an V*. [reports of police and other documents] (Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution, Paris); A. Hübner, *Erlebnisse zweier Brüder während der Belagerung von Paris und des Aufstandes der Kommune 1870 bis 1871* (Berlin, Paetel, 1906, pp. viii, 216).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Baraude, *Le Siège d'Orléans et Jeanne d'Arc, 1428-1429* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); E. Mâle, *L'Art Français à la Fin du Moyen Âge: L'Idée de la Mort et la Danse Macabre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April); F. Aubert, *Le*

Parlement de Paris au XVI^e Siècle (Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, II., III., January-February; March-April; and, separately, Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1906, pp. 114); J. Richard, *Origines de la Nonciature de France: Débuts de la Représentation Permanente sous Léon X., 1513-1521* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); G. Pagès, *L'Histoire Diplomatique du Règne de Louis XIV.* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, June); L. Cahen, *La Société des Amis des Noirs et Condorcet* (La Révolution Française, June); G. Bord, *La Conspiration Maçonnique de 1789* (Le Correspondant, May 10 and 25); É. Dejean, *Une Statistique de la Seine-Inférieure au Début du Siècle Dernier sous l'Administration de Beugnot, I. La Préparation de la Statistique; II. Les Résultats de la Statistique* (La Révolution Française, June, July); F. Thénard and R. Guyot, *Le Conventionnel Goujon*, con. (Revue Historique, July-August); A. Bonnefons, *La Culte de la Raison pendant la Terreur* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); M. Pellet, *Le General Humbert* (La Révolution Française, July); James W. Thompson, *Napoleon as a Booklover* (Atlantic Monthly, July); A. Aulard, *Taine Historien de la Révolution Française, III. L'Assemblée Constituante* (La Révolution Française, May).

ITALY, SPAIN

An important historical congress is to be held in Milan in November in connection with the International Exhibition recently opened in that city. It will deal exclusively with the history of modern Italy, 1796-1870, and its scope will be to stimulate and organize research in that special field, to further systematic and organized cataloguing of its historical documents and to create keener interest in their preservation. An exhibition of historical documents and objects will be held in connection with the congress, and elaborate preparations are being made to secure unpublished material from both public and private archives throughout Italy. Among the supporters of the undertaking are the most notable historians of Italy, and not a few foreigners. Two Americans have been invited to attend the congress as delegates, William Roscoe Thayer as representative of the United States, and H. Nelson Gay as one of the representatives of Rome. The publication of the official bulletin has been already begun, *Bollettino Ufficiale del Primo Congresso Storico del Risorgimento Italiano e Saggio di Mostra Sistematica* (Milano, L. T. Cogliati, 1906), a monthly periodical containing important unpublished historical documents and inventories of archives, as well as the official proceedings and communications of the congressional committees.

Signor Pietro Sella proposes to publish under the title of *Corpus Statutorum Italicorum* a work in several volumes which will include the most important statutes up to 1400. He has issued a *Piano di Pubblicazione* through Forzani, Rome (1906).

A History of Rome in the Middle Ages by F. Marion Crawford and Professor G. Tomassetti is announced for publication by Macmillan.

The first volume of H. Kretschmayr's *Geschichte von Venedig*, which comes down to the death of Enrico Dandolo, is issued in Lamprecht's series *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xvii, 523).

Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im Italischen Königreich von der Zeit von Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grossen (774-962) is the title of an excellent and comprehensive study by A. Hofmeister published in the *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, VII. Ergänzungsband, 2. (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1906, pp. 215-435.)

The Guilds of Florence (Methuen, 1906, pp. ix, 622) is an attractive volume by Mr. Edgcumbe Staley which contains much interesting matter, including excellent illustrations after miniatures in illuminated manuscripts and Florentine woodcuts. An extended bibliography of manuscripts and books is appended (pp. 585-599).

In his work on *Notre Dame de Lorette* (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. 516) M. Ulysse Chevalier, compiler of the *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Âge*, has made an exhaustive critical study of the authenticity of the legend of the translation of the Virgin's house.

An admirable life of *Saint Bernardine of Siena* (1380-1444), by M. Paul Thureau-Dangin of the French Academy, has been translated into English by Baroness G. von Hugel and published by Dutton and Company (1906, pp. xii, 288). It has been the author's aim "to utilize the original sources at his disposal so as to furnish the reader with a living portrait of the saint, with a graphic picture of his time and environment, and above all to discover the secret of that preaching which was attended by such marvellous results."

Professor Lanciani is publishing through Messrs. A. Constable a book entitled *Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*, which aims at describing the evolution of the Eternal City from medieval conditions to the height of its Renaissance.

Machiavelli's *Art of War*, *The Prince*, and *The Florentine History* form volumes 39 and 40 of the series of "Tudor Translations", published by Nutt, London.

Signor E. Artom has published the first installment of the papers of his father Senator Artom, Cavour's private secretary, under the title *L'Opera Politica del Senatore J. Artom nel Risorgimento Italiano*, Part I. (Bologna, Zanichelli).

An excellent historical quarterly has recently been founded in Umbria, the *Archivio Storico del Risorgimento Umbro* (1796-1870), edited by Professor Giuseppe Mazzatinti, Dott. Giustiniano Degli Azzi, and Dott. Angelo Fani, and excellently printed by the publishing house

of S. Lapi, Città di Castello. The primary object of the publication is to secure to history, documents and memoirs found in private archives, as well as the personal reminiscences of men still living who had a part in events, or were eye-witnesses of them. Public archives are also laid under contribution. The editing of the four numbers which have thus far appeared is excellent, and the material included is, for the most part, of the first importance. The ground covered is restricted, but events in Umbria, 1796-1870, are of sufficient importance to merit universal attention and support for the *Archivio*.

Documentary publications: R. Majocchi, N. Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiæ* (Pavia, Rossetti, vols. I. [1258-1400], II., 1905-1906); S. Lentulo, *Historia delle Grandi e Crudeli Persecuzioni fatte ai Tempi Nostri in Provenza Calabria e Piemonte contro il Popolo che chiaman Valdese*, ed. T. Gay (Torre Pellice, Alpina, 1906); *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* publicadas por acuerdo del Congreso de los Diputados à propuesta de su Comisión de Gobierno Interior: Cortes celebradas en Madrid en los años de 1607 à 1611, vol. XXVI. [1610-1611] (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1906).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Huyskens, *Das Kapitel von St. Peter in Rom unter dem Einflusse der Orsini (1276-1342)*: I. *Die Verwaltung der Peterskirche durch die Erzpriester aus dem Hause Orsini, 1276-1337* (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXVII. 2); *Marino Falier* (*Edinburgh Review*, July); G. Daumet, *Les Testaments d'Alphonse X. le Savant Roi de Castille* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, January-April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

An account of the proceedings of the annual meeting of German historians, held in Stuttgart last April, is given on pages 294-302 of the May number of the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*; the July number of the same journal (pp. 428-429) contains an account of the conference of the "Landesgeschichtliche Publikationsinstitute", held at the same time. The next Historikertag will take place in Dresden, in the autumn of 1907, under the presidency of Professor G. Seeliger.

The seventh edition of the indispensable work of Dahlmann and Waitz, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1906, pp. 1020), has been completed by E. Brandenburg and his four associates, except for a supplement which will be issued early in next year and will bring all divisions of the bibliography down to the close of 1906. Besides the additional titles, some alterations in the arrangement distinguish this edition from the last, which was published twelve years ago.

During the past year the *Historisches Jahrbuch* of the Görres-Gesellschaft has contained detailed reports of the scientific activities of the following commissions and societies: in volume XXVI., number 4, the Roman Institute of the Görres-Gesellschaft (pp. 950-953); the Society for the History of the Rhineland (pp. 954-957); the Historical Com-

mission of Nassau (p. 957); in volume XXVII., the Historical Commission of Baden (pp. 244-246); the Historical Commission for the publication of the sources of Lotharingian history (pp. 246-247); the German Commission of the Berlin Academy of Sciences (pp. 473-476); the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (pp. 477-480); the Commission for the Modern History of Austria (pp. 480-481); the Society for the History of the Rhineland (pp. 722-724); and the Historical Commission of Hesse and Waldeck (pp. 725-726). In volume XXVII. 3, pp. 716-722, a full statement is made regarding publications of the past year in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The publications in the section of "Scriptores" have been already noted in our pages (XI. 473, 730; and above, p. 192); in the section of "Leges" J. Schwalm has edited *Constitutiones et Acta Publica*, III. 2 (1273-1298); IV. 1 (1298-1310); the section of "Diplomata" has issued the first volume of *Urkunden der Karolinger*, 751-814; and that of "Antiquitates", the third volume of *Necrologia Germaniae*, for the dioceses of Brixen, Freising and Regensburg.

From the annual report of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome (*Quellen und Forschungen*, IX. 1) we learn that of the first series of the *Nuntiaturberichte*, the fifth volume, covering the years 1539-1541, and the tenth volume, covering the years 1547-1548, are nearly completed; of the third series of the *Nuntiaturberichte*, volume five is now in press; the *Prager Nuntiaturberichte* from 1603 to 1606 will be printed next year. Work on the *Repertorium Germanicum* is continued by Dr. Göller, and Drs. Niese and Schneider are carrying on the systematic investigation of Tuscan archives and libraries begun in 1904. In connection with the newly-undertaken investigations into the history of art Dr. Haseloff has visited the cities and castles of Capitanía and Apulia and has studied with particular care the castle of Bari.

Georg Caro's important essays on agrarian history are collected under the title *Beiträge zur älteren Deutschen Wirtschafts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, Veit, 1905, pp. 132).

W. Wittich, whose important book on *Grundherrschaft in Nordwestdeutschland* appeared ten years ago, has published a work on *Altfreiheit und Dienstbarkeit des Uradels in Niedersachsen* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1906, pp. vii, 203).

The first publication of the new "Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte", the founding of which was noted in our pages one year ago, is R. Fester's *Franken und die Kreisverfassung* (Würzburg, Stürtz, 1906, pp. 78), which includes a summary inventory of "Kreisakten" found in various archives.

An account of the undertakings of the Historical Commission of Saxony is given in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for March, pp. 148-149. This commission has recently issued through Teubner, Leipzig, a collection of *Die ältesten gedruckten Karten der Sächsisch-Thüringischen*

Länder, 1550-1593, with explanatory text by Dr. V. Hantzsch. The work is preparatory to an intended comprehensive publication on the development of the cartographic representation of the electorate and kingdom of Saxony.

The new series *Tübinger Studien für Schwäbische und Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (Tübingen, Laupp) is opened by two monographs by the editor of the series, Professor F. Thudichum, one on *Die Stadtrechte von Tübingen 1388 und 1493* (1906, pp. viii, 79) and the other, *Die Diözesen Konstanz, Augsburg, Basel, Speier, Worms nach ihrer alten Einteilung in Archidiaconate, Dekanate und Pfarreien* (1906, pp. 125).

In his work entitled *Kaiser Maximilian I. als Kandidat für den Päpstlichen Stuhl, 1511* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1906, pp. vii, 86), A. Schulte concludes that the Emperor entertained the project of uniting the tiara and the imperial crown.

A new collection of *Flugschriften aus den Ersten Jahren der Reformation*, intended to comprise all the characteristic, original and interesting specimens of this class of writings up to the year 1525, including those by Catholic writers, will be published in a series of volumes by Dr. Otto Clemen and several well-known collaborators through the house of Haupt, Halle.

A history of *Die Jugend und Erziehung der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und Könige von Preussen* is being compiled from archive material by Dr. Georg Schuster, archivist of the royal family of Prussia. The first volume by Dr. Schuster and F. Wagner begins with the Elector Frederick I. and ends with the Elector Joachim II. (Berlin, Hofmann, 1906, pp. xxiii, 608).

A life of *Queen Louisa of Prussia* has recently been published by Miss M. Moffat through Methuen (pp. 326).

Professor M. Doeberl of the University of Munich is writing an *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, of which the first volume extends from the earliest times to the Peace of Westphalia (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1906, pp. x, 594) while the second will come down to the founding of the German Empire and conclude with a consideration of the present position of Bavaria in the Empire. The work, which treats of Bavarian history from the standpoint of the general historical development of Germany, is addressed to the teacher, the university student and the general reader, and is provided with bibliographies.

The first half of volume ninety-four of the *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte* (Vienna, Hölder, 1906, pp. 310) is composed of four contributions towards the historical atlas of the Austrian Alp lands: *Die Entstehung der Landgerichte im Bayrisch-Oesterreichischen Rechtsgebiete*, by H. v. Voltolini; *Immunität, Landeshoheit und Waldschenkenungen*, by E. Richter; *Gemarkungen und Steuergemeinden im Lande Salzburg* also by E. Richter; *Das Land im Norden der Donau*, with map showing possessions of lay lords at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by J. Strnad.

An excellent though brief history of Switzerland (pp. 180) has been written for the series of small handbooks known as the *Sammlung Götschen* (Leipzig, Götschen, 1906) by Professor K. Dändliker, the author of the three-volume work on the same subject. The book contains so much bibliographical information that it will serve as a convenient starting-point for those who wish to pursue the subject further.

Documentary publications: T. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, III., 1201-1235 [Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Southern Slavs] (Agram, G. Trpinae, 1905, pp. xii, 538); A. E. Schönbach, *Des Bartholomaeus Anglicus Beschreibung Deutschlands gegen 1240* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 1); J. Dex, *Metzer Chronik über die Kaiser und Könige aus dem Luxemburger Hause*, ed. Dr. G. Wolfram [Quellen zur Lothringischen Geschichte] (Society for Lotharingian History, Metz, G. Scriba, 1906, pp. xcv, 534); H. Hoogeweg, *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, IV., 1310-1340 [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, XXII.] (Hannover, Hahn, 1906); *Die Chroniken der Schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg* [Chroniken der deutschen Städte, vol. XXIX.] (Leipzig, S. Hirzels, 1906, pp. vii, 110); O. Heinemann, *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, VI. 1, 1321-1324 [pub. by the state archives at Stettin] (Stettin, Niekammer, 1906, pp. 248); A. Chroust, *Der Ausgang der Regierung Rudolfs II. und die Anfänge des Kaisers Matthias: Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des 30-jährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des vorwaltenden Einflusses der Wittelsbacher*, X. (Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Munich, M. Rieger, 1906, pp. xxii, 904); K. Rauch, *Traktat über den Reichstag im 16. Jahrhundert* [Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reichs im Mittelalter und Neuzeit] (Weimar, Boehlau, 1905, pp. viii, 122).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. von Schwind, *Kritische Studien zur Lex Baiuvariorum*, I. (Neues Archiv, XXXI. 2); A. Hessel, *Beiträge zu Bologneser Geschichtsquellen* (Neues Archiv, XXXI. 1 and 2); M. Brosch, *Ein Krieg mit dem Papsttum im 14. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, July); E. Baasch, *Zur Geschichte des Hamburgischen Heringshandels* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1906, 1); T. Kiesselbach, *Der Ursprung der Rôles d'Oléron und des Seerechts von Damme* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1906, 1); P. Kalkoff, *Die Beziehungen der Hohenzollern zur Kurie unter dem Einfluss der Lutherischen Frage* [with documents] (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 1); F. W. Maitland, *The Making of the German Civil Code* (Independent Review, August); O. Hintze, *Die Epochen des Evangelischen Kirchenregiments in Preussen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 1); M. Ritter, *Der Untergang Wallensteins* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 2); A. Dove, *Leider noch einmals die Histoire de mon Temps: Eine Entgegnung* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 2); F. Meinecke, *Preussen und Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVII. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Miss J. W. A. Naber of Amsterdam has won the prize offered by the Teyler Society of Haarlem for a History of the Netherlands during the period of annexation to France, based upon documents in the State Archives at The Hague and in the National Archives at Paris. Her study appears in the *Verhandelingen* of the Teyler Society, n. s., VI., under the title *Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Inlijving bij Frankrijk* (Haarlem, Bohn, 1905, pp. 418).

The quinquennial prize for national Belgian history has been awarded for the period 1901-1905 to Professor Léon Vanderkindere of the University of Brussels for his book, *La Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen Age* (Brussels, Lamertin, vols. I. and II.).

Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's work on the Belgian Revolution of 1830, *De Belgische Omwenteling* (The Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 211), is drawn largely from unpublished sources, notably those in English archives.

Documentary publications: G. Espinas and H. Pirenne, *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Industrie Drapière en Flandre*, vol. I. [Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique] (Brussels, P. Imbreghts, 1906, pp. xx, 694); Marcus Van Vaernewijck, *Troubles en Flandre au XVI^e Siècle*, trans. by H. Van Duyse, pub. by M. de Smet de Nayer (Ghent, N. Heins, 1906, vol. II., pp. 618, 25 plates, 290 engravings); F. J. Vanden Branden, *De Spaansche Furie* [documents] (*Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 1906, XXIII. 353-471); F. J. L. Krämer, *Journalen van den Stadhouder Willem II. uit de Jaren 1641-1650* (*Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 1906, XXVII.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Maere, *Les Origines de la Nonciature de Flandre: Étude sur la Diplomatie Pontificale dans les Pays-Bas à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Kulturgegeschichte Schwedens by Oscar Montelius begins with the oldest times and comes down to the eleventh century of the Christian era (Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1906, pp. ii, 336).

Professor P. Fahlbeck of the University of Lund has written a handbook on *La Constitution Suédoise et le Parlementarisme Moderne* (Paris, Picard, 1905, pp. 349), which includes the text of the constitution of 1809 with the alterations up to 1904.

The first volume of a *Geschichte von Livland* (1906, pp. xi, 294) by E. Seraphim has been issued in the series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes). The volume deals with the medieval history of Livonia and the period of the Reformation to 1582.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Of the three guides to the materials for American history in foreign archives now in course of preparation by the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution, that of Mr. L. M. Pérez on the Cuban archives is now practically ready for the press. That of Professor Shepherd on Simancas, Seville and the Archivo Historico Nacional is in an advanced state. That of Professor C. M. Andrews on the London archives for the period before 1783 approaches completion. During the summer Miss Frances Davenport has been supplementing Mr. Andrews's materials on the Public Record Office and the British Museum by similar treatment of minor repositories, such as the archives of the House of Lords, of the province of Westminster, Lambeth, Fulham, etc. Professor William H. Allison has made considerable progress toward the proposed inventory of the materials for American religious history preserved in the archives of religious denominations, missionary societies and theological seminaries.

Congress has made provision for a new edition of Poore's *Charters, Constitutions, and Organic Laws*. It will be edited by Dr. Francis N. Thorpe and Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh.

A group of private benefactors has established, at Madison, Wisconsin, the American Bureau of Industrial Research, of which Professor Richard T. Ely is the principal director. The Bureau has in preparation and will publish at intervals within the next two years a large collection of fresh documentary material for the history of American industrial society. Volume I., edited by Dr. U. B. Phillips, will be devoted to the South and the early West—the plantation and frontier types of industrial society. Vol. II. will treat of the Northern development of towns and farming. Vols. III., IV. and V., edited by Dr. J. R. Commons, assisted by Miss Helen Sumner and Mr. J. B. Andrews, will present a great mass of material on trade-unions and the labor movement, from 1800 to 1880; and vol. VI., by the same editors, will present the documents for certain important cases at law where trade-unionists have been tried for conspiracy. Each volume will contain a prefatory essay of some fifty pages, followed by some five hundred pages of documents. The material is mostly from unique sources, gathered by the staff of the Bureau by personal research throughout the United States. A later work of the Bureau will be a history of American industrial society, for the writing of which the present collecting and printing of documents is a preliminary. The documentary volumes will be sold at the cost of printing and binding. The Bureau will be grateful to any persons who may add to the value of its work by calling to its attention any material suitable to its purpose which may have escaped the notice of its staff.

The Bibliographical Society of America has in preparation a bibliographical list of incunabula in America that are contained in libraries and private collections.

Houghton, Mifflin, and Company announce a standard library edition of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, reprinted from the original plates in twelve volumes of convenient size, and sold only by subscription. Volume I. will appear in December.

In *The Consular Service of the United States* (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, no. 18), Chester L. Jones deals with his subject under the following heads: Legislative History, Organization, Rights and Duties of Consuls, Extra-territoriality, Consular Assistance to the Foreign Trade of the United States, European Consular Systems, and Suggestions for the Improvement of the Service.

Les Messages Présidentiels en France et aux États-Unis is the subject of a doctoral thesis by A. Marcaggi (Paris, Larose and Tenin, 1906, pp. xii, 185).

The third volume of Mr. Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* was issued early in the summer. It contains titles 6624 to 9890, and covers the years 1751 to 1764.

Mr. Charles T. Harbeck of New York will issue this fall a privately printed edition of 350 copies of a "Bibliography of the History of the United States Navy." In the preparation of the work he has been assisted by Miss Agnes C. Doyle of the Boston Public Library, and Mr. Axel Mothe of the New York Public Library. Mr. Harbeck's own collection forms the basis of the bibliography, which will contain about 3,000 titles.

Of bibliographical interest is a reprint from the *German-American Annals* (volume IV., no. 5), just received: *Deutsch-Amerikanisches in der New York Public Library*, by Richard E. Helbig; being an account of the progress of that institution's German-American collection during 1904-1905. It is the aim of the library to collect everything that will serve as material for the study and history of the German element in the United States, including manuscripts, scrap-books, files of German-American newspapers and periodicals, portraits, photographs, and all kinds of illustrations.

In his work on *The French Blood in America* (Revell, pp. 448) Mr. L. F. Fosdick traces the rise of religious reform in France, French colonization in North America and the influence of the inhabitants of French descent upon the historical development of the country.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

An illustrated holiday edition, limited to 1,000 copies, of Franklin's *Autobiography* is planned by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

Franklin as a Man of Science and Inventor, by Edwin J. Houston, has been reprinted from the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* for April-May (140 pp.).

The *Year Book* of the Pennsylvania Society for 1906, edited by Barr Ferree, contains, besides the usual features, much material relating to Franklin. Addresses by Professor Albert H. Smyth and others bearing on various aspects of Franklin's life are given, together with a number of prints, facsimiles, and other relevant material.

Messrs. Scribner have just published a reprint of the journals of Richard Smith, a member of the Continental Congress, entitled *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware, in 1769*. The editing is by Francis W. Halsey.

The third publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints (Providence, R. I.) is Philip Freneau's poem *The American Village*, in facsimile of the original New York edition of 1772. An introduction by Harry L. Koopman and bibliographical data by Victor H. Paltsits are provided. The edition is, as usual, limited to one hundred copies.

An important addition to the well-known "Heroes of the Nations Series" (Putnam), is Professor J. A. Harrison's *George Washington, Patriot, Soldier, Statesman, First President of the United States*, which will receive further attention in a later issue.

John Witherspoon, by David W. Woods (Revell), is a readable biography, bearing closely on the history of the Revolution. Witherspoon was president of Princeton from 1768 to 1794. As a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence he was active in public affairs. His life was also notable in the history of the Presbyterian church in America.

The greater part of the Lafayette collection, sold for the present marquis by Sotheby in London on December 9, 1905, and July 3, 1906, was purchased by Mr. W. V. Lidgerwood of New York. The thirty-five lots which he secured include twenty letters from Lafayette, one from John Adams, ten from J. Q. Adams, seven from Henry Clay, one from Jackson, five from Jefferson, four from Madison, and ten from Monroe. Most of the letters contain important references to the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and other events in American history.

The original schedules of the first federal census (1790) are to be published by the Census Bureau. They fill twenty-seven volumes of manuscript, and relate only to population. Their value for local history is considerable, in view of the enumerators' process of gathering information family by family. Unfortunately the schedules for New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia are missing.

A new history of the War of 1812 has been published by the Oxford University Press: *The Canadian War of 1812*, by C. P. Lucas. The work has been based, so far as possible, on original sources; it includes contemporary American maps from the Colonial Office library.

The sixth volume of McMaster's *History of the People of the United*

States is announced for fall publication (Appleton). It will continue the narrative to 1842.

Volume XIII. of the *History of North America*, edited by Francis N. Thorpe (Philadelphia, Barrie), has appeared: *The Growth of the Nation, 1837-1860*, by E. W. Sikes and W. M. Keener.

Recollections of Thirteen Presidents, by John S. Wise (Doubleday, Page, and Company), is interesting autobiographically, as well as for the rather intimate views presented of some of the characters dealt with. The list of presidents begins with Tyler and includes Jefferson Davis, the chapter on whom, written from a sympathetic point of view, is probably the best in the book.

A revised and supplemented edition of G. T. Ritchie's *List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress* has been issued by the Library of Congress.

A bibliography of Lincolniana including about 1,200 titles, together with the auction price of each one, is to be published by William H. Smith, Jr., of New York.

Field-marshal Viscount Wolseley's tribute to General Robert E. Lee, which appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for March, 1887, has been published by G. P. Humphrey of Rochester, in a pocket edition of 300 copies.

Under the title *Morgan's Cavalry* has been republished (Neale) Basil N. Duke's *History of Morgan's Cavalry*, which appeared in 1867.

The Army of the Potomac from 1861 to 1863, by Samuel L. French (Publishing Society of New York), purports to set forth "an absolutely unbiassed and correct judgment concerning the various commanders". The volume consists largely of extracts from documentary material, which the author uses in such a way as effectually to thwart the purpose stated above.

From Bull Run to Chancellorsville, by General N. M. Curtis (Putnam's), is mainly a sketch of the part taken by the Sixteenth New York Infantry during the period indicated.

The fifth volume of *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts* (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company) bears the subtitle: Petersburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg. Of especial interest is the series of papers on the events between Grant's repulse at Cold Harbor and the failure to take Petersburg.

One of the best of recent regimental histories is George A. Bruce's *The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865* (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company). This organization, sometimes known as the "Harvard Regiment", was a part of the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Among the engagements to which particular attention is devoted are Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks, the Seven Days' battles, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, and Spottsylvania. The narrative is full of valuable sidelights.

Under the title *Confederate Operations in Canada and New York* (Neale) Captain John W. Headley gives a detailed account of the Confederate efforts to harass the North, particularly the incendiary attempt on New York, of November 25, 1864, in which the author took part. There is also some account of the writer's service in Kentucky and Tennessee earlier in the war.

The Library of Congress has published a *List of Discussions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with Special Reference to Negro Suffrage*, compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, the Chief Bibliographer.

Twenty Years in the Press Gallery (New York, Publishers' Printing Company), by O. O. Stealey, is an account of public events and character as seen by the author during the decades in which he was the Washington correspondent of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. The first part of the book contains intimate views of Washington life, public and private, and a sketch of the legislation passed in the period under review. The second part consists of character-sketches of some twenty-seven public men, written by various colleagues of Mr. Stealey.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

An interesting document is printed in the July issue of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*: "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia made in 1731 by Robert Hale of Beverly". The original manuscript is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

We note the following contributions to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July: a biographical sketch of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., by Henry H. Edes; "Extracts from the Journal of Constantine Hardy in the Crown Point Expedition of 1759", communicated by Charles A. Flagg; and an article, by Honorable George Sheldon, on "The Conference at Deerfield, Mass., August 27-31, 1735, between Gov. Belcher and Several Tribes of Western Indians", which includes extracts from a diary kept by a member of the governor's council.

History of the Town of Lyndeborough, 1735-1905, in two volumes, prepared by Rev. D. Donovan and Jacob A. Woodward, has been published by the town.

A valuable bit of Vermontana is again made generally accessible by the reprinting of "Zadock Steele's Narrative" of the burning of Royalton, Vermont, by Indians (Boston, H. M. Upham). The editor, Miss Ivah Dunklee, has included in the volume, in addition to the reprint, a considerable amount of other material bearing on the history of Royalton.

Mr. Robert T. Swan's eighteenth report as Commissioner of Public Records (Massachusetts) contains, among other matters, a discussion of the relative merits of vaults and safes as regards protection

against fire, and a valuable chapter of "Don'ts" which could well be read by all custodians of records.

Volume VIII. of the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, bringing the record down to the autumn of 1904, and a fascicle of the next volume bringing it to date, will be issued this month. Volumes II. and IV. are in progress. The Society also has in hand a volume containing a check-list of the Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1780.

The Essex Institute has published the first volume of *The Diary of William Bentley, D. D.* Bentley was the pastor of the East Church of Salem, and his diary is among the manuscripts of the American Antiquarian Society. This first volume runs from April, 1784, to December, 1792. Its value as a source of local history is unusual. A brief biographical sketch by the late Judge Joseph G. Waters serves as a preface.

The Medford (Massachusetts) Historical Society has published the *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Settlement of Medford*. A history of the town, by John H. Hooper, serves as a preface.

Two volumes dealing with the history of the Connecticut valley have appeared this summer: *Historic Towns of the Connecticut River Valley*, by George S. Roberts (Schenectady, N. Y., Robson and Adees), and Edwin M. Bacon's *The Connecticut River and the Valley of the Connecticut* (Putnam, "Historic Rivers Series").

Three volumes have been added to the Grafton Historical Series, edited by Dr. Henry M. Stiles (Grafton Press): *In Olde Connecticut* (second edition), by Charles B. Todd; *Historical Hadley*, by Alice M. Walker; and *King Philip's War*, by George W. Ellis and John E. Morris.

From the contents of the *Connecticut Magazine* for April-June we note the following contributions as having historical interest: "Last Years of Connecticut under the British Crown", by Benjamin P. Adams; "Journal of Sir Peter Pond", printed from an old manuscript and dealing with his experiences among the Indians and in the fur-trade during the latter half of the eighteenth century; "Influence of Ecclesiastical Doctrines on Government in the United States", by Joel N. Eno; "The Development of Steam Navigation—First Steamboat on the Connecticut River", by C. Seymour Bullock; and "Peter Morton—An Early American Merchant and Importer", by Dr. Everett J. McKnight.

Bulletin 100, Legislation 26, of the New York State Library is devoted to an *Index of New York Governors' Messages, 1777-1901*, prepared by Malcolm G. Wyer and Charlotte E. Groves.

The Story of Joncaire, his Life and Times on the Niagara, by Frank H. Severance (privately printed), constitutes a "portion of an extended study, as yet unpublished, of the operations of the French on the lower

lakes, with especial reference to the history of the Niagara region".

The Department of History appointed by Governor Pennypacker and the Jamestown Exposition Commission of Pennsylvania, as already noted, has been actively at work during the summer in preparing for the exhibit. The work is under the direction of Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Albert C. Myers, and has comprised much search in the records of the state and of its southeastern counties. Much material illustrative of the industrial and domestic life of the early settlers will be exhibited. Of especial interest to historians will be the series of historical maps—wall-maps, on a large scale, illustrating the extent of population at intervals of about twenty years. In their construction the frontier has been accurately determined, by means of land-warrants, surveys, patents, tax-lists, court records, and personal records, and the racial composition of the population has been designated. There will also be special maps showing such economic and social features as roads, mills, and churches.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July is by F. B. Sanborn: "The 'American Farmer', St. John de Crèvecoeur, and his Famous Letters (1755-1813)". Among the documents published in the issue we note "Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, Pastor of 'Gloria Dei' Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, 1702-1719", another installment (July 1 to November 29, 1794) of Washington's Household Account Book, 1793-1797, a long letter from General Greene to Washington, dated September 11, 1781, from "Head Quarters Martins Tavern Near Ferguson's Swamp South Carolina", containing his account of the battle of Eutaw Springs, and a list, by Albert J. Edmunds, of the first books imported in 1732, by the Library Company of Philadelphia. In the list of accessions to the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, during 1905, we note the papers of Naval Constructor Joshua Humphreys, the Charles Godfrey Leland papers, and a large quantity of miscellaneous titles.

Volume IX. (1905) of the *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*, edited by H. E. Hayden, contains in addition to articles of geological and ethnological interest, "Pioneer Physicians of the Wyoming Valley, 1771-1825", by F. C. Johnson; "The Early Bibliography of Pennsylvania", by Samuel W. Pennypacker; and "The Expedition of Colonel Thomas Hartley against the Indians in 1778 to Avenge the Massacre of Wyoming", by Rev. David Craft.

The June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains, aside from continuations, the first installment of the "Letters and Diary of Father Joseph Mosley, S. J.", covering the years 1757-1786, when he was a missionary in Maryland. The documents are from the Shea Collection in Georgetown College, and are edited by Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S. J.

Dixie after the War, by Mrs. M. L. Avary (Doubleday, Page, and Company), is "an exposition of social conditions existing in the South during the twelve years succeeding the fall of Richmond".

In the July issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is commenced a most important documentary publication: "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Session, 1737-1763". The original journals in the Virginia State Library, from which this publication is made, vary greatly in character, from rough minutes to full and fair records; there are also many gaps. Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers", in the same issue, are printed documents bearing on the treaty concluded between Virginia and the Indians at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburg), in June, 1775, together with the minutes of the treaty, beginning on June 19.

The Appomattox Surrender House Association, of which Mrs. C. W. Dunlap of Washington is secretary, has been formed with a view to the permanent preservation of the McLean farmhouse, at Appomattox, Virginia, in which the surrender of General Lee took place.

Recollections of a Lifetime, by John Goode of Virginia (Neale) adds another to the list of recent autobiographical works by southerners. Mr. Goode was a member of the secession convention of Virginia, and of the Confederate Congress throughout the war, and later served several terms in the United States Congress.

Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, director of the State Department of Archives and History of West Virginia, has published a statement showing the results of the first year's work of his department, pointing out the possibilities for historical research in West Virginia, and making a plea for the donation to the department of all kinds of material bearing on any phase of the state's history. The department is installed in commodious quarters in the Capitol Annex Building, and has arranged to excellent advantage its already large collection (inherited in part from the old Historical Society). Its collection of Virginiana is large.

The latest issue of *The John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College* (volume II., no. 2; June 1906), edited by Professor William E. Dodd, contains two contributions. The first of these (pp. 4-77) is a biographical sketch of R. M. T. Hunter, by D. R. Anderson, the first attempt as yet (Martha T. Hunter's *Memoir* bears mainly on Hunter's private and early life) at a study of the public life of that Confederate leader. The second contribution (pp. 78-183) bears the heading "Virginia Opposition to Chief Justice Marshall", and is made up of five letters, reprinted from the Richmond *Enquirer* of May and June, 1821, by "Algernon Sidney" (Spencer Roane), on the so-called "Lottery Decision", given by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Cohen vs. the State of Virginia*. These letters, bitter in their attack on Marshall, constitute, as the editor notes, a "commentary on the national constitution in matters touching the relative rights of the

States and of the Union". They were discussed freely in contemporary newspapers, north and south, and were generally understood to represent the views of the Virginia Supreme Court as well as those of the Virginia democracy.

We have received *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in North Carolina and Tennessee*, by Marshall De Lancey Haywood (Raleigh, 1906). This pamphlet, based on much original investigation, throws interesting light on many well-known colonial and revolutionary characters. We note particularly short biographical sketches of John Hammerton, Thomas Cooper, Joseph Montfort, James Milner, Cornelius Harnett, and William Brinage, and, as a frontispiece, an excellent portrait of Governor Samuel Johnston.

In the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for July are five more letters from Lafayette to Henry Laurens, all of January, 1778. They treat of various matters, uniforms and insignia of rank, gentlemen volunteers from France, his dislike for Conway, etc. In this issue are also the first installment of "An Order Book of the 1st Regt., S. C. Line, Continental Establishment", commencing December 25, 1777, and a continuation of Mr. Salley's "Calhoun Family of South Carolina", including brief biographical notices of John Ewing Colhoun, Patrick Calhoun, and John C. Calhoun.

The Making of South Carolina, by Henry A. White, has been added to the "Stories of the States" series (Silver, Burdett, and Company).

Part four of volume III. of the *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society* is called a "Gayarré Memorial Number". Its contents relate mainly to the work of that historian.

Mr. William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library has printed a little pamphlet under the title *Contributions to Louisiana History*. It consists of comments on five volumes, old and new, containing material that bears on Louisiana.

A series of reprints to be known as the *Old North-West Leaflets* has been begun under the auspices of the Chicago History Teachers' Association, by a board of publication composed of Edwin E. Sparks, James A. James, and Charles W. Mann. "The material selected for reprinting in these leaflets bears upon the history of the Middle West, is descriptive rather than documentary, and follows the chronological order of exploration and settlement." Numbers 1 and 2 have been published, both taken from the Jesuit Relations: *The Last Two Journeys of Father Marquette*, edited by Edwin E. Sparks; and *Manners and Customs of the Western Indians*, edited by Charles W. Mann.

The "Old Northwest" *Genealogical Quarterly* for July contains the first part of an autobiography of Ex-governor Allen Trimble, found among his papers, and the conclusion of the biographical sketch of Governor Jeremiah Morrow.

The principal articles in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for July are three appreciations: "Stanton—the Patriot", an address delivered at Kenyon College by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, on April 26; "Salmon P. Chase", the substance of an address by Senator Joseph B. Foraker before the United States Circuit Court at Springfield, Illinois, October 7, 1905; and "General George A. Custer", by Judge Richard M. Voorhees.

An attractive little volume of interest in local history is *The History of St. Andrew's Church*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, by Professor Arthur Lyon Cross (Ann Arbor, Wahr, 1906). The book covers in an entertaining way something like seventy-four years of parish history, and gives an excellent example of the way in which the churches of the West were founded and how they have prospered.

Among the contributions to the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for June are "George W. Julian: Some Impressions", by Mrs. Grace J. Clarke; "Early Indianapolis" (a second installment from the Fletcher papers); "Early Schools of Indiana" (a second installment from the D. D. Banta papers); and "River Navigation in Indiana", by George S. Cottman. In the editorial department is to be found some information respecting local historical societies in Indiana.

In the last session of the Kentucky legislature an act was passed providing an annual appropriation of \$5,000 for the support of the Kentucky State Historical Society, which is made the trustee of the state. Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, editor of the society's publication, the *Register*, has been appointed secretary-treasurer, and Miss Jackson has been made librarian. The society will have ample accommodations in the new capitol upon its completion, and will take active measures to collect and preserve the public records and other material of historical value.

Landmarks in Wisconsin is the title of Bulletin of Information No. 30 (June) of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July is devoted to a journal kept by Robert Lucas during the War of 1812. At the outbreak of the war Lucas was a brigadier-general in the Ohio militia, but shortly afterward received a commission as captain in the regular army. Receiving no orders as captain, however, he enlisted as a private in one of the volunteer companies that he was instrumental in raising from the Ohio militia. The *Journal*, therefore, is the narrative of a private soldier. It opens on April 25, 1812, and records the details of the Hull campaign and the return of the Ohio volunteers after the surrender. Portions of the *Journal* have previously been used, notably in the report by Lewis Cass on Hull's campaign. The *Journal* is edited by John C. Parish, who provides a model introduction, including an enlightening map, and appends certain letters found among the Lucas papers which throw additional light on various points in the campaign.

We note the following contributions in the *Annals of Iowa* for July: "William F. Coolbaugh", by J. T. Remey; "Biographical Memoir of Charles Christopher Parry", with bibliography, by Charles A. White; "Iowa under Territorial Governments and the Removal of the Indians", by Colonel Alonzo Abernethy; and "Whence came the Pioneers of Iowa", concluded, by F. I. Herriott.

Mr. George W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, has published in a small pamphlet, *The Flag of Kansas*, an account of the visit of Zebulon M. Pike to the Pawnee village, on September 29, 1806, and of his lowering the Spanish flag which he found there and raising the flag of the United States. In commemoration of the event a celebration was held in Republic City (Kansas) on September 26-29.

The *University of Colorado Studies* for June (vol. III., no. 3) contains a useful contribution by Professor F. L. Paxson: "A Preliminary Bibliography of Colorado History".

The first publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1905, lacks any specific title. It is an eighty-five-page pamphlet, devoted to the origin, work, and accessions of the society, and includes an article by Honorable Sidney Clarke on the "Opening of Oklahoma".

Bulletin 32 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is devoted to an account by Edgar L. Hewett of the *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico*. It is the first of a series, planned by the Bureau, that will treat of the antiquities of the public domain.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for June contains, besides continuations, "The Genesis of the Oregon Railway System", by Joseph Gaston; "A Brief History of the Establishment and Location of the University of Oregon at Eugene", by J. J. Walton; and, as documentary material, "A Reminiscence of the Indian War, 1853," written in 1879 by James W. Nesmith. Among the recent manuscript accessions of the society should be noted a collection of about three hundred military papers bearing on the Indian War of 1855-1856.

A bibliography of writings on the *American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1903*, has been compiled and issued by the Library of Congress.

It is announced that the War Department is to publish a limited edition of the collection of documents known as the "Philippine insurgent records". These documents, which were captured, cover the period of the insurrection against Spain, as well as of that against the United States. Their translation and preparation for publication has been going on for the last three years, under the direction of Captain John R. M. Taylor, U. S. A.

One of the most intimate studies of the Philippines, since the American occupation, is to be found in *The Philippine Experiences of*

an American Teacher (Scribner's Sons). The author, William B. Freer, was stationed first in central, and later in southern Luzon, but also made visits to the southern islands. The book is especially valuable for the near views that it gives of the everyday life of the islanders, their manners and customs, and their personal characteristics.

A brief account of *The Earliest Historical Relations between Mexico and Japan*, by Zelia Nuttall, based on "original documents preserved in Spain and Japan", is issued as no. 1 of volume IV. of the "University of California Publications; American Archaeology and Ethnology".

We note *The Republic of Colombia*, by F. L. Petre (London, Stanford), dealing with the administrative, economic, and social conditions, and potential development of that country.

Pizarro and the Conquest of Peru, by Frederick A. Ober, is a recent addition to the Harper series, "Heroes of American History". The first volume of Mr. Ober's *Columbus the Discoverer*, in the same series, has also appeared.

From the fall announcements, not elsewhere noted in these pages, we select the following: Century Company: *Lincoln the Lawyer*, by Frederick T. Hill; *Addresses of John Hay*; Harper and Brothers: *The Americanisms of Washington*, by Henry van Dyke; Houghton, Mifflin, and Company: *Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington*, by Arria S. Huntington; *The Practice of Diplomacy*, by John W. Foster; Little, Brown, and Company: *A Handbook of Polar Discoveries*, rewritten, by General A. W. Greeley; G. P. Putnam's Sons: *The Ohio River*, by Archer B. Hulbert; *The Story of Old Fort Johnson*, by W. M. Reid; *Gettysburg and Lincoln*, by H. S. Burrage; *The Union Cause in Kentucky*, by Thomas Speed; Charles Scribner's Sons: *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*, edited by Gaillard Hunt.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Addington Bruce, *New Light on the Mecklenburg Declaration* (North American Review, July); Worthington C. Ford, *One of Franklin's Friendships* (Harper's, September); H. B. Learned, *The Origin and Creation of the President's Cabinet, 1781-1793* [Studies in the History of the American Cabinet, I.] (Yale Review, August); Gaillard Hunt, editor, *Washington in Jefferson's Time*, I., from the diaries and family letters of Margaret Bayard Smith (Scribner's, September); C. K. Wead, *The Portraits of St. Mémín* (Appleton's, July); Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (running in McClure's); E. D. Fite, *The Canal and the Railroad from 1861 to 1865* (Yale Review, August); W. L. Fleming, *The Freedmen's Savings Bank*, II. (Yale Review, August); "Nicholas North", *The Autobiography of a Southerner since the Civil War* (running in the Atlantic Monthly); Gerhardt Bradt, *Modoc War Reminiscences* (Metropolitan, July).

The
American Historical Review

RELIGION STILL THE KEY TO HISTORY¹

THERE are three men in the world whose daily doings and sayings especially interest it:—the Emperor William, President Roosevelt, and the Pope of Rome. Two command public attention by the union of great official powers with strong native faculties of mind and will. The third commands it almost purely from his official character. He governs no territory, although his authority is daily felt in the remotest quarters of the globe and he holds a court to which great nations send ambassadors. In the sphere where he does bear rule, he has evinced no faculty of individual initiative. He has no force of speech, no power of the pen. The son of a simple peasant, his greatness consists in his headship of a venerable and world-wide church, and in his thus standing, more than any other man, as the representative of a great religion.

Lamprecht tells us that history is "an sich nichts als angewandte Psychologie." To this extent certainly the epigram rings true that history can never neglect to take into account whatever psychological forces move peoples or actuate leaders of peoples. Such a force has always been found, is still found, in religion. It is one of those—vague, impulsive, constant in play, inconstant in intensity—which deny to the historical student the power of scientific prediction.

Ours is an age of more reverence for human reason and less reverence for human authority. But as reverence for human authority becomes less, a conviction deepens that men are subject to a power greater than themselves. We may call it Nature, or call it God. What we know is that it speaks by laws—invariable laws. What we feel is that it is a thing of mystery;—too great to be meas-

¹ Annual Address of the President of the American Historical Association, delivered December 26, 1906.

ured from earth; too far from man, near though it be at every step, to be so much as seen in all its outline by his philosophy.

The relation of history to religion has been greatly changed during the last two centuries. What we call modern history, and distant times may deem to be that of the Middle Ages, had its real beginning when modern government arose, and that was when the peoples of France and the United States, as they gathered in the fruits of their revolutions, pronounced that absolute religious liberty was one. Civil liberty and popular government were no new things in the world. A state without a church was. Guizot has said that Democracy was introduced into Europe by a foreign missionary named Paul. If this be so, it was a democracy whose motive and sphere were religious. Political democracy dissevered from religion was to come seventeen centuries later.

It was to take from religion its legal authority, but only to strengthen its moral power. Until the "ideas of 1789" took formal shape, history had been the record of what the few did with the help of the many. It has since been the record of what the many do, with the help of the few. It may well be that at some time the leaders—the few who are in authority in any nation—may be careless of religion. The many—or at the least, the whole people—never will be. If a majority should be indifferentists or irreligious, the minority will be all the more devoted to the cause to which they attribute a sacred character.

Religion offers in statecraft a means of resting policy upon principle. It is, as Talleyrand has said, only when rested upon principle that a policy can endure.¹ The principles sanctioned by the religion of the time are incontestable. Later times may discard them. But to each generation of any people the principles instilled by ministers of religion under the sanction of the church will permeate society and become a part of its being—of what in the truest sense is its political constitution.

I use religion to signify something real, and not less real because to one set of men it is one thing, to another set another thing. It does not seem to me that Renan was right when he said that "*Les religions, comme les philosophies, sont toutes vaines; mais la religion, pas plus que la philosophie, n'est vaine.*"² No religion is wholly vain. Each is true to its disciples, and in its truth to them inspires their lives. History has to do with all religions, because it has to do with all men.

¹ *Memoirs*, Putnam's edition, II. 124.

² *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, I. xxviii.

Every great religion has come at the beginning with a resistless power. It comes as the expression by some clear-sighted, high-strung leader of men of what has long lain confusedly in the minds of many of his fellow-countrymen, now first really disclosed to them and clothed with a light and power that is wholly new. There is a truth in it, or it would not be great; and truth endures.

Such a religion has a beginning, but it will have no end until the national ideas of the peoples to whom it has presented a new conception of life are radically changed. It worked a social revolution when it first appeared, but the shock of it then, however great, was less of a world-force than the trembling, far-diffused, which in after years and ages has marked its continued life. It is a permanent addition to the energies of civilization.

As a key to history, religion has changed its form since the overthrow of the ancient order of things that marked the close of the eighteenth century; but its strength remains the same.

Once that strength was largely found in the power of an established church, or of a sentiment of opposition to an established church. Now it is coming more from the force of the principles for which, at bottom, churches stand, in influencing general public opinion.

Once it received large expression in the fine arts, brought to the service of ecclesiasticism. The pyramids, the Greek temple no less than the Gothic cathedral, the paintings of the masters of former days, in Asia as well as Europe, the great music of the past, were all its offspring. To-day these arts turn for the most part elsewhere for their inspiration and ideals.

The artist is tired of the anthropomorphism by which his predecessors degraded the divine. The architect is planning, the decorator is adorning, museums, libraries, lecture halls, state-houses, more than churches. The composer meets every mood. But there is here, too, a line that never can be passed. A school of art may be non-religious. It cannot be irreligious, and endure.

Once religion led to alliances of nations for no other cause than that they shared the same form of it and wished, perhaps, to secure it a wider spread. Against such connections the Peace of Westphalia, with its rule of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, shut one door, and the futile outcome of the Holy Alliance closed another. In international affairs the distinction between Christian and infidel has passed away as fully as that between Greek and barbarian; but that which is vital to all religions and common to all religions is, but the more clearly seen, and strongly felt.

History has a place in "the literature of power." It has it only by right of the human motive that controls events and the imagination that can see and paint it.

There was a half-truth in what Sir Edward Burne-Jones once said, that there were but four English historians: Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray. There is no historian who is not an artist. He must tell his story in a large way. He is concerned with what is in essence part of a long process. Facts, as Macaulay puts it, are the dross of history. Their relations to us are what is to be fined out, and when these are found in religion, something great has at once come in to dignify the work.

Herbert Spencer has said that in the fine arts "a work . . . which is full of small contrasts and without any great contrasts, sins against the fundamental principles of beauty".¹ The thought may be extended to historical literature. There must be great contrasts to make any particular history effective. But more than this, it is only so far as it presents great contrasts that any history, be it particular or universal, is true. They are its soul. They are the moving cause of the trivial events and common course of things which conceal them from general observation.

Such contrasts, in those states of society with which the historian has to deal, enter into each human life. They come from those two things which, as Kant said, fill every man with a certain awe—the starry heavens and the still, small voice of his own conscience. This conscience may be largely a product of human evolution. It means little or nothing to the savage. The starry heavens mean little to him. But he is impressed by the inborn or from birth in-trained conviction that there are higher and unseen powers, one or many, from whom something is to be feared or gained. Man enters organized society without losing this conviction. He feels himself bound to something higher and stronger. The bond may easily become a fetter, but on the whole it makes life larger and less selfish.

What is natural to man is inherited from generation to generation. Whatever he has acquired—be it of thought or knowledge—must be taught over again by each generation to the next, if it is to endure. Religion is part of his nature—a spiritual possession which education does not give, except in form, and seldom takes away.

That the religion of every race has, down to recent times, gone far to shape its history, few will dispute. Does its controlling influence on national conditions pass away before a higher civiliza-

¹ *Autobiography*, II. 408.

tion and a wider knowledge? May it be a key to the life of a tribe of savages, but only as an incident of immaturity and ignorance? Does the key grow rusty, as time goes on? Or is the religious motive one of the inherent, universal, and eternal forces that must, in all ages, deeply affect, if not vitally control, the doings of men, as massed in nations, in matters of national concern?

Perhaps the answer hangs on what the religious motive is. If it be to secure some personal good, whether here or hereafter, for oneself or one's family, it will be inevitably weakened by advances in civilization. All those advances are towards altruism. Altruism proceeds from the spirit of self-sacrifice, and that is the highest spring of religion. "Selfish and interested individualism", says John Morley, "has been truly called non-historic. Sacrifice has been the law—sacrifice for creeds, for churches, for dynasties, for kings, for adored teachers, for native land."¹

It is this spirit which gives all its nobility to the story of our race. As it brought all Christendom together in the Crusades, so it brought the civilized world together in the Conference of Peace at the Hague in 1899. In each of these great movements it was distinctly associated with religion—blindly in the one, truly in the other. That the ancient distinction between Christian and infidel found no place in the rescript of the Czar, which led to the Hague Conference, was of itself some proof of its essentially religious motive.²

¹ "Democracy and Reaction", *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1905 (vol. 57, p. 547).

² At a critical moment in the proceedings of the Hague Conference of 1899, there came into the hands of the president of the American delegation a letter sent out by the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Texas to the clergy of his diocese with a form of prayer to be used in all the churches, asking the blessing of God on the work of the Conference in the interests of peace. The Emperor of Germany had instructed his representatives to oppose the institution of any court of arbitration. Mr. White was at the time preparing a despatch to the German prime minister urging him to use his influence to secure a reconsideration of the question. He referred to the letter of the bishop as an important utterance of a widely prevailing Christian sentiment, which could not be disregarded, and also handed it to the bearer of the despatch, his associate, the late Dr. Holls, to use as he might think best. Dr. Holls showed it to the chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, who—a strong religionist—was evidently affected by it. Not long afterwards, the German delegation took a position favorable to the treaty of arbitration, and Mr. White refers to the incident as "perhaps an interesting example of an indirect 'answer to prayer.'" *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II. 311, 322.

We have his authority also for the statement that religion in a curious way dictated the original call for the Hague Conference. The Czar acted in the matter on the advice of Pobedonostseff. Pobedonostseff desired a reduction of armaments as the only means which he could see to give Russia the means to increase her grants for the benefit of the State church. *Ibid.*, 269-270.

Thus far in the history of the earth, the mass of mankind have ever sought to regulate their conduct by their desires. Civilization has somewhat modified their desires. It has given them new forms, inspired them by new influences, turned them in new directions, subjected them to certain conventions; but individual desires are still what press forward as the natural motive-forces in and of organized society.

Nevertheless they have seldom for any long period ruled the course of society. There has been a minority of the people, actuated by counter-forces of an intensive character and power, sufficient to make it stronger than the majority in so far as to beat down mere desire and replace it by some theory which all recognize as more noble and worthy. Philosophers have led one wing of this minority; religionists the other. And which has proved the stronger force, religion or philosophy? Which appeals to the most minds? Which appeals to the most hearts? To the heart, religion alone. The morals, the ideals of the philosopher are powerless with the multitude unless touched by the fire of emotion and quickened by that faith in the unseen which turns human things into divine things.

The philosophic thought of Eastern literature is also religious. The effect of this literature on the Western mind has become, during the last half-century, quite considerable. It has reinforced the Emersonian school and given new recognition to reverence for the mysterious in the order of the universe.

Religion, being man's conception of what is fit for a superhuman or divine order of things, must vary in form to correspond with differences in human insight and knowledge. Following the general law for all that lives, formulated by Spencer and Darwin, it everywhere proceeds in its manifestations from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, and must continue in this course. It is not that the ultimate object of search changes. The attitudes and capacities of the observers change. If any particular religion ever overspreads the earth and gains universal acceptance, it will gain it everywhere by taking its color, like the chameleon, from the soil, or perhaps, as to-day with the Christian religion, assuming many colors on the same soil. Only the motive and the general moral product will be cosmic.

Men owe to their mothers their first introduction to the world of the mind and the spirit. Women are, by their inherent nature, religious beings. Equality of civil rights before the law will never disturb the poise of that nature. It is never satisfied to be en-

sphered within itself. It seeks to ally itself with something stronger. It responds readily to the mysterious. In a sense it is true that the life of every man turns on what is to be his relation to some woman. In a much deeper sense is it true that the life of every woman turns on what is to be her relation to some man. If happiness of home be denied to a man, he may find, or fancy that he finds, the void filled in the busy world. If it be denied to a woman, she cannot. She feels the void too deep to fill, unless it be by a peace that the world can neither give nor take away. And if happiness of home be given to a woman, she is more apt than man to think it but a gift from some higher power.

These sentiments that from childhood imbue half the human race, that half instils in childhood into the whole. The first knowledge that comes to the babe in arms is that there is a protecting and supporting power, from which he receives everything, and to which he renders nothing but confidence and love. He grows into a child. Other forms rise up around him with which he finds himself in close relation. Motives of conduct are put before him; duty to parents, among the first. There are few to whom a mother's voice does not suggest a reason for this duty in a divine command. The very oaths the boy will hear uttered upon the street will bear the same message in a different dress.

A race, as Renan said, lives forever on its recollections of childhood. Impressions of religion then gained are never absolutely effaced. Like the secret despatch written in lemon-juice, they reappear at the touch of fire—in moments of deep feeling and supreme effort. It is by what is done at such moments that battles are won, parliamentary majorities change, dynasties fall.

The most uncompromising materialist is seldom without his obligations to early impressions for his contentment with his surroundings. There will be still, though he be not conscious of it, some lingering subjection to their power. As Dr. Barry in his sketch of Renan has said, "the sceptic lives on a capital stored up during the days when he believed. He is a philosopher on half-pay."

Religion is a large word. Matthew Arnold's epigram expresses but a half-truth. Religion is morality—the morality of the time and of the race—touched with emotion—the emotion of the human heart. But as emotion is not self-contained, neither is it self-produced. It is a feeling of one towards another or with another, or else it is a feeling inspired by a memory of another or a conception of the ideal. The one is the more passionate: the other is the more profound. Either is a strong spring of action.

But one is of the earth: the other transcends the earth. Each has often turned the course of history. It has been suddenly and sharply turned by emotions that belong to the present, that awoke or were awakened by like emotion in another. It has seldom been permanently turned or permanently guided by these. That is the work of the emotions fed by the unseen; emotions for which we owe nothing to our senses, nothing to ourselves. For if man is the measure of the universe, it is only because he sees that it is immeasurable, and feels that there is something immeasurable within himself which is a part of the immeasurable beyond himself. This feeling, this emotion of the heart, passing into a conviction of the mind, is the quickening spirit that makes our customs or morals flower into religion.

Theologians, speaking for their realm of science, call it, as it appears there, faith—or perhaps faith in those who profess the doctrines to which they adhere; superstition, in other men. Historians, as it appears in their realm of science, all see it in loyalty to national ideals, reverence for national institutions, veneration for the heroes of the past. All of them, I think it may be fairly said, have not been as ready to acknowledge its rightful power over a people when it turns their thoughts towards that transcendent energy which those call divine who feel that it brings them into a personal relation with the unseen and the unknowable.

It may take the shape of pure theism. It may find divinity shining through a human form. It may find it in every man.

The modern world, so far as the leaders of its thought can speak for it, is less confident than the world of a thousand or ten thousand years ago that there exists a being detached from all else so like ourselves that we can name it like one of us, a person, and presume to define its attributes in terms of human speech. It is more confident that there is a power in the universe that so controls or constitutes it in a settled order of relations and causation that all may safely trust in the continuance of that order without a break. It is more confident also that it is a power that, in the sum of things, makes for what is good as well as true and is worthy the highest name we can invent for it—the name of God.

If there be anything in the theory of the monist; if there be but one actuality in the universe, and that motion, or a force expressed in motion, the manner of that motion is, or seems to us, ruled by attraction. Attraction draws little things to great things: earths to suns; men—for their bodies—to the earth; but for their thinking selves it is still the dominating faith that these are in like manner,

if insensibly, yet surely, drawn towards a greater thinking self, as source and end.

Ruskin said of Sainte-Beuve, that he never for a moment admitted to himself the possibility of a True as well as an Ideal Spirit, or God.¹ It is precisely this which threw Sainte-Beuve out of touch with the people about him, and shut him out of the public heart. Spencer built on better foundations. His own conceptions might differ widely from those of English people. He might declare that "that which persists, unchanging in quantity but ever changing in form, under these sensible appearances which the Universe presents to us, transcends human knowledge and conception—is an unknown and unknowable Power, which we are obliged to recognize as without limit in space and without beginning or end in time."² But if unknowable to him, this Power was not one with which he would lightly reckon as respects its influence on others. As Frederic Harrison said—and said rightfully—Spencer "looked to the unknowable environment behind the world of sense and knowledge as the sphere and object of religion." To the positivist, the unknowable environment is no less an admitted fact, but—to use Harrison's language again—"the only intelligible sphere of religion must be the knowable", and "the elements of the unknowable are immutably set in the canons of experience".

The church of the world stands nearer to Spencer. It disdains the dogma that the knowable is immutably measured by any form of human experience. The world in general rejects it. It is unscientific. Who would have said, a century ago, that the voice of a friend speaking in Denver could be heard in New York, and recognized in every intonation as easily as if he were in the same room with him who is addressed? Who would have said, twenty years ago, that a ray of light could be so framed and directed as to light up the interior of the human body and show the skeleton within it? Who would have said, ten years ago, that there was a heat-producing mineral that never cooled? What canons of scientific experience brought within the range of probable assumption marvels like these? Surely it is but reasonable to expect that the common people will look at each new discovery of such a kind as fresh proof of an intelligent creator, and another step nearer to knowledge of what He is.

The full power of such a belief is seldom felt by those who are themselves unaffected by it. For this cause, if for no other, the

¹ *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*, II. 13.

² *Autobiography*, I. 652.

historian whose judgments will be accepted by future generations must write in a religious spirit. He cannot use a key too large for him to grasp. I mean here by religion a reverent consciousness of a power (be it law or spirit) manifest in nature, which is stronger than man, and a sense of obligation to answer its demands. Its common fruits, ripened by human association, have through all historic times been what in those times passed for collective virtue and self-sacrifice. The historian must respect these qualities. He must share in them, so far at least as to recognize them in others, and recognize their controlling force.

George Sand makes her Marquis de Villemer declare that "*Jamais une conscience troublée, jamais un esprit faussé n'entendront l'histoire.*" It will be always inclining to search out or invent some unworthy motive, some low design, in the greatest acts. It cannot comprehend that in which it has no part. Nor can the man whose conscience is untroubled and spirit true, but to whom himself the religious motive is a stranger, appreciate what may be its mastery of others. Particularly is this true where behind the religious motive is the conviction of the personality of God. He to whom the divine stands as a being detached from all beside, will go farther and dare more for the love of God or fear of God, than the man to whom the divine transcends all personality and permeates whatever the universe contains. The very conception of such an immanence of God in the world is at once too vast and too subtle for the ordinary mind. It diffuses a power which the other conception concentrates. It turns a guide into a theory.

If mankind is always craving heroes to worship, much more it craves a King of Kings, eternal in the heavens. The thought of unity in nature—of a single purpose or power to which all that we see or know or feel is related—is common to most of the great religions. It is also a vital part of them. To those who are possessed by it, it seems a clue by which to trace back every event of history to its farthest source. It is distinctly a religious clue.

It naturally associates itself with the thought of unity in human authority.

To the Mohammedan, religion is still the centralizing force in government that it was for a thousand years to the Christian world. Medieval Europe could conceive only of one spiritual head and of one imperial head on earth. It was this sentiment that kept the Holy Roman Empire in life centuries after, as Voltaire declared, it was no longer Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.

Convince the mass of any people that a change of custom or

of law, or no change of custom or law; that a war or no war; the maintenance of an ancient policy or the substitution of another; the support of an existing government or its overthrow; is demanded by duty to God, and you have a motive of action that is likely to prove irresistible. It is a motive easy to apprehend and there are always those who are ready to suggest it. Not only are they ready, but they have a vantage-ground which gives to what they say peculiar weight. It is that of the church.

Between man and religion stands everywhere something in the nature of ecclesiastical authority, either self-asserted, or governmentally affirmed. The formalism in religion which naturally results from an established church makes for conservatism in politics. In proportion to the hold which such a church has on the community, it saps the springs of popular enthusiasm, and makes against business activity. Time which would otherwise be spent in labor is consumed in feast-days or fast-days. Leisure is gained, but at high cost and under circumstances unfriendly to its best use. In public educational institutions studies of more importance are apt to be put aside for instruction in the symbols and liturgies of the church.

The same tendencies proceed in all countries from churches to which a large majority of the people belong, though not established by law, if they are ceremonial in their institutions. This cause has colored the life of the people and vitally affected the course of industry in Spanish America¹ and British India.

There are twenty American republics. Two of them, Cuba and San Domingo, are bound to us by political ties of a peculiar character. The rest shun us. We want their trade, but it goes to Europe. We want their sympathy, but what we receive is rather apprehension and suspicion. We meet them in Pan-American Congresses, but while projects are framed few are consummated. Why is it that with their political institutions so largely copied from us, they are foreign to us in spirit? Race and language, I believe, have been less the cause than religion. Religion counts more with them in influencing habits of thought and measures of social order. The church, as such, is a greater power.

In South America and Central America the church was so long the only fountain of education, that public sentiment deemed it a sufficient source. There are countries in which the state has assumed this function, where churches have been found to promote

¹A striking, and not inaccurate, forecast of its probable history was made in a letter from Jefferson to Lafayette, of May 14, 1817. *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial edition, XV. 116.

its efforts for their own sake. In Finland, for instance, in the Lutheran denomination which there prevails, confirmation is refused to those who cannot read, and the consequence is that illiteracy is rare. So in a conquered country, if an established church survives, it may prove a nursery of patriotism. Modern Greece as an independent kingdom owes its existence to the Greek church. This kept alive the national feeling and tongue during the long years of Turkish occupation.¹

The church appeals to what is poetic in our nature, and as our associate President Woodrow Wilson has finely said: "We live by Poetry; and not by Prose."

But the only true establishment of a church is in the hearts of those who belong to it. If they have faith in its principles, these will have a large influence in guiding their action as citizens in public affairs. Fear of its discipline, be it established or unestablished, will not.

The attitude of every important church towards socialism is antagonistic. If it become official antagonism, it loses power. Why is socialism steadily growing in political weight, throughout Europe? Why in France did its friends cast nearly half a million more votes at the elections of this year, than in any previous one? It is a sign of the decadence there of the power of the Vatican, pushed unwisely to the front in its encyclicals. It was a natural incident of the struggle which was separating church and state. As Professor Blondel has said of it: "Le peuple français est sans doute moins irréligieux qu'on ne le prétend quelquefois, mais il est très défiant à l'égard de tout ce qui lui apparaît comme une ingérence cléricale, et n'accorde pas volontiers sa confiance à ceux qu'il soupçonne de sympathie à l'égard du 'gouvernement des curés.'"²

The jealousy of clerical government on the part of the French people, however, is largely because they have learned to look on it as a government inspired from Rome, subject to Rome.

One of last year's books bears the title *Les Deux Frances*. They are the France of the Blacks and the France of the Reds; of the party of King and Church, and that of Revolution. A party standing for old institutions cannot easily be displaced by a party standing for new institutions, unless these rise up as the outcome and expression of a spirit of individualism, native to the soil. If each party rests for its support on corporate influences, the struggle will

¹ *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II. 439.

² *Blätter für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkswirtschaftslehre*, July, 1906, p. 178.

be long and doubtful. There are still therefore *les deux Frances*, ever in conflict. The King—the thought of a restored monarchy—has almost disappeared as a constitutive force. But so has the Revolution. To that the corporate influences of the Republic have succeeded, and to-day it is the France of the Church contending with the France of the Republic. If the Church should learn to encourage the individual initiative of its followers—to let Frenchmen direct the course in France of the Roman church—the France of the Blacks may yet prevail.

The history of any people will be largely governed by its means of education. How far shall it extend? By whom shall it be furnished and controlled? "Educate your masters" is the command of political philosophy to the modern state. No education can be deemed complete which does not treat to some extent of religion. Yet if it be given at public expense, the cost will be borne by some who scout at all religion, and many who disagree with the prevailing forms of it.

The position which the world is gradually taking on this subject rests on principles foreshadowed in colonial Maryland and Rhode Island; first formally asserted by any government on purely humanitarian grounds in 1786 by Jefferson's statute of religious liberty in Virginia; and spread over a wider field by the Constitution of the United States.

The utmost point that had been previously reached was that religious liberty should be as great as the safety of the state permitted. Now it was declared that no limitations were required by the safety of the state. Yet here more than almost anywhere else is seen the difficulty of reconciling it with religious sentiment.

The King of Bavaria, in a state paper early in the last century, declared that in public education religion was not to be taught at the cost of learning, nor yet learning at the cost of religion. There are still many, however, who believe it to be to the cost of learning for the state to assume to teach that, without making religion a part of it.

More than a million children are being educated in the United States every year in the various schools of the Roman Catholic Church. The cost of this can hardly be less than twenty-five or thirty million dollars. Those who pay it are also required by the state to contribute as much as any other tax-paying citizens to the support of the public schools. It is no small force which leads these men to assume such burdens. It is the conviction that educa-

tion is incomplete unless religion be taught as part of it, added to the belief that the best form of religion, or we might say perhaps the only form of true religion, is that of which their own church is the expression.

Holland has profited by our experience, and since 1857 has forbidden religious instruction in her public schools. The Catholics were not content to have it given by Calvinists, nor Calvinists to let it come from Catholics. Similar considerations, fortified by an influence substantially unfelt in Holland—that of socialism, have now thoroughly secularized education in France, but only after the most bitter contests. In both English and Canadian politics the same question is now the dominating one.

The position of Russia in this respect has been one of the circumstances weakening her as a great power as well as leading directly to revolutionary change. The church has had the full direction of the public schools. For the first three years, it kept the children simply learning prayers by rote, except for a little drill towards the close in mental arithmetic. No instruction in reading was required. The product of such a system is not simply popular unintelligence. It is an unreal quietude, easily passing into a blind fury, under the influences of a century like ours.

Religious tests for ordinary offices have been largely abolished, even in monarchical governments, but whenever in these there is a state church, the monarch, as its head, remains bound to it by vows so solemn as to prove the conviction of the people that nothing can safely be yielded there. The coronation oath of King Edward stood for the same dogmatic rigidity in its reference to the papacy as did that of an opposite kind imposed on his niece, the Princess Ena, before she could be Queen of Spain.¹

There is no civilized nation in recent years where the state supports the church, in which there has not been so much dissatisfaction with that policy as to inspire some public opposition. In many, the

¹ This was "I, recognizing as true the Catholic and apostolic faith, do hereby publicly anathematize every heresy, especially that to which I have had the misfortune to belong. I agree with the Holy Roman Church, and profess with mouth and heart my belief in the Apostolic See, and my adhesion to that faith which the Holy Roman Church, by evangelical and apostolical authority, delivers to be held. Swearing this by the sacred Homoousion, or trinity of the same substance, and by the holy gospels of Christ, I do pronounce those worthy of eternal anathema who oppose this faith with their dogmas and their followers, and should I myself at any time presume to approve or proclaim anything contrary hereto, I will subject myself to the severity of the canon law. So help me God, and these his holy gospels."

opposition has already triumphed: in all, it will. The disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, in the face of the solemn provision to the contrary in the Act of Union, will some day be followed by the disestablishment of the Church of England, whose numbers have recently sunk to a minority of the English people. In France, the separation of the state from the churches, first in regard to education, and then at all points, has been the great political issue for a quarter of a century. The French Revolution could not accomplish it. Though in the Constitution of 1791 it was asserted that all the property of the church belonged to the nation, and the Concordat ten years later confirmed it, it was only in this present year that France ventured seriously to stand upon her title.

A church to which the mass of any people belongs will exert a stronger influence on them than on their leaders in civil affairs. These leaders will be better fitted to exercise an independent judgment. They will be more moved by motives of personal ambition. Religion will not be to them the one thing to elevate their thoughts beyond the narrow round of domestic life.

But of those who direct affairs in any nation in which government formally avows and teaches in its schools the existence of a higher spiritual power few will escape the conviction that in this at least there is truth. A belief in God leads to a trust in God in great emergencies, and to an inspiring identification of God and country. In war, this motive is as strong to-day as it was a thousand years ago. The *Cambridge Modern History*, after giving one volume to the Reformation, devotes another to what it styles the Wars of Religion. The Wars of Religion did not end in the seventeenth century, nor in the nineteenth. France is still sore from her losses by the last.

The influences of an ecclesiastical establishment and of the simple religious motive were curiously intertwined in what led to the fall of Napoleon III. The relations of Germany to the papacy had an important influence in bringing on first the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 and then that between France and Prussia in 1870, both fomented from Rome, as events likely to prove a check to the Protestant interest in Europe.¹ The proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles was the unexpected fruit—unexpected but not unnatural. The German fought for God and fatherland. The French were permeated by the godless philosophy of the first republic.

¹ See *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II. 350.

The German is taught religion in the school. He is reminded of it from the throne. The Emperor William, as fully as the Czar, seizes every opportunity to claim a divine sanction for his authority.¹ He has thrust France aside as the universal protector of Catholic missions in the East, and found his profit in it by large territorial acquisitions in China, seized in retaliation for outrages on German missionaries. He has made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

France, too, of late, in the same way, has so shaped her Chinese policy that the flag has followed the missionary. The republic has clung to the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the monarchy, though with the abrogation of the Concordat it is difficult to see how its protectorate over Eastern missions can hereafter be asserted.

A religious motive in foreign affairs can only be seriously advanced when a religious motive is recognized in home affairs. The loss of that in the French Revolution was one of the first things of the consequence of which, after the restoration, Talleyrand warned Louis XVIII. when consulting with him over the best assurances with which to surround his throne. You have, said he, to deal with a people "accustomed to found their rights on their pretensions, and their pretensions on their power." "Formerly, religious influence could support royal authority; it can do so no longer, now that religious indifference has pervaded all classes, and become almost universal." "Royal authority can therefore only derive support from public opinion, and to obtain this it must be in accord with that opinion."²

It may be doubted whether religious indifference was so widespread in the France of 1815, when this was written. If so, it was because of a torrent of revolution which for the time had swept before it the good and the bad alike. That torrent has left to public opinion a lasting place of power over human governments, but it has also, I believe, left religion in its old place as the main foundation of public opinion.

Early in 1905, the Emperor of Germany, in a public address,³ declared that the defeats of Russia in her war with Japan were due to the deplorable condition of Russian Christianity. It was deplorable because directed by a state church which failed to respond to the spirit of the times. None of its members could abandon it for another without forfeiting all civil rights, including that of holding

¹ See particularly his speech at Coblenz, August 31, 1897, quoted in Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 301.

² *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, Putnam's edition, III. 130, 147.

³ On March 9, 1905, in an address before the naval recruits at Wilhelmshaven.

property. Its principal functionary, M. Pobedonostseff, was a conservative of the conservatives, to whom the Orthodox Greek Church seemed the only thing that bound the many peoples of Russia into the Russian people.¹ The creed of this church is medieval: of its teachings and influence Tolstoi has told, and the world believes him.

The very month after the sharp words of the German Emperor, the Czar, against the protest of Pobedonostseff, decreed religious liberty; and his subsequent convocation of the Douma was closely followed by directions to the Metropolitan who is president of the Holy Synod to call a general council of the Orthodox Greek Church. No such council had met since 1654. It can hardly fail to give a new direction to the religious life of the mass of the Russian people.² Already they have shown a new interest in what it stands for by a general inquiry for copies of the Bible. More parts of Bibles and Testaments were sold in Russia last year than in any year before, over half a million in European Russia alone. The fruits have not thus far made for peace, but they may be worth more than peace.

A department of the Holy Synod, until recently, as a bureau of "Spiritual Censure", held control of all publications on ecclesiastical history, theology, or philosophy. Nothing could be published or sold, on these topics, without its permission. It is worth noting that from 1863 this bureau forbade the circulation of any part of the Old Testament except the Psalms, in the languages of the people. There was too much in the other books that breathed the spirit of revolution.

It may indeed be safely said that no single cause for the spread of religious liberty and, by consequence, of civil liberty in modern times has been so powerful as the circulation of the Bible in all languages. It is to-day pronounced by publishers to be the best-selling book in the world.³ The market for it has steadily broadened with and because of the new latitude of interpretation and criticism countenanced by modern churches.

The last sixty or seventy years has indeed given to Christendom a new Bible. It is not that so very much has been discovered by

¹ *Autobiography of Andrew D. White*, II., chap. 36.

² Before these changes, Pobedonostseff and his school had relied on the popular reverence for religion as the main support of autocracy. If there be such a thing as a religious stage of development for nations, Russia was still in it. The events of 1906 would indicate that reverence for her state church, at least, had been seriously weakened.

³ The North India Bible Society, which is sixty years old, published and circulated, between 1890 and 1900, a yearly average of 87,000 copies of Bibles, New Testaments, and selected portions of them. Since 1900 this annual output has been nearly doubled, and the number rose in 1905 to 195,879.

archaeologists or worked out by critical research, which was unknown before, but because the attitude of Christian people and Christian ministers towards biblical study has become gradually revolutionized. Textual homiletics, textual theology, unscientific theories of interpretation, have become generally discredited. The spirit of free inquiry, which not long ago characterized but a few men like Strauss and Renan, has now begun to characterize all real Christian scholarship in the United States and most of it in the world at large. Here, from the absence of religious establishments and the presence of universal education at public charge, it has naturally had free scope. It has given a prominence before unknown in modern times, outside of China, to character and conduct as the foundations of a true life. It has brought the general Christian world to look upon them as about the only evidence worth having that in any man earth has been brought close to heaven, while still maintaining that character and conduct are the fruits of the ideal, the children of faith in the invisible and eternal. It has brought the wider world of civilized mankind in all continents to care little for a man's theological beliefs, everything for his beliefs, his real beliefs, as to what is the true, the good, and the beautiful.

Panislamism has gained a fresh inspiration from this source. The Young Turkish Party, already recognized as an important political force, founds itself on treating the Koran with the same free hand with which Christians treat the Bible, and so bringing its teachings into harmony with the new thought of a new time.

During the last few years the American people have insisted, to a marked degree, on the observance of higher ethical standards on the part of their public and of their business men. The movement in this direction has been a steady one for more than half a century. In 1843, the foremost English novelist, fresh from a visit to the United States, could speak of it as "that Republic, but yesterday let loose upon her noble course, and but to-day so maimed and lame, so full of sores and ulcers, foul to the eye and almost hopeless to the sense, that her best friends turn from the loathsome creature with disgust."¹ So severe an arraignment was unjustified in 1843. It would have been impossible and unthinkable at any time since, let us say, the Civil War. But it was not the Civil War that elevated the moral standards of the people. War is a salvation to some souls, a damnation to many more. "Treasons, stratagems, and spoils"—the spoils of the field and the spoils of the army contractor—make a poor soil for the growth of public morals. The

¹ Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, chap. xxii.

American people have grown to a purer life, or at least to a demand for a purer life on the part of those who lead their fortunes, mainly by force of a world-movement, which has simply found here the freest play.

The better relations between Jew and Christian that now generally exist are attributable, in no small degree, to the growth of this ethical spirit; not so much because ethics make for fraternity, as that this growth proceeds from a tendency on the part of Christians towards acceptance of the same fundamental religious principles. The Jew has never troubled himself very much with the question of personal immortality, and all that goes with it of responsibility and retribution. His aim has been to make the best of earth; his hope that of a Messianic era here. Christian theology has looked more to a future world as the real home of men, in an abode or state that, happy or miserable, was to endure forever.

Christendom, during the last few years, has been approaching the Judaic view, as best expressive of the immediate objects to be pursued in human life. Hence among those peoples which have gone farthest in this direction, the political and social condition of the Jews is more favorable than among those—like Russia, Roumania, and Austria—which have made no substantial change of position. If his life on this earth be the great thing for a man to regulate and plan for, why complain if the Jew wins the prizes of trade and wealth, though it be by concentrating his attention on material gains? "Go thou and do likewise" is becoming, perhaps too fast and with too little qualification, the general motto of the business world.

Christian theology anticipated evolution in endeavoring to account for what is base in human nature. It set it to the account of original sin. To raise up a being infected with that not simply from his birth, but through an inheritance from ancestors infected with it for countless generations, was a task which God only could accomplish. To Him it was the work of a moment; and they called it salvation.

It was a theory well calculated to have a profound effect on the human mind. It gave an immense power to a priesthood believed to have the power of speaking for God and declaring to any man that his salvation had been accomplished. It put them by the side of kings and above kings.

A time has come when the leaders of the church are beginning to say with John Fiske that "original sin is neither more nor less

than the brute inheritance which every man carries with him, and the process of evolution is an advance towards true salvation."

The church is changing—has changed—its ground. It is not losing—has not lost—its power. It makes use of the old truth in a new way. It was right at bottom.

The unfolding of the law of evolution from the first, for those who accepted it, unquestionably tended to narrow the order of things in which man has his being. As the bond between him and the lowest forms of life became visibly stronger, that between him and any form of life higher than himself became visibly weaker. He was of less importance in the world. Wallace could open the gates to the new vision of the past; he could not shut them. He could not lead men to any new standpoint from which they could look on the earth as the centre of the intellectual or moral universe.

The church, at first, everywhere disinclined—still much of it disinclined—to accept the theory of evolution with all that it implies, has begun to readjust itself to its new environment. If, she says, this new evolution can produce from some single torpid cell a being with the intellectual and moral force of man, why may not man contain the torpid cell out of which in some at least may be evolving and ultimately, in some other stage of being, may be evolved what for want of a better word we call a Spirit—something with an energy akin to what we name divine? Force is persistent. That it is we know. What it is we do not know. If persistent in what is material, why not persistent in what is immaterial? If persistent in what we call time and space, why not persistent in something which we do not dare to call time or space and vaguely name eternity?

But questions like these do not much concern the mass of humankind. The leaders of intellectual life are few. They are followed at a long interval. They know this, well. It is their office, in every generation, to set the goal, but to moderate rather than to speed the pace of the people as they turn in the new direction.

The leaders of intellectual life who are in positions of ecclesiastical authority, under the influence of these forces, have everywhere begun to preach a new theology. It is a theology of the present. It might almost be called a theology of the earth, earthy. Its foundation is still the existence of a great first cause, which men call God. Its aim is still to set forth the whole duty of man, and to found it on his duty towards this almighty and eternal source of his being. But it sets it forth with less assumption of a knowledge of the unseen. No Nicene creed, no creed professing to define the genesis and nature and attributes of God, could ever be the product

of the twentieth century. The modern pulpit and council are content to say with St. Paul that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." The churches of every faith, in some degree—of all in proportion to their share in the time-spirit of their generation—are pointing to Man as the only real revelation of the nature of God, and to the opportunities of the present life as what chiefly concerns him, in his highest as well as his lowest desires and activities. One hears little in churches led by an educated clergy of a future heaven, and less of a future hell. It is this pressing, immediate world about us, that is their theme. "One world at a time" is more and more becoming the practical doctrine of the modern pulpit. Do your duty to-day, and be not anxious about tomorrow, whether it be the morrow of the next sunrise or of a million ages.

What has been, what is to be the effect of this change in the attitude of the church on the course of human history? It will not remove the power of theistic appeal. If it should spread over all nations, and all faiths, it will leave unimpaired the motives of duty to God and country. A war to maintain the honor of fatherland and of the fathers from whom it was inherited will always enlist the sympathies of the people with double force, if they are quickened by religious convictions.

Recent events have shown that soldiers who believe they are fighting God's battles may yield before those not superior in numbers or arms who believe that in fighting they are honoring the first ancestors of the sovereign, whose spirit in an ancestor world holds sway over those of their own ancestors. The double character of the Mikado of Japan as spiritual leader and earthly sovereign, impressed by the institution of ancestor-worship upon every Japanese from infancy, moves him far more deeply than the Russian muzhik is affected by his reverence for the Czar as head of his country's church. Admiral Togo's message to the Mikado last year, attributing to his superhuman influence the annihilation of the Russian fleet, spoke the real conviction of a great man and a great people.

We must never forget that not only were the founders of all the great religions of Asiatic origin, but that religion is now a more vital force in Asia than on any other continent. The deep, if dreamy, spiritual insight, the brooding intellectual habit, the strength of antecedents, that belong to the East, put religion there in a position as lofty as it is unique.

Hegel observed that there are two natural steps in human life,

that of subjectivity and objectivity. The youth bends his thoughts towards the correspondence that he is to establish between himself and the universe. He proceeds from himself outwards. He joins his life to the ideal, in hope and faith. Years pass and he has found his place. There is a round of daily duties and perhaps of pleasures, on which his attention centres. His thoughts now turn not to the ideal but to what life in fact has brought him, and to how that shall be best accomplished.

The race of man pursues the same stages. In the East, they are still in the first. Even in Japan, so largely occidentalized, they are constructing for themselves a new ideal of Christianity. Except for Japan, they are what they were. Subjectivity still holds them captive.

China has recently abolished the requirement of familiarity with the Confucian classics on the part of those desiring official appointment or promotion. The first examination under the new system took place this fall, and the nine receiving the highest marks were men educated in the United States or Europe—the first of them a doctor of philosophy and the next a doctor of civil law of an American university.

A change like this involves, as a necessary consequence, the rise of new national ideals. The calm and restful tone of the Confucian philosophy of life will be replaced by something less smooth and more deep, more religious. The spirit of the West has burst upon the silent sea of self-satisfied seclusion on which China has been idly floating for two thousand years. It has troubled the waters. It may turn them into a river that will run far.

As respects Mohammedanism, the fundamental precepts of that faith are such as necessarily to give them a strong political effect.¹ Its adherents stand together, like the members of a secret order. In Europe they cling to their religion as closely as in Asia. In 1900, seven thousand Mohammedan Servians suddenly left the country, because one Mohammedan had been received into a Christian church.²

The strongest assurance of the power of the Sublime Porte is the general recognition by the Mohammedan world and the King of Great Britain as Emperor of India, of the Sultan of Turkey as the true Caliph or Commander of the Faithful. The strongest menace of the British Empire in the East is the utter foreignness there of

¹ Only by force of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 has religious toleration been anything but an empty word at Constantinople.

² Francis H. E. Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life* (New York, 1903), p. 88.

Western Christianity. The European sent to Asia or Africa to govern a subject race finds himself separated from it by an aloofness which he cannot conquer. It does not proceed from him. He is often anxious to overcome it, in the native. But it is the inevitable fruit of antipathetic relations, springing from religious differences.

The religions of the West rule the religionist. The religion of Islam rules every Mohammedan, be he saint or sinner; and in case of war all are faithful to the commander of the faithful. Lord Cromer, a few months ago, received a warning letter from one professing to write in the name of his people of Egypt, and whose stately periods remind one of the Hebrew prophets. It was addressed to "the Reformer of Egypt."

He must be blind [said the writer], who sees not what the English have wrought in Egypt; the gates of justice stand open to the poor; the streams flow through the land and are not stopped at the order of the strong; the poor man is lifted up and the rich man pulled down; the hand of the oppressor and the briber is struck when outstretched to do evil. Our eyes see these things and we know from whom they come. You will say: "Be thankful, oh, men of Egypt! and bless those who benefit you;" and very many of us—those who preserve a free mind and are not ruled by flattery and guile—are thankful. But thanks lie on the surface of the heart, and beneath is a deep well.

While peace is in the land the spirit of Islam sleeps. We hear the Imam cry out in the mosque against the unbelievers, but his words pass by like wind and are lost. Children hear them for the first time and do not understand them; old men have heard them from childhood and pay no heed.

But it is said, "There is war between England and Abdul-Hamid Khan." If that be so, a change must come. The words of the Imam are echoed in every heart and every Moslem hears only the cry of the faith. As men we do not love the sons of Osman; the children at the breast know their words, and that they have trodden down the Egyptians like dry reeds. But as Moslems they are our brethren; the Khalif holds the sacred places and the noble relics. Though the Khalif were hapless as Bajazid, cruel as Murad, or mad as Ibrahim, he is the shadow of God, and every Moslem must leap up at his call as the willing servant to his master, though the wolf may devour his child while he does his master's work. The call of the Sultan is the call of the faith; it carries with it the command of the Prophet, blessings, etc. I and many more trust that all may yet be peace; but if it be war, be sure that he who has a sword will draw it, he who has a club will strike with it. The women will cry from the housetops, "God give victory to Islam!"

You will say, "The Egyptian is more ungrateful than a dog, which remembers the hand which fed him. He is foolish as the mad-man who pulls down the roof tree of his house upon himself." It may be so to worldly eyes, but in the time of danger to Islam the Moslem turns away from the things of this world and thirsts only for the service of his faith, even though he looks in the face of death. May God (His name be glorified) avert the evil.

It is the existence of this spirit which makes the punishments often inflicted on insurgents by the British in their Eastern possessions sharp up to the point of barbarism. Nothing less tells there.

It is the mosque that guards the palace of the Sultan.

Sir William Marriott, when in company with Ismail Pasha, the first Khedive of Egypt, happened to meet in Boulogne a procession of young girls on their way to their first communion. The pasha saluted it with a low reverence. "Your Highness is more Catholic than the Catholics", said Sir William. "Ah," was the reply, "you see I have ruled, and no man can rule without religion."¹

On this point East and West can both agree. Napoleon said, in reference to the Concordat of 1801, that he saw in the church not the mystery of the incarnation but the mystery of social order. Later, at the height of his power, speaking in the same vein, he intimated his belief that Christianity was an illusion but a very useful one. It assured the tranquillity of the state in reconciling man with himself and giving him a philosophy to live by. The age of illusions was for nations, as for individuals, the age of happiness.²

It is not for history to pronounce whether any religion or all religions be founded on mere illusions. She must leave that to theologians and psychologists. But in her field of inductive sociology, she owns still the continuing force of the religious motive.

In modern politics, it takes on a new importance. They are expressed in terms of representative government. It may be representation by a legislature, or by a ministry. In either case it will assume to represent the people by representing a party. Representative government implies and involves party organization. Party organization is unfavorable to the expression of candid, impartial public opinion. But let any religious question be involved, and public opinion will find a way to express itself, which no party machinery can seriously obstruct.

So in world-politics, now so largely governed by a public opinion of the world, the pressure that can be brought upon any one power by others—that is brought upon each by other peoples through the press—will be immensely strengthened if it be impelled by an ethical or religious motive;—ethical or religious, for an ethical impulse common to many nations belongs to the religion of humanity.

That grows as ecclesiasticism declines. The Christian church has been gradually reduced, to use the phrase of Gardiner, "from the exercise of power to the employment of influence". Its tend-

¹ *Memoirs of Grant Duff*, II. 18.

² *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, Putnam's edition, I. 339.

encies of thought run, more than those fostered by any other of the great religions, towards loyalty to humanity, rather than to race. It is the only one that makes any serious effort to preach its gospel "to every creature". "We recognize", said Tertullian, "one commonwealth, the world." It does not hesitate to put its own rules above those assumed for political science or economy. From the churches of England came the last great impulse that carried through the Corn Laws, and made free trade her policy to-day. There are signs of a movement in the churches of the United States in the same direction. Should it gather force, statesmen must reckon seriously with it.

Renan, in his *Life of Jesus*,¹ remarks that he was the first of men to conceive, or at all events to put life into that thought, that liberty was something independent of politics; that one's country is not everything; and that the man is anterior and superior to the citizen.

The share of government in human society becomes less obtrusive as time goes on. Show of force declines as the sentiment of obedience to law becomes more prevalent. Public authority is more and more localized in small political communities, there to be administered by representatives of the inhabitants. These social principles go to diminish the weight of national governments, and make the individual man feel that he is a citizen first of his own local community and then of the world. They also strongly reinforce the general trend of the Christian religion (which we may fairly say is to-day the strongest of any in its influence upon human history) towards insistence on universal brotherhood as the ultimate criterion of international obligations.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

¹ Chap. vii.

FRENCH REPORTS OF BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

AMONG the documents classified under the head "Correspondance Politique, Angleterre," in the records of the French Foreign Office are included numerous reports of debates in the British Parliament, chiefly of the eighteenth century. These reports, some mention of which is to be found in the *Inventaire Sommaire* issued by the department in 1903, do not appear to have formed at any time an unbroken series; a certain number, alluded to in despatches sent at the same time, have been mislaid or destroyed since. Most of them give but short abstracts of the speeches, which are not to be compared with the verbatim reports of the present day. Their historical value would be rather slight if we were in possession of a version both complete and reliable of the parliamentary debates previous to the nineteenth century. But such a version, as it would be easy to show by conclusive arguments, does not exist at present, and we do not even see the way to compile a satisfactory one.¹ Therefore any document which is likely to throw a ray of light into the surrounding darkness, any report which can give fair evidence of its own accuracy, even if insufficient in itself, must be marked out and compared with the other sources. Be it ever so short and scanty, it may fill up a gap; it will at any rate help us to control our antecedent knowledge, to put its worth to the test, to mete out the ground which we may hope to know with some degree of certainty, and the space beyond, which we must make up our mind never to explore.

I.

The writer did not, while perusing the volumes of the Correspondance Politique, meet with any parliamentary report previous to the time of the Restoration. Even during the eventful period when the Parliament of England, then in the heat of its great struggle with the sovereign, practically ruled the country, there

¹ On the history of parliamentary reporting in England, see the prefaces of vols. VIII., X., and XI. of the *Parliamentary History of England*; William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, I. xx et seqq.; George Birkbeck Hill, appendix to Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, I. 501 et seqq.; *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Guthrie"; and P. Mantoux, *Notes sur les Comptes-rendus des Séances du Parlement Anglais au XVIII^e. Siècle*, pp. 2-34.

seems to have been no anxiety among the French to know what was going on in the House of Commons. They inquired about its doings more than about its sayings.¹ When the first Parliament of Charles II. was opened, the *chargé d'affaires* Bastet wrote to De Lionne:

The sixteenth of this month, the Parliament met at Westminster, and the opening took place without the King's presence. . . . I was the only Frenchman there, none of our people being tempted to see it, as all of them are waiting for the day when His Britannic Majesty goes there in state. I would give Your Excellency a full and particular account of the sitting, if I did not fancy that all the openings of the English Parliament are very much alike, and so, that the account would be of no use and would only bore you.²

One might suppose that, though not interested in the formal proceedings of the first day, he would give a report of the following ones; but he never does it except by hints.³

About the time of Barrillon's embassy the French government began to take an interest in England's home politics. They had, as we know, rather good grounds for doing so. Louis XIV. held Charles II. in a sort of financial bondage, and his ambassador's position in London was something more than that of a foreign envoy. Barrillon accordingly followed very closely the progress of parliamentary business, and conveyed information about it to his royal master in his direct correspondence with him.⁴ Sometimes he also wrote about it to the Secretary of State.⁵ Some of those letters are very long, and enter into details concerning the debates of both Houses. At the time of Danby's impeachment (a momentous incident, which was not unconnected with French intrigue) Barrillon sent to his court the bill of indictment, with a translation of the speech delivered by the accused minister, to which

¹ Bellièvre, for instance, writes to Cardinal Mazarin: "Après avoir été assis [sic] douze heures, la Chambre basse se vient de lever. A ce que j'ai pu en apprendre, ils n'ont rien résolu contre les Ecossais, sinon que le comité des deux royaumes aurait pareille autorité sans eux que s'ils y assistaient; mais ils ont ordonné contre le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne que la lettre qu'il avait envoyée ne serait point prise pour une réponse, qu'on ne traiterait plus avec lui, soit en envoyant ou en recevant des messages, et ont fait même défense à toutes personnes d'apporter quelque chose de sa part." Letter dated January 13, 1648, *Correspondance Politique, Angleterre*, vol. 47, f. 21. Cf. letter from Grignan to Mazarin, February 17, 1648, *ibid.* 76, and letter of Bellièvre to Servien, August 28, 1648, *ibid.* 273.

² Letter dated November 18, 1660, *ibid.*, vol. 73, f. 125.

³ *Ibid.* f. 175 (letter dated December 2), f. 193 (letter dated December 10).

⁴ See, for instance, in vol. 127, Barrillon's letters to the King dated February 9, 1678 (f. 242), February 17 (f. 255), February 19 (f. 278), February 28 (f. 289), etc.

⁵ Letter dated February 14, 1678, *ibid.* f. 253.

he added, in a letter to the King, an account of the sitting when the question had been brought before the House of Lords.¹

The occurrence was an exceptional one. But in Barrillon's despatches to Louis XIV. and to the Marquis of Pomponne are included, frequently enough, reports of parliamentary debates. And these reports are not confined to more or less important passages in letters dealing with various subjects. They very often take the shape of special notes, which were annexed to the correspondence. Such summary abstracts are often found in a series, including several days. They make up then a sort of diary of Parliament—something between a dry journal of proceedings and a report properly so called²:

19/29 mars 1679. Milord Chancelier ayant exposé à la Chambre le rapport du comité, sur le sujet des accusations intentées dans le dernier Parlement par la Chambre des Communes contre quelques seigneurs, a proposé la question, si la dissolution du Parlement rendait ces accusations nulles³; après une dispute fort opiniâtée de part et d'autre, la Chambre a déterminé que ces accusations subsistaient toujours, et qu'on reprendrait le procès des seigneurs accusés où on l'avait laissé lorsque le Parlement fut cassé.

Milord Chancelier représenta qu'il fallait rapporter des exemples, pour faire voir qu'après la dissolution d'un Parlement, des accusations de haute trahison n'étaient pas nulles; Milord Schasbery [Shaftesbury] répondit qu'il ne croyait pas qu'on pût trouver de ces exemples, parce qu'il était inouï qu'on eût jamais cassé de Parlement pendant que la Chambre des Communes poursuivait une accusation de haute trahison contre des seigneurs.

La Chambre des Communes a nommé un comité pour examiner le journal de la dernière session du dernier Parlement, afin d'informer la Chambre des affaires qui étaient devant la Chambre avant que le Parlement fût cassé. Le comité doit faire son rapport demain au matin.

20/30 mars. Les seigneurs du comité pour examiner les affaires de la conspiration⁴ ont interrogé le nommé Nidham [Needham], et quelques autres.

On a lu pour la première fois dans la Chambre des Pairs un bill pour convaincre plus promptement et plus facilement les papistes récusants.

La Chambre des Pairs a ordonné que M. le Trésorier répondrait dans huit jours aux articles de l'accusation de haute trahison intentée contre lui et que l'on mettrait en prison ceux qui sont accusés d'avoir voulu attenter à la vie de Milord Chafbery [Shaftesbury].

La Chambre des Communes a ouï le rapport du comité qu'elle avait nommé pour examiner l'état où étaient les affaires lorsque le Parlement a été cassé.

¹ Letters dated January 2, January 5, and March 13, 1679, vol. 133, ff. 19-20, 31-40, 60, 248.

² *Ibid.* ff. 311-316.

³ Charles II. had declared the session closed and dissolved the House of Commons immediately after Danby's impeachment.

⁴ The reference is to the pretended Popish Plot, denounced by Titus Oates.

La Chambre a ordonné que le comité secret qu'elle a nommé aujourd'hui dresserait de nouveau les articles d'accusation contre M. le Grand Trésorier.

Elle a aussi résolu tout d'une voix d'envoyer un message à la Chambre des Pairs pour les faire souvenir de l'accusation de haute trahison intentée contre mondit sieur le Grand Trésorier par les Communes, et leur demander qu'il puisse être mis incessamment sous sûre garde.

21/31 mars 1679. Milord Cavendish porta à la Chambre des seigneurs le message de la Chambre des Communes contre M. le Trésorier. Après deux heures de contestation on résolut d'attendre jusqu'au jour suivant à prendre une résolution.

Sur la plainte qu'on a faite de l'impression de deux libelles imprimés et publiés sans permission, dont le titre de l'un est "deux lettres de M. de Montaigu [Montague] à Milord Trésorier, avec la harangue dudit trésorier à la Chambre des Paris" et l'autre "Lettre d'un jésuite de Paris, etc." on a ordonné que Jonathan Edwin se présenterait à la barre et déclarerait de quelle autorité il avait imprimé ces deux libelles. Le sieur Edwin a comparu et désavoué qu'il les eût imprimés. Mais il a déclaré qu'il les avait eus de son père, qui est l'un des imprimeurs du Roi. On a ordonné sur cela qu'Edwin père et fils se présenteraient tous deux à la barre demain matin.

Le S^r Otes [Oates] a lu ses dépositions, et a dit qu'il avait quelque chose à déclarer en particulier au comité secret; il se plaignit ensuite d'avoir été fort découragé dans la découverte de la conspiration et de ce que, se promenant un jour dans le jardin de Whitehall, M. le Trésorier, le voyant, dit: "Voilà un de ceux qui a [sic] sauvé l'Angleterre, mais j'espère le voir pendre dans un mois."

Il accusa ensuite le S^r Robinson, membre de la Chambre, d'avoir eu connaissance de la conspiration depuis quatre ou cinq ans, par un nommé Frérard [Everard] qui a été prisonnier quatre ans à la Tour.

Et le S^r Sackville, membre de la Chambre, d'avoir dit qu'Otes était un menteur et un coquin, et que ceux qui disaient qu'il y avait une conspiration étaient des méchants.

Il a déclaré que le S^r Henry Goring, autre membre de la Chambre, l'ayant trouvé proche de la Chambre des Communes, et lui ayant demandé que le S^r Innocent Gage pût être mis en liberté sous caution, ledit S^r Goring appela Otes coquin et fripon, sur ce que Otes lui dit que cela ne se pouvait pas, et que Gage était un traître. Ledit Otes s'est plaint encore des mauvais traitements et des menaces de quelques-uns de ses gardes.

Sur cela la Chambre a ordonné que le S^r Otes se présenterait lundi matin à la barre, pour prouver les accusations contre les trois membres accusés, et que cependant ils auraient toujours séance dans la Chambre.

Et que la plainte faite contre M. le Trésorier serait mise entre les mains du Comité Secret.

22 mars/1^{er} avril 1679. L'huissier à la verge noire est venu dire à la Chambre des Communes qu'il avait ordre du Roi de les avertir de se rendre dans la Chambre des Seigneurs. Le Roi leur dit:

"Messieurs, j'espérais que vous vous appliqueriez aux grandes affaires pour lesquelles je vous ai fait assembler, mais j'aperçois que les poursuites que vous faites contre Milord Trésorier vous ont retardés. Je viens pour les finir, et j'espère que ce sera à votre satisfaction. Je vous

assure qu'il a son pardon, sous le grand sceau d'Angleterre, et que même il l'avait avant que cette assemblée commençât, et je l'ai assuré de sa vie et de sa fortune, qui est ce que j'ai fait à tous ceux qui m'ont servi. Milord Buckingham et Milord Shafbury savent que je les ai traités de même. Pour ce qui est des accusations portées contre lui, je sais qu'elles ne sont fondées que sur de fausses apparences.

A l'égard de la lettre qu'il est accusé d'avoir écrite, je vous assure que ç'a été par mon ordre, et quant à ce qui est d'avoir caché la conspiration, c'est ce qui ne peut pas être, car il n'en a jamais rien su que de moi. Quoi qu'il en soit, il a quitté son bâton, et je l'ai éloigné de ma cour et de mes conseils; il ne doit point revenir. C'est pourquoi j'espère que vous serez satisfaits. Je vous prie donc de vous appliquer aux affaires publiques, et de considérer sérieusement les choses dont je vous ai parlé ci-devant."

La Chambre des Communes, s'étant retirée et ayant délibéré, a résolu sur le champ que nonobstant ce que le Roi leur avait dit, on enverrait à la Chambre des Seigneurs pour demander que Thomas, comte de Danby, fût séquestré de la Chambre, et mis sous une bonne et sûre garde.

Les Seigneurs envoyèrent un message à la Chambre des Communes pour leur faire savoir qu'ils souhaitaient avoir une conférence avec eux dans la Chambre peinte. Les Communes ont fait réponse qu'ils répondraient à ce message par un autre, de quelques membres de leur Chambre. Ce qu'ils ont fait: ils ont mandé aux Seigneurs qu'il était contre l'usage des Parlements qu'aucune des Chambres fit demander une conférence sans avoir exprimé sur quel sujet on souhaitait de l'avoir.

Sur cela les Seigneurs ont envoyé un second message, et ont fait dire aux Communes que la conférence qu'ils souhaitaient d'avoir avec eux était sur le sujet de Thomas, comte de Danby.

La conférence s'est faite ensuite, et M. le duc de Monmouth, au nom des Seigneurs, a communiqué le projet d'un bill pour rendre Thomas, comte de Danby, incapable de paraître jamais en la présence du Roi, d'avoir aucuns dons ou aucunes gratifications de Sa Majesté, de posséder aucun office et d'avoir séance dans la Chambre des Pairs, et que ce bill serait réputé avoir été fait au commencement de cette dernière session, et le rendrait incapable de posséder aucune des choses que Sa Majesté lui peut avoir données depuis.

Le rapport de la conférence ayant été fait à la Chambre basse, l'affaire a été remise à lundi.

Les S^{rs} Edwin, imprimeurs, ont dit à la Chambre qu'ils avaient eu la harangue et la lettre d'un jésuite des mains de M. le Trésorier, qui les avait assurés qu'ils ne seraient jamais en peine pour l'impression de ces deux libelles. La Chambre leur a fait une réprimande, et leur a pardonné, à cause de l'ingénuité avec laquelle ils ont avoué la vérité. Ils ont ordre d'apporter les originaux de ces deux libelles, et on a nommé un comité pour les examiner.

On a nommé des membres de la Chambre pour aller chez M. le Chancelier savoir de lui de quelle manière on avait passé le pardon accordé à M. le Trésorier, et chercher dans les offices du Secrétaire d'Etat, et du Garde du Sceau privé, si l'on trouverait quelque chose sur ce sujet. Ils en doivent rendre réponse à la Chambre lundi prochain.

23 mars/3 avril 1679. Il a été résolu dans la Chambre des Communes d'un commun consentement qu'on enverrait [*sic*] un message à la

Chambre des Seigneurs pour demander justice au nom des Communes d'Angleterre contre Thomas, comte de Danby, et qu'il pût être incontinent interdit à la Chambre des Seigneurs et mis sous sûre garde.

Il a été résolu par la Chambre des Communes qu'il serait fait une adresse à Sa Majesté pour lui représenter que le pardon qu'elle avait accordé au comte de Danby était irrégulier et contre la loi, et qu'il était dangereux pour l'Etat d'accorder des pardons à ceux qui sont accusés par les Communes d'Angleterre.

On a fait une députation pour préparer et discuter l'adresse ci-dessus résolue.

Il a été envoyé un message aux Communes de la part des Seigneurs pour leur faire savoir que les Seigneurs, ayant considéré le message qui leur avait été fait de leur part samedi dernier, afin que le comte de Danby pût être séquestré de s'asseoir au Parlement, et être mis sous sûre garde, ils avaient ce matin ordonné que l'huissier de la verge noire prit le comte de Danby sous sa garde jusques à demain matin qu'il doit l'amener à la barre de leur Chambre, et les Seigneurs ont trouvé à propos de faire savoir à la Maison des Communes qu'ils avaient fait ceci avant qu'ils eussent reçu leur message.

Les deux Chambres s'étant assemblées cet après-midi sont allées à Whitehall porter une adresse à Sa Majesté pour la supplier d'ordonner un jour de jeûne général.

This sort of diary, the substance of which will be found in the *Journals*, is supplemented now and then by reports of a different type altogether, consisting of abstracts of speeches, and giving a lifelike image of the debates. Such is the report sent by Barrillon to the Marquis of Pomponne on March 20, 1679, which relates the incidents of the difference that had arisen between the King and the House of Commons about the election of the Speaker¹:

Le 17^e mars 1679. La Maison des Communes s'est assemblée à trois heures après-midi: sur les quatre heures, l'huissier de la verge noire leur vint dire de la part du Roi de se rendre à la Chambre des Seigneurs où Sa Majesté était en habits de cérémonie. M. Seymer [Seymour] lui dit qu'ayant plu à Sa Majesté de permettre aux membres de la Chambre des Communes de se choisir un orateur, ils l'avaient tous élu d'une voix et qu'il ferait son possible pour bien servir Sa Majesté et la Chambre dans l'emploi dont il était honoré.

Le Roi ne fit aucune réponse, mais Milord Chancelier dit que si Sa Majesté acceptait toujours la personne choisie par la Chambre des Communes, ce ne serait pas une grande faveur d'être choisi orateur; que Sa Majesté étant le meilleur juge des personnes et des affaires trouvait à propos de refuser M. Seymer [Seymour], étant plus propre à servir dans d'autres emplois, et que le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté était qu'ils procédassent le lendemain à l'élection d'une autre personne pour lui être présentée et recevoir son approbation. Sur quoi les membres de la Maison s'étant retirés et rentrés dans leur Chambre, le sieur Ernly, chancelier de l'Echiquier, se leva et informa la Maison de l'ordre qu'il avait reçu de Sa Majesté de leur recommander le S^r Thomas Myrre

¹ Vol. 133, ff. 280-284.

comme un homme fort entendu dans la pratique et dans toutes les formalités qui s'observent pendant la séance des Parlements, et dont Sa Majesté (à ce qu'il croyait) agréerait fort la personne et les services en qualité d'orateur. Mais tout le monde s'y opposa avec beaucoup de chaleur, et quelques-uns des membres parlèrent en ces termes :

M. Sacheverel [L]. On n'a jamais ouï dire qu'une personne ait été refusée sans donner quelques raisons du refus qu'on en fait; ainsi il faut qu'on en ait usé de cette manière à dessein de favoriser quelque particulier. *M. Seymer* est un homme qui a déjà exercé la même charge, et dont la conduite n'a jamais donné aucun sujet de plainte, et qui, n'ayant pas voulu consentir qu'on fit aucun tort à un héritier de la Couronne, n'a pas aussi voulu consentir qu'on violât en aucune manière les privilèges de la nation.

M. Williams. Il semble que ceci soit une question de droit. Je suis sûr qu'il y a plus de cent ans qu'on n'a ouï dire qu'on ait refusé aucun orateur présenté aux Rois et aux Reines d'Angleterre sans qu'on ait donné quelque raison du refus qu'on en a fait, ou sans quelque sujet extraordinaire, et si nous souffrons cela on recommencera tous les jours; séparons-nous.

M. Thomas Clerges [Clarges]. Il y a eu des Parlements longtemps auparavant qu'on ait eu des orateurs; mais pour l'honneur et la commodité des membres, ils ont ensuite fait choix entre eux d'un orateur. De plus je puis prouver qu'il n'y a pas longtemps que les Parlements se sont ajournés eux-mêmes de jour en jour, et même pour quatorze jours entiers, sans avoir un orateur, et que le clerc a toujours porté parole pour les ajournements. Messieurs, cette Chambre préserve nos vies et nos libertés, et nous devons aussi maintenir les privilèges de cette Chambre.

M. Garraway [Garroway]. Si vous passez cela vous passerez toute autre chose, et si l'orateur est refusé sans qu'on nous en donne de raison, je vous prie de me dire qui le doit choisir du Roi ou de nous. Il est certain que ce ne sera pas nous. Je me souviens que lorsque Popham fut nommé orateur, il fut refusé, mais on donne pour raison qu'il était maladif; depuis celui-là on en refusa encore un autre à cause de la difformité de son corps, mais aucune de ces raisons ne peut être alléguée contre *M. Seymer* dont la personne est approuvée.

Le Sr Thomas Lee. Je ne saurais oublier la manière dont nous nous présentâmes à Sa Majesté pendant le dernier Parlement, dans la crainte que Sa Majesté ne fût en danger de sa personne. Cependant nous ne reçûmes aucune réponse pendant toute une semaine depuis un lundi jusques à l'autre que nous fûmes prorogés contre notre attente et ensuite cassés, en nous y attendant encore moins; je m'imagine que celui qui donna cet avis a encore donné celui de refuser un orateur sans donner aucune raison du refus qu'on en fait. Mais je ne consentirais point à perdre aucun des privilèges de mon pays qui m'a choisi pour les défendre.

M. Burck [Colonel Birch]. Celui qui a donné cet avis en donnera encore d'autres, je vous en donne ma parole, et ce ne sont que des os que l'on sème à dessein de faire naître des querelles et de causer de la division parmi nous. Je crois que nous n'aurions pas pu obliger davantage Sa Majesté qu'en choisissant un des conseillers du Conseil Privé qui eût été dans les bonnes grâces de Sa Majesté, et qui aurait

possédé de grandes charges sous ses ordres. Outre cela je sais qu'après que nous eûmes choisi M. Seymer, il alla trouver Sa Majesté à Withal [Whitehall], pour l'en informer, qui approuva fort le choix qu'on en avait fait. Je demande à M. Seymer si cela n'est pas vrai. Mais ce dangereux avis a été donné depuis ce temps-là par quelqu'un que j'appréhende qu'il n'approche trop la personne du Roi et qu'il n'ait causé ce changement si prompt. Je ne dirai rien à présent des prérogatives: mais songeons à nous séparer.

M. Powle [Powell]. C'est une chose honteuse que le moindre incident nous fasse broncher. Il faut que cet avis vienne de quelques personnes qui sont trop proches de celle du Roi, et que nous devons craindre; nous devrions nous accorder. Je veux croire qu'il n'y a pas un homme ici qui représente son pays qui appréhende de parler hardiment en faveur de ceux qui lui ont confié leurs intérêts, ni qui craigne d'être cassé demain pour maintenir les droits de ceux qui l'ont choisi pour venir ici prendre séance pour eux; je ne prétends pas toucher aux prérogatives, ni consentir à rien qui puisse préjudicier à la liberté de mon pays. Ne faisons rien de trop précipité et sans le bien considérer, et séparons-nous jusqu'à demain neuf heures du matin.—A quoi la Chambre a consenti.¹

We see that the French envoy sent to his government reports of two kinds: some consist of hardly more than a list of business transacted and decisions agreed to²; others, rather less numerous, give us abstracts of the debates, with the names of the members who took part in them, and the general sense of the arguments.³ We shall find both kinds of reports in the correspondence of the eighteenth century.

II.

Before we quote them and compare them with the other texts, we must first clear up several points. About what time did these reports become customary, and to what degree were they so? What is their form? Above all, how were they drawn up, and how far can we trust them?

Down to 1733 they were sent intermittently and rather exceptionally. The bodies of "news from London", frequent mention of which is made in the *Inventaire*, and which were contained in separate *bulletins* sent along with the weekly despatches, are but

¹ Cf. *Grey's Debates of the House of Commons from 1667 to 1697*, VI. 405-408. The men are the same, and speak in the same order. But the arguments are not always put in the same mouth. In *Grey's Debates* it is Sir Thomas Clarges (instead of Birch) who relates Seymour's conversation with the King; and it is Powell (instead of Garroway) who mentions the case of a speaker whose election the sovereign refused to sanction on account of his physical unfitness.

² A series of these, almost completely preserved, will be found in vol. 170 of the *Correspondance Politique* (1689), ff. 28-31, 90-92, 189-191, 195-196, 226-230, 242-246, 264, 310-314, 337-338, etc.

³ He sent also an abridgment of acts recently passed. Cf. *ibid.* vol. 133, ff. 319 *et seqq.*

abridged translations of the British newspapers¹; they contain, as did the newspapers themselves, short references to parliamentary business. They are altogether uninteresting, being a mere reproduction of English texts which it is easy for us to read in the original. The same remark applies to the speeches from the throne and to the addresses of both Houses to the King, the genuine text of which is to be found in the *Journals* of the Lords and Commons.² More interesting things will be found in the letters written by the ambassadors and *chargés d'affaires*, concerning the most important debates, and especially those which related to diplomatic questions: for instance, Count de Broglie, when difficulties were raised about the works in Dunkirk harbor, kept the French government informed of the discussions in the House of Commons, and of Sir Robert Walpole's endeavors to quiet the effervescence of opinion. He wrote in a letter dated February 22, 1730³:

La Chambre basse s'est assemblée hier pour examiner l'état de la nation, mais au lieu de traiter cette affaire, M. de Poltenay [sic] et le chevalier de Windam ont parlé sur Dunkerque. M. le chevalier Walpole, qui ne s'y attendait pas, et qui n'était point préparé pour y répondre, voulut prendre la chose en riant, et dit à M. le chevalier Windam que s'étant assemblés pour examiner l'état de la nation, c'était apparemment pour rire qu'il proposait cette question. A quoi le chevalier répondit que la chose était assez importante pour l'avantage et la sécurité de la nation pour que l'on traitât cette affaire sérieusement et à fond, et commença par dire qu'il avait six témoins à la porte de la Chambre qui affirmeraient par serment qu'il entraît à présent dans l'ancien port de Dunkerque des vaisseaux de 500 tonneaux, qu'il y avait deux bataillons en garnison, qui, joints avec les habitants, travaillaient jour et nuit à accommoder ce port; que l'on avait arraché tous les pieux que les Anglais y avaient enfoncés en comblant le port, et qui si l'on laissait continuer les Français à travailler, ce port leur serait encore bien plus nuisible à l'avenir qu'il ne l'avait été par le passé, puisqu'il serait beaucoup meilleur; que c'était agir directement contre le traité d'Utrecht; qu'étant d'aussi fidèles alliés que l'on nous avait

¹ Especially of the *London Gazette*, *Fog's Weekly Journal*, and the *Craftsman*. Some copies of these papers are preserved among the manuscript letters and reports.

² The French ambassador De Broglie sends to the court of Versailles in 1730: 1st, the speech from the throne at the opening of the session, delivered on January 13/24, 1729/30, vol. 369, f. 78; 2d, the Lords' address, *ibid.* 82; that of the House of Commons, *ibid.* 87; 3d, the speech from the throne in closing the session, May 15/26, 1730, vol. 370, ff. 84-86.

³ Vol. 369, ff. 203-204. See also the letter of February 27 and the undated despatch beginning thus: "L'affaire de Dunkerque, Monsieur, a été débattue à la Chambre des Communes le vendredi dernier 10 de ce mois. La séance commença à 10 heures du matin et dura jusqu'à près de 4 heures après minuit." *Ibid.* 237, 241, 303 et seqq. A briefer report is found in a letter of the *chargé d'affaires* Chammorel, of the same date, February 22. *Ibid.* 207.

vantés à la Chambre Haute de l'être, nous ne pourrions pas refuser de remettre toutes choses à Dunkerque dans l'état qu'il avait été réglé par le traité d'Utrecht, et qu'en cas de refus, bien loin de nous regarder comme leurs bons amis et alliés, il fallait nous regarder comme leurs plus grands ennemis. M. de Poltenay appuya aussi fortement ce discours, et M. de Walpole ne put répondre autre chose, sinon que M. Amstrume [Armstrong] avait été chargé par le roi d'Angleterre il y a quelques mois d'aller visiter le port de Dunkerque; qu'ainsi il n'y avait que lui qui en pût rendre compte, mais que par malheur il l'avait envoyé en France pour y travailler à un projet d'exécution, et que d'abord qu'il serait revenu, il se rendrait à la Chambre. A quoi M. de Poltnay et M. Ouvintham [Wyndham] répondirent qu'on devait avoir le rapport de M. Amstrum par écrit, et qu'ainsi il n'y avait qu'à le communiquer à la Chambre sans remettre une affaire de cette importance à son retour. Le débat dura jusqu'à huit heures du soir, et on a remis à demain à traiter cette affaire. La Chambre en général a paru approuver les raisons du parti opposé, ce qui a empêché M. de Walpole de demander que l'on allât aux voix, craignant que la pluralité ne fût pas de son côté.

From 1732 the reports of debates were sent with the political correspondence, not at long intervals but very frequently, once, twice, and as often as three times a week.¹ We must bear in mind that about that time the French were just beginning to understand something of England. Voltaire's *Philosophical Letters*, first published in the English language, were translated into French in 1734. Montesquieu was pondering over his theory of constitutional monarchy, the example of which he found in England. On the other hand, never had the power of Parliament been so great as in the time of Walpole, under the foreign dynasty of Hanover. Never had its debates been more passionate and interesting; and the reports in the *Gentleman's* and *London Magazines*, being much fuller than those formerly given by the *Political State of Great Britain* and the *Historical Register*, allowed the British public to follow the proceedings more closely than they had done up to that time. No wonder if the French envoys paid more attention than before to what appeared to be the main factor in English political life.

In 1738 and in the following years the "Journal du Parlement" was drawn up every third day, and the ambassador or the *chargé d'affaires* did not fail to give a regular notice of its forwarding. A number of letters begin thus: "Sir—I have the honor to send

¹ Cf. in 1733 the reports dated April 20 (debate on the excise duties, in the House of Commons) and April 27 (same in the House of Lords), vol. 380, ff. 80, 128; in 1735, the reports dated February 8, 12, 13, 14, 20, 28, 29, old style (debates on the address, the election of the representative peers of Scotland, the treaty of subsidies with Denmark, the number of the land and sea forces, the recruiting service, etc.), vol. 390, ff. 143-151, 153-158, 182-186, 245-247, 251-259, 270-275, 300-302, 337-341, 342-351, etc.

you herewith the journal of proceedings in Parliament during the first—or the last—three days of this week.”¹ Often enough the minister acknowledges the receipt of it, in terms by which we can realize how much he was interested in the parliamentary reports. In the beginning they were read very eagerly. Amelot, on February 16, 1738, wrote to the Count de Cambis:

I am much obliged to you for the translation you sent to me of the King of England's speech at the opening of the session, and of the addresses from both Houses. All these papers seem to betoken a very quiet session. I hope you will be well informed about the business there and that you will be so kind as to keep me informed of it.²

It would be a mistake to think that their curiosity was confined to the debates concerning foreign affairs. In the volumes perused by the writer, he has found many reports upon merely British questions.³ But the attention which the French diplomatists or their government paid to the home affairs of England was not always kept up. In May, 1768, while the most exciting incidents of the famous Middlesex election were going on, a French agent wrote: “I will not send you the whole report of the Commons' transactions on Mr. Wilkes's case. It seems to me too long, and in its form too tedious for a Parisian to read.”⁴

Such indifference or intermitting neglect is undoubtedly one of the causes explaining the frequent, and in some cases rather wide, gaps in the series. But there are other causes, and by pointing them out we shall enable the reader to form a more accurate idea of what is lacking.

¹ Letters from Count de Cambis to Amelot, dated February 13, 20, April 17 and 24, 1738, vol. 397, ff. 108, 138, vol. 398, ff. 48, 62; from Count de Vismes to Amelot, March 17, April 1, 4, 7, and 11, 1740, vol. 407, ff. 208, 262, 265, 282, 284; from Duke de Lévis-Mirepoix to Marquis de Puyzieulx, February 18, 22, 25, March 1, 1751, vol. 431, ff. 135 *et seqq.*; from Count du Châtelet to Choiseul, December 9, 1768, vol. 482, f. 103, etc.

² Vol. 397, f. 89 (minute). Further down, f. 235, is a letter of thanks from Amelot, in which he asks for the continuation of a report (debate on the Spanish depredations in America).

³ One may mention, in 1733, the reports of the debates on the excise duty (vol. 380, ff. 80, 128-129) and on the settlement of the South Sea Company (*ibid.* 233-239); in 1735, the reports of debates on the elections (vol. 391, ff. 103, 108, 120-129); on the salt duty (*ibid.* 155-156); on a bill empowering the government to take £1,000,000 out of the sinking fund for the needs of the current year (*ibid.* 136-139, 192-197); in 1738, the reports of the debates “on the bill for establishing a more effective punishment of mutiny in the army and for better providing for the troops' quarters and pay of the troops” (vol. 397, ff. 240-243); in 1751, the report of “the debate for and against the fourteenth clause of the Regency Bill, concerning the prorogation of Parliament, discussed in Committee on Friday, May 27” (vol. 431, ff. 457, 463); etc.

⁴ W. Wolff to the French Foreign Office, May 20, 1768, vol. 484, f. 187.

First of all, a certain number of reports which consisted of as many detached pieces have simply been lost. It is very likely that at the Foreign Office they were sometimes laid aside while the rest of the correspondence was being classed. The letters of the Duke de Lévis-Mirepoix, for instance, frequently give notice of the sending of such documents,¹ which cannot now be found either in the place where they should be, or in the *Suppléments*, or in the *Mémoires et Documents*, among which they might have slipped inadvertently. Through whole volumes of the political correspondence, the reports of parliamentary debates are thus missing, though by unquestionable proofs they are shown to have once been in existence.

During two periods, each of which extends over several years—from 1742 to 1748 and from 1756 to 1763—their absence can be otherwise accounted for. The interruption of relations between France and England during the struggle about the Austrian succession and the Seven Years' War had put an end to regular diplomatic correspondence. As long as the two nations were at war, the court of Versailles did not get information on English affairs except by letters from secret agents, which were sent privately and by indirect ways. Chiquet and Du Tilly, who were in charge of that service in the years 1745–1746, directed their letters “to Mademoiselle du Verger, at Leyden”, and “to Monsieur de Beauval, at Delft”; thence they came into the hands of the French envoy in the Netherlands, Abbé de la Ville.² They were as a rule rather short and gave but scanty intelligence on the proceedings in Parliament, among all sorts of news. Occasionally they would include an abstract of an address or of a motion, but without any account of the debates to which they had led. In fewer instances they would give the names of one or two members, with the general meaning of their

¹ “Je joins ici le journal des dernières séances du Parlement, avec l'état des subsides accordés, un extrait des débats du Parlement sur la proposition faite pour l'entretien des matelots, et le plan proposé et accepté dans la dernière assemblée des intéressés dans la Compagnie du Sud pour la réduction des intérêts.” Letter dated February 18, 1751, vol. 431, f. 135. “Il y a eu de grands débats dans la Chambre des Communes lorsqu'il a été question de passer le bill pour le paiement des subsides accordés à l'électeur de Bavière. Le parti de l'opposition a vivement contrarié le projet de la cour pour l'élection d'un roi des Romains, mais celui de la cour l'a emporté par une majorité de 94 contre 55. J'aurai l'honneur de vous envoyer ce qui a été dit de part et d'autre dans cette occasion.” Letter dated March 11, 1751, vol. 431, f. 202. Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 151, 165, 174; vol. 435, ff. 286, 300, 320, etc.

² Vol. 419, ff. 98, 99, 109, 111, etc. The writers' names were added at the beginning of each letter after it had been received. In the same way the secret agents in 1756–1763 sent their letters *via* Flushing (cf. vols. 442–446).

speeches.¹ In one instance we have found among them a series of detached reports concerning Lord Lovat's trial in the House of Lords.²

In time of peace, when nothing stood in the way of regular intercourse, difficulties of another kind now and then arose. The repeated attempts of both Houses to stop the publication, though the Houses had finally to abandon them, often resulted in making far from easy the work of those who collected information for the French embassy. Count de Cambis wrote on February 13, 1738:

I almost despair of being able to send you the debates and speeches in both Houses. The compliance by which we were enabled to procure them in the days of M. de Chavigny and M. de Bussy³ is now absolutely forbidden, owing to the strict orders given this year to let nobody in when they are transacting business. If I can find nevertheless any practicable means to procure them, I will spare no trouble or expense, but I am convinced that I shall succeed only by dint of money, for the men who report the debates have to pay a dear price for the ushers' compliance, and to employ several copyists who cost them much.

It is still likely that such difficulties, which never stopped the editors of the magazines, cannot account for all the gaps we have noticed in the series of reports. In the course of that same year, 1738, in spite of all orders, Cambis managed to send to Versailles the report of the most important debates, namely, of the debates in the House of Commons of February 3/14, on the number of the land forces; of March 28/April 8, on the same question; and of May 15/26, on the occasion of a bill moved by Mr. Pulteney, concerning captures at sea.⁴

Thus a number of documents relating to the English parliamentary debates, which ought to be among the records of the French Foreign Office, are now missing, either because they were not regularly forwarded, or because the people for whom they were intended did not care to keep them after they had read them. The greatest gaps are those connected with periods of war. They are particularly to be deplored: from 1758 to 1768 the scarcity of documents collected by the editors of the *Parliamentary History* makes us anxious to bring to light new sources of information. Unfortunately the records at the Quai d'Orsay cannot supply us with any intelligence concerning that period.

¹ Pitt's speech in the letter dated February 5, 1745 (vol. 419, ff. 103 *et seqq.*); Sir John Barnard's and Pelham's speeches, in the letter dated April 1, 1746 (vol. 422, f. 136).

² Vol. 423, ff. 106-107, 109-111, 114-116, 117-120.

³ M. de Chavigny, minister plenipotentiary in London from 1731 to 1737. M. de Bussy, sent on an extraordinary embassy to London in 1737, and later (1740) minister plenipotentiary.

⁴ Vol. 397, ff. 118-129; vol. 398, ff. 23-26; vol. 398, ff. 156-157.

The available documents are of two kinds. They assume two different shapes, as they did when they made their first appearance at the time of Barrillon's embassy. Some are mere journals, or rather abstracts of the journals; others are real analytical reports of the debates.

The documents of the first kind are the "*Feuilles-Journales du Parlement*", drawn up every third day, and frequently alluded to in letters sent to France. In some volumes of the *Correspondance Politique*, in which it would be vain to look for detailed reports, one comes across a number of such documents, which consist but of a bare enumeration of the principal matters dealt with in both Houses.¹ Their value, on account of their being so dry, is to us next to nothing. They give us, in fact, nothing that we could not find in the official journals. They were not so devoid of interest when other means of information were wanting. For a long while the news in the gazettes was still shorter; and as to the reports in the magazines, they were issued some time after the debates had taken place, and, moreover, gave an account of the most important debates only. But the growth of the daily press in the second half of the eighteenth century soon made it rather purposeless to send the "*Feuilles-Journales du Parlement*" to Versailles. Count du Châtelet on December 9, 1768, wrote to Choiseul: "I send you with this letter the journals of Parliament for the present week. I did not send them before, because there is nothing in them which you could not find the next day in any gazette. It is an article of expenditure which I found established by my predecessors, and which I always feel sorry to keep up, though it does not cost much."² Choiseul answered: "The sending of the journals of Parliament is an old custom with which you are free to do away if you don't think they are of any use."³ In the following volumes of the *Correspondance Politique* we find no more of those "*feuilles-journales*", but only abstracts of the debates, "*précis des débats*", with which they were before intermingled.

The latter, of course, are the more worthy of attention. By them only can we be supplied with fresh information on the debates of the British Parliament, which may fill up a gap, or help us to point out

¹ For instance, in vol. 412, ff. 5-6, 41-42, 50-51, 66-67, 76-77, 83-84, 94, 102-103, 134-135, 138-139, 149-150, 160-161, 194, 226-227, 243-244, 248-249, 252-253, 258-259, 320-321, 339-341, 342, 386-387, 401-402, 411-412, 419-420. Something like a report will be found, in a few instances, in Bussy's letters to Cardinal Fleury (*cf.* the letter dated February 17, 1741, which gives an account of the sitting held on February 24, when Walpole's dismissal was demanded).

² Vol. 482, f. 103.

³ Note in Choiseul's own handwriting on Count du Châtelet's letter.

defects in the texts generally used. Their shape is that of analytical reports, rather long and full, though usually shorter than the copious reports of the magazines. Nearly all of them are written in French, but there are a few English ones, which we have come across toward the beginning of the series.¹

III.

It is an important and interesting question, how these analytical reports of debates were drawn up. They must be either copies of minutes taken during the debates—which would make them very valuable documents indeed—or translated abridgments of the reports published in the papers and magazines—which would make them hardly worth mentioning.

There can be no doubt about the origin of the “*feuilles-journales*”. We can guess where they come from, owing to several passages of the correspondence. They are but abstracts of the official journals, which were communicated to strangers by the clerks of Parliament. We read in a letter dated February 11, 1751:

The journal of the sitting held on Friday 5 inst., which I sent along with my letter of the 8th, No. 9, is inaccurate concerning the motion on the number of seamen for the present year, through the fault of the clerk of the House of Commons, who in his minutes mistook the different motions for each other, attributing to the government the motion for keeping 10,000 men, which on the contrary had been made by the opposition. The mistake, which has since been found out and set right, had caused all those who usually procure the minutes of the parliamentary sittings from the same man to fall into the same error.²

We read also in the margin of a “*Journal du Parlement*”, dated December 14, 1768: “The resolutions concerning America are so lengthy that the clerks have not been able to give them this morning, but we shall get them next Tuesday.”³ This undoubtedly means the communication of official documents by authentic copies. Such a communication was by no means made in violation of the orders given by both Houses concerning the publication of their debates; it was not their motions and votes they wished to keep secret, but only the detail of the discussions, and the opinions expressed by members. The clerks were consequently allowed to deliver copies of the journals, which the French ambassador procured at a small expense, alluded to in one of the above-quoted letters.

¹ Debate in the House of Commons, on March 16/27, 1733, on the excise bill; in the House of Lords, on May 13/24, 1733, on the South Sea Company; on January 23/February 3, 1735, on the address; on March 6/17, 1735, on Lord Chesterfield's motion concerning Polish affairs. Reports dated April 27, 1733, May 26, 1733, February 12 and March 12, 1735, vol. 380, ff. 128, 233; vol. 390, ff. 182, 356.

² Letter from Lévis-Mirepoix to the French court, vol. 431, f. 117.

³ Vol. 482, f. 133.

But we must now come back to the reports of debates. It is easy enough to show that they were not and could not be borrowed from English publications. They were sent to Versailles in the course of the week following each sitting. The reports in the magazines, on the contrary, were issued much later; several months often elapsed between the day when a debate took place and that on which the report of it was published. It was a matter of precaution with the publishers, who were afraid of prosecution. Several of the debates reported by Dr. Johnson¹ were issued more than a year after their actual date; the last one, dated February 22, 1742/3, is in the number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1743/4. The *London Magazine* generally published its reports within a shorter time; but it is very unusual to find in a month's number a debate of the previous month. The editor, giving in December, 1770, the debate of November 22 on the question of the Falkland Islands, took the trouble to explain that it was an affair of exceptional importance, and that on account of its being so important he had made greater haste than usual to get it published.² It is unlikely that people who desired to keep the French court informed of the progress of business in the British Parliament used stale reports, which were available only two or three months after the debates. The magazines were not used, except in the few occasions when they happened to give immediate information: for instance, the report we have just mentioned was translated literally, and the translation sent to Versailles in the first part of December, 1770.³

Most of the reports now kept at the Affaires Étrangères show by their very contents that they are the work of ear-witnesses. There are some details which could not have been given by persons who were not present. The tone of voices is noticed:

After the King had delivered his speech in the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor reported upon it, after which the Duke of Devonshire said something, but so low that nobody could hear him, and it was supposed that he was speaking in praise of His Majesty's policy; and directly after he moved, in a louder voice, that an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to thank him for his gracious speech from the throne. [Vol. 390, f. 143.] Lord Hindon spoke in such a faint and indistinct voice that it was hardly possible to hear him, and as nobody paid great attention to his speech, all I can say is that he spoke in behalf of the court. [Vol. 397, f. 243.]

These details not only come from an ear-witness, but must be here in their original text; in an indirect or abridged version they would most likely have been left out.

¹ Cf. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, I. 501 *et seqq.*

² *London Magazine*, 1770, p. 591.

³ *Correspondance Politique*, vol. 484, ff. 518-531.

How did the senders procure the reports of the debates? Did they keep a permanent staff for that purpose, or did they resort to professional reporters, who did not work for them only? They seem to have tried both systems. The reader will remember that M. de Cambis, when he complained of his not being able to get information on parliamentary business as easily as his predecessors, wrote as follows: "I am convinced that I shall succeed only by dint of money, for the men who report the debates have to pay a dear price for the ushers' compliance, and to employ several copyists who cost them much."¹ Agents in the permanent service of the embassy would not be alluded to in these terms; most probably he meant independent reporters, who were paid for each of the reports they brought.²

It may be suggested that they were the men who did the same sort of work for the editors of periodicals. If it were so, our estimation of the documents kept at the French Foreign Office should be much lowered. But the texts show many points of difference which in most instances forbid the hypothesis of a common origin. It is just possible that the embassy did sometimes resort to the reporters who worked for the magazines in order to get certain parliamentary documents before they were printed. In a letter dated March 8, 1768, we read the following lines³:

The bill entitled 'an act for regulating the transactions of the United Company of Merchants trading in the East Indies' . . . was lately read for the third time. As there has been much noise here about that affair, on account of the many persons who hold shares in the East India Company, and as one of my friends has procured for me an abstract of the opponents' manifesto, which up to the present time has been kept secret by order of the House of Lords, but which will be printed in the *Political Register* soon after the dissolution of the present Parliament, I thought you would like to get it beforehand.

But the wording of this letter shows that the person who wrote it was not in direct communication with the editor of the *Political Register*, and was indebted for the document he sent—a protest drawn up in the customary form—to some private correspondent.

¹ Vol. 397, f. 104. And a little further, in a letter dated February 20: "I include . . . an abstract of the debate in the House of Commons on the number of the land forces. I found it rather hard to procure it, since it is now impossible, as I had the honor to let you know, to use the same means as we did in the last few years. However, I hope to get the accounts of other debates in the same way, when the matter debated upon will be worth the while" (*ibid.* f. 138).

² A report dated April 28/May 9, 1735, ends thus: "They promise to get for us the continuation of this debate next week" (vol. 391, f. 160).

³ Vol. 484, f. 18.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the French ambassadors in London employed agents whose special task was to report the debates for them. One of them was present at the sitting of March 12, 1771, when Colonel George Onslow called upon the House to prosecute the printers of newspapers who published reports of the debates¹:

Pendant le cours des débats auxquels cette affaire donna lieu, l'homme que M. l'ambassadeur emploie pour lui rendre compte de ce qui se passe à la Chambre avait trouvé moyen de s'y introduire, mais il s'y vit bientôt remarqué de tous les membres, qui avaient les yeux fixés sur lui et qui chuchotaient à l'oreille l'un de l'autre en le montrant au doigt. Peu de temps après, un des gens de l'huissier vint lui dire qu'il eût à le suivre dans un cabinet particulier. Il n'y fut pas plus tôt qu'il vit arriver le colonel Luttrell avec Milord Burghass [Burghersh]. Le premier de ces membres, après un début d'excuse et d'honnêteté, vint à lui dire qu'il était malheureusement l'objet des soupçons de la Chambre dans la désagréable affaire qu'elle avait alors sous les yeux, qu'on l'accusait d'être la personne qui fournissait aux imprimeurs les débats de la Chambre, qu'il avait le talent de libeller selon ses vues; qu'on lui prêtait d'ailleurs une mémoire prodigieuse qui lui donnait des facilités pour en retenir la meilleure partie, qu'il le félicitait sur des talents aussi rares, mais qu'il le croyait innocent sur les imputations graves qu'il était obligé de lui transmettre de la part de la Chambre. L'étranger répondit que, s'il avait les talents qu'on lui prêtait, il en ferait un meilleur usage que celui dont l'accusait la Chambre, et qu'il serait trop heureux de pouvoir garder pour lui-même un monument aussi précieux que celui des débats du Parlement sur des questions qui intéressent autant la Constitution et les citoyens qui vivent sous ses lois. Il se réclama de plusieurs membres dont il était connu, entra parfaitement dans l'esprit de la majorité en approuvant les poursuites qu'elle faisait entre la licence des imprimeurs, qui méritaient la punition la plus exemplaire, et finit par se laver si bien de cette inculpation, que le colonel, après lui avoir fait beaucoup d'excuses de l'avoir dérangé, voulut absolument le remettre lui-même à sa place, comme une marque de la justification qu'il lui devait. Il voulut cependant encore savoir comment l'homme en question avait pénétré dans la Chambre, malgré la sévérité des ordres. Celui-ci fit un narré si plausible qu'il satisfît encore le colonel sur cet article, sans compromettre l'officier de la Chambre qu'il l'y avait introduit, et qui aurait perdu sa place s'il eût été nommé.

The story is a fine one, supposing it to be true, and much to the credit of its hero's sharpness and presence of mind. It shows that the French ambassador had clever people in his pay, or people at least who knew how to give a fairly good account of themselves.

The minutes taken during the debates were written in English. The correspondence contains frequent mentions of the following kind: "Hereunto annexed are the debates of the House of Commons on Tuesday 8 inst.; they give me hopes of getting those of

¹ Vol. 495, ff. 282-283.

the following Thursday; as soon as I have them, I will get them translated for you."¹

We have already mentioned a few original reports written in English, which we happened to find among the translated documents. But these did not come through the same channel. They were not dated from London, but from Boulogne, where a sort of spying office seems to have been at work in the years 1730 to 1760. Thence they were forwarded to Paris, where one d'Héguerty, whose name we have met often in volumes 390 to 440 of the *Correspondance Politique*, received and translated them.² Who was this man d'Héguerty? His name, in spite of the French spelling, sounds Irish. Some of his correspondents were Irishmen (O'Bryen, *cf.* vol. 390, f. 356). In volumes 54, 78, and 79 of the "*Mémoires et Documents (Fonds Stuart)*" are many letters and memoranda written by him, from which it appears that he was a Jacobite agent, in more or less regular relations with the French court. The fact that two sources of information on English affairs were available at the same time, and that we are now in possession of reports of parliamentary debates from both sources, shows how important such reports were thought to be, and goes far to prove their general accuracy.

IV.

We must now point out how these hitherto unused documents can be turned to account. First of all, we can find among them reports of some debates which are not to be found either in the *Parliamentary History* and the previously printed collections of debates, or in the contemporary periodicals. These latter gave to their readers but a selection of the most important debates of each session. The editors of the *Parliamentary History*, whose chief authority was the magazines, tried to fill up the gaps by means of then unpublished documents, such as the Hardwicke Papers.³ Some of the documents at the French Foreign Office can be used to the same end.

After the Prince of Wales's death in 1751, a bill for organizing the regency, in the event of King George II.'s dying before his grandson's coming of age, was brought before Parliament. Upon

¹ Count de Cambis to Amelot, April 17, 1738, vol. 398, f. 48.

² In 1746 d'Héguerty was holding a correspondence with secret agents in England. *Cf.* vol. 422, ff. 148, 156, 173. In 1751 he sent to the French ambassador a "Present State of Great Britain showing that the English are bent on a War with France", vol. 431, ff. 4-10. He was then living in Paris, Rue de la Vrillière. *Ibid.* 11.

³ *Cf. Parliamentary History*, XIII.-XVI.

that occasion long debates took place in both Houses.¹ The main point was to determine whether the regency should be intrusted to the Princess of Wales alone, or to a council of statesmen and members of the royal family. But that question was not the only one under discussion. The fourteenth clause of the bill stipulated that, on the accession of a king in his nonage, the duration of the then existing Parliament should be *ipso facto* prolonged, in order to avoid the inconvenience of a general election. A debate arose upon this clause in a Committee of the Whole House. The records of the French Foreign Office supply us with a report of it, which, as we can show, is the only one extant²:

Précis des discours et débats pour et contre la [1] 4^e clause du bill de régence, portant prorogation du Parlement, lors de l'examen en Comité le vendredi 27 mai 1751.

Mr. Pelham, Chancelier de l'Echiquier, président du Comité.

Après qu'on eût parcouru la clause 4^e et les suivantes et qu'on eût fait lecture de la 14^e, le Lord Limerick porta la parole et dit qu'il était très convaincu de la solidité des raisons qui avaient déterminé à insérer cette clause dans le bill, parce qu'il était très nécessaire de pourvoir avec toutes les précautions possibles contre tous les inconvénients qui accompagnent une minorité, le gouvernement dans ces temps devant être certainement considéré comme dans son plus faible état, et par conséquent ayant le plus besoin d'assistance du grand conseil de la nation, qui n'est autre que les deux Chambres du Parlement; qu'un nouveau Parlement n'est point en état dans ces circonstances de répondre suffisamment à cet objet, parce qu'on doit supposer que par une nouvelle élection l'on introduira dans la Chambre des Communes un grand nombre de nouveaux membres sans expérience, au lieu que par la continuation du présent Parlement les membres qui le composent ont eu le temps de prendre les connaissances nécessaires pour le bien et l'avantage de leur patrie, et sont plus en état de supporter la Couronne et de l'assister au besoin.

Que d'ailleurs la continuation du Parlement, à laquelle on a eu dessein de pourvoir par le présent bill, est le plus sûr moyen de prévenir toutes les mauvaises conséquences dont peut être suivie dans le commencement d'une minorité une élection générale, circonstance où les partis peuvent plus facilement exciter le trouble et la confusion.

Qu'indépendamment de toutes ces raisons, lorsqu'il considérait à quel point la présente famille royale sur le trône avait gagné l'amour et l'affection de la nation, sensible aux avantages d'un gouvernement réglé par les lois de l'équité, et les espérances fondées que cette nation devait avoir qu'un successeur élevé dans les mêmes principes fixera à jamais la force de son gouvernement sur sa véritable base, savoir, l'affection de son peuple, il espérait qu'en cas de minorité la régente et le conseil de régence convoqueraient, aussitôt qu'il serait possible, un nouveau Parlement, afin de donner par là à la nation des preuves non seulement de confiance, mais aussi d'attention et de soin à la faire jouir en entier de

¹ Cf. *Parliamentary History*, XIV. 1000 et seqq.

² *Correspondance Politique*, vol. 431, ff. 457-463.

ses libertés et prérogatives, dont la principale est le droit du peuple d'élire des membres pour la représenter et former la Chambre des Communes.

Qu'il avait observé que la clause dont il s'agit, telle qu'elle était exprimée, n'était pas suffisante pour répondre à l'objet que l'on s'en proposait, parce qu'on n'y avait point pourvu contre les inconvénients d'un cas qui pouvait arriver, savoir celui où, au temps que la Couronne passerait à un successeur mineur, il ne se trouverait point alors de Parlement existant, et qu'il croyait qu'il était indispensable de rectifier cette omission en insérant une clause sur ce point; et il proposa qu'elle fut conçue dans les termes dont la traduction a été jointe au bill. Après ce discours l'on mit en délibération si la clause même telle qu'elle était subsisterait et ferait partie du bill, et à cette occasion

Mr. Horace Walpole parla et donna les plus grands éloges aux sages précautions et dispositions dudit bill pour prévenir des temps malheureux et mettre le royaume à l'abri des maux et de ces calamités dont il avait fait la triste expérience dans des minorités, et dit qu'on ne pouvait trop admirer la magnanimité du roi dans cette occasion, sa tendresse paternelle pour ses peuples et sa constante attention pour leur prospérité; que ce prince n'avait pu en donner de preuve plus éclatante que de se résoudre, dans un temps où personne ne lui parlait de rien qui fût relatif aux suites de l'événement de la perte de son fils aîné, parce que c'était un sujet toujours désagréable à traiter, à envoyer son message aux deux Chambres du Parlement; que c'était mal répondre à des bontés si marquées de ce monarque et s'écarter de la juste reconnaissance que toute la nation lui en devait que de débattre dans la Chambre des règlements pour la forme du gouvernement que la prudence avait dictés et qui paraissaient les plus propres pour le bien et la tranquillité de la nation.

Le chevalier Ryder, solliciteur général, parla ensuite, et dit qu'il était surpris de voir qu'on voulût retrancher du bill la clause la plus utile; que tout le monde savait que suivant l'état de la constitution de ce royaume, il était certainement dans son plus grand degré de faiblesse dans le temps d'une élection générale par *[sic]* un nouveau Parlement, et plus particulièrement lorsque le précédent avait été de courte durée avant la dissolution, parce que depuis la Révolution et le présent établissement le Parlement est dans l'usage de s'assembler chaque année pour pourvoir aux besoins de l'Etat, et qu'à ce défaut tout était en danger; qu'on ne pouvait disconvenir sans trahir la vérité qu'un temps de minorité ne soit la plus faible partie du règne d'un prince, fatalité que l'Angleterre avait eu le malheur d'éprouver; qu'il était par conséquent de la plus grande importance de prévenir tout ce qui pourrait rendre encore plus faible le règne d'un mineur et le gouvernement dans cette circonstance. Que par la continuation du Parlement la régente et le Conseil de Régence auraient non seulement l'avis d'un Parlement composé de gens expérimentés, mais qu'ils seraient à l'abri de la confusion et des mauvaises conséquences que peuvent faire naître les partis et les gens malintentionnés dans les temps d'élection d'un nouveau Parlement; que d'ailleurs la nation ayant le temps, durant la continuation du Parlement, d'éprouver la justice et le soin d'un nouveau gouvernement pour ses libertés et biens, serait d'autant plus en état de témoigner son affection et sa fidélité dans l'élection qui suivrait.

Il finit en disant qu'il ne pouvait s'empêcher d'observer, avec les sentiments de la plus parfaite reconnaissance du soin de S. M. pour son peuple en mettant son Parlement en état de pourvoir si à temps contre les inconvénients d'une minorité, que par ces prudentes précautions l'on détruisait toutes les craintes des amis et les espérances des ennemis de la Grande-Bretagne au dedans et au dehors, que la mort du prince de Galles avait fait naître, que l'on assurait à ce royaume même en cas de minorité son bonheur au dedans et cette influence au dehors et cette confiance de la part de ses alliés qui appartiennent si justement à la couronne de la Grande-Bretagne.

Mr. Murray, procureur général, le Lord Hillsborough, le chevalier John Russehaut [Rushout], Mr. York[e], etc., parlèrent aussi en faveur de la clause, et de l'addition proposée.

Mr. Thomas Pitt¹ prit ensuite la parole et s'étendit beaucoup pour prouver qu'un membre de la Chambre en cette qualité a le droit incontestable de contredire, de corriger, observer et débattre tout ce qui est remis devant la Chambre, quoiqu'il soit directement recommandé par la Couronne. Il dit ensuite que tout ce qui avait été allégué par les membres qui avaient parlé en faveur de la clause en question ne lui paraissait ni suffisant, ni convaincant, que tout le portait à voter contre cette clause, qu'on la considérât soit quant au pouvoir, soit quant au droit, ou à la nécessité. Qu'à l'égard du premier, il soutenait qu'il n'était absolument point au pouvoir des membres de la Chambre, élus par le peuple pour le représenter pendant un temps limité et non au-delà de celui prescrit par les lois, de se continuer eux-mêmes en qualité de représentants, aussi longtemps qu'il leur plairait, et de transgresser par là directement leurs commissions, et de priver leurs commettants de leur droit incontestable et reconnu, et porter ainsi atteinte à leurs libertés et à la plus précieuse de leurs prérogatives. Dépouiller ainsi le peuple d'un droit aussi légitime, a-t-il dit, et pourquoi? pour aucune autre fin que de faciliter à une faction ministériale les moyens de parvenir à ses vues particulières, et de lui conserver, maintenir et continuer cette influence qu'elle a su se procurer dans ce Parlement où l'on peut indifféremment voter pour ou contre elle, et sans aucun effet; qu'il était plus qu'évident qu'elle ne s'était proposé par cette continuation du Parlement d'autre but que de pouvoir prendre à temps des mesures pour se mettre à l'abri du danger d'être recherchée par un nouveau Parlement qui, animé de zèle pour le bien de la patrie, ne pourrait se dispenser de lui demander compte de sa conduite, de sa mauvaise administration dont la nation ressent tant les effets et qui dési[re]rait ardemment de voir cesser une influence qui était si préjudiciable à ses véritables intérêts et par laquelle elle avait été et était continuellement entraînée dans des mesures contraires à son bien-être. Qu'en troisième lieu il n'y avait aucune nécessité pour la continuation du Parlement en cas de minorité, parce qu'il n'y avait dans ce cas aucun danger d'en convoquer un dans un temps permis, 1^o parce que les Jacobites, et ce qui pouvait d'ailleurs se trouver de gens malintentionnés, n'étaient point dans des circonstances propres à inspirer la moindre crainte à leur égard; que la fidélité générale, le zèle et l'affection que les sujets du roi avaient témoignés dans ce royaume pour S. M. et sa famille royale dans la dernière rébellion suffisaient pour convaincre tout le monde du ridicule d'une pareille

¹ N.B. Ce membre était attaché au feu prince de Galles. [Note in original.]

crainte, qui, n'était pas mieux fondée à l'égard des ennemis du dehors. En second lieu, la Régence peut n'avoir pas besoin d'un conseil parlementaire, et il est aisé de détruire tout ce qui a été allégué par rapport au défaut d'expérience des membres qui pourraient être introduits dans un nouveau Parlement. Il n'est pas douteux qu'une grande quantité des anciens membres ne fussent réélus, et il s'en trouverait assurément un nombre suffisant pour mettre dans le bon chemin les nouveaux membres sans expérience qui seraient élus, et l'on doit avec grande raison espérer que cet esprit dépouillé de tout intérêt et préjugé et cette droiture d'intention l'un et l'autre si nécessaires pour le bien de la patrie se feraient plutôt sentir dans un nouveau Parlement qu'autrement.

Qu'au reste toutes craintes sur les inconvénients d'un nouveau Parlement devaient être dissipées, qu'il y avait déjà été pourvu par un acte du Parlement en force, fait dans la seconde année du règne de la reine Anne, qui porte que le Parlement existant à la mort d'un roi ou d'une reine sera immédiatement convoqué, et tiendra ses séances pendant l'espace de six mois à compter du jour d'une telle mort, qu'ainsi la clause en question était à tous égards inutile et contraire aux lois qui subsistent, et de la plus dangereuse conséquence; et pour prouver qu'il n'y avait rien à redouter d'un nouveau Parlement, il rapporta ce qui s'était passé pour la dernière dissolution du Parlement auparavant son expiration, dissolution, dit-il, contre toute règle, et dans un temps où la nation était enveloppée dans une guerre fâcheuse, et gémissait sous les circonstances les plus embarrassantes et les plus tristes.

Il finit par observer que le principal soin dans les commencements d'une minorité était d'assurer à un roi mineur l'amour et l'affection de son peuple, à quoi rien ne pouvait tant contribuer que son étroite observance des lois, et son application à ne porter aucune atteinte aux libertés et prérogatives de ses sujets, en faisant des actes conformes à la constitution; qu'alors il n'y aurait rien à craindre de convoquer un nouveau Parlement dans le temps fixé par l'acte du Parlement ci-dessus mentionné; que tout le monde devait convenir que l'affection des peuples était la plus grande sûreté de la force et de la puissance d'un roi d'Angleterre, mais qu'il ne pouvait être trop attentif à se conserver un bien si précieux, et dit à cette occasion qu'on avait vu par expérience ce que l'amour de l'armée pour le duc de Cumberland avait opéré dans le temps de la dernière rébellion. Et il conclut en disant que son devoir et son amour pour la patrie l'obligeaient par toutes ces raisons à voter contre la clause proposée, qui ne pouvait, en subsistant, qu'altérer l'affection des sujets par l'atteinte qu'elle portait à leurs droits, libertés et prérogatives.

Le jeune Lord Harvey, le D^r Lee, le Lord Strange, Mr. Frazakerly, Mr. Townshend, etc., parlèrent ensuite et firent également valoir les raisons du discours précédent contre la clause.¹

¹ The clause was finally carried. It is clause 18 of the act 24 Geo. II. c. 24: in the event of a sovereign's accession taking place before his coming of age, the existing Parliament was to continue during a three years' period, unless the prince came of age in the meantime. However, the prince-regent or princess-regent was empowered to dissolve, but only with the assent of the council of regency. *Statutes at Large*, VII. 358.

The date of Friday, May 27, given in the report as being that of the debate, is erroneous. May 16/27, 1751, was not a Friday, but a Thursday. According to the *Journals* of the House, the succession of the debates was as follows: on Monday, May 13/24, the bill, which had been already carried in the House of Lords, was read for the first time; and it was resolved, that the bill be read a second time on the next day. On Tuesday, May 14/25, the bill was read for the second time; resolved, that the bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House. On Thursday, May 16/27, the Committee of the Whole House met, with the Lord Chancellor Pelham in the chair. On Friday, May 17/28, the House met again; resolved, that the Lord Chancellor report upon the amendments on the following Monday.¹ It is then on Thursday, May 16/27, or on Friday, May 17/28, that the debate on clause 14 must have taken place.

No report of the debate is to be found in the *Parliamentary History*, which gives but the debate of May 13/24² and a speech delivered by William Beckford on May 20/31. The report of the debate is taken from the *London Magazine* for 1751 (pp. 249-259, 297-307, 345-354), Beckford's speech from the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In Almon and Debrett's *Debates and Proceedings of the British House of Commons from 1749 to 1751*, 348 *et seqq.*, there is no report of the debate, but only a "list of the members who spoke for and against the establishment of a Council of Regency", without any reference to clause 14 and to the interesting debate on its subject of which the French document gives us some account.

In other instances, a report at the *Affaires Étrangères*, if it will not bring to our notice any really unknown fact, will enable us to complete and correct a defective text. The debate of February 8/19, 1735, on the number of seamen, has come to us in one version, which is identically the same in the *London* and the *Gentleman's Magazines*.³ In the report, which is detailed enough, the arguments for and against the increase of the navy are laid out in three speeches: the first speech expounds the government's and the majority's arguments in behalf of an act for raising the number of seamen from 20,000 to 30,000; the second one expresses the objections urged by the opposition; and the third one is a reply to the objections. None of these speeches is put in the mouth of any person in particular; the names of the members who took part in the debate are in a list at the beginning of the report, with a mere

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXVI. 229, 231, 236.

² *Parliamentary History*, XIV. 1000-1057.

³ *Ibid.* IX. 691-719; *London Magazine*, 1735, pp. 457-470; *Gentleman's Magazine*, V. 507-522.

mention of their speaking for or against the bill. They were: for the bill, Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole, and Oglethorpe; against, Sir John Barnard, Sir William Wyndham, Pulteney, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and one Willimot, member for the city of London.¹

The records of the French Foreign Office give us a report of the same debate.² It is impossible to print it here on account of its length: it fills seventeen folios of the Correspondance. But in that report there are no more speeches of the collective type, summing up the opinions of a whole party. Each member speaks in his turn, and thus we are enabled to know the origin of the ideas and sentences put together, according to his fancy, by the writer who arranged the debate for the magazines.

If we compare the two texts, we shall be struck at first by their general likeness. The list of the members who spoke is the same in both documents; for Sir Joseph Jekyll (whose name is mentioned in the magazines) and the Master of the Rolls (who is represented, in the French report, to have spoken after Sir Robert Walpole) are the same person. Any passage taken out of one of the texts will almost infallibly be found in the other one, sometimes in a more or less abridged form, but very often in sentences of the same shape, and even in the same terms.³ But the arrangement of matters is widely different: in the first and third speeches of the magazines we can recognize Horace and Robert Walpole's speeches of the French report, but much altered, as if they had been cut up and the pieces mixed afterward; the beginning of the first speech has been borrowed from Robert Walpole's utterance, the second column from Horace's, and so on. However, each version contains passages which are wanting in the other one: for instance, in the magazines' report, enlargements upon the subject of the affront which the government inflicts upon Parliament by requesting it to load the country with new burdens without allowing it to form a well-

¹ The *Parliamentary History* includes many reports of this type, taken from the magazines. Before 1732 they were hardly ever done otherwise.

² Correspondance Politique, vol. 390, ff. 205-222.

³ *Parl. Hist.*, IX. column 691, and Correspondance Politique, vol. 390, f. 216; col. 694 and f. 219; col. 696-697 and ff. 209-210; col. 700 and f. 206; col. 702 and f. 214; col. 703 and f. 215, etc. The most striking words are textually the same: "that trading protestant city", with regard to Dantzic, col. 700 and f. 218; "the two blundering brothers", "les deux brouillons de frères", when Horace Walpole speaks of the blame that will be cast upon him and his brother, if they allow themselves to be taken unawares by an emergency, col. 714 and f. 207; "a show at Spithead or in the Downs", when an opponent asks what will be the use of an increased navy, col. 700 and f. 205; "as able a minister, and as good a negociator as any we ever had in any part of Europe", when speaking of the British envoy at the Hague, col. 707.

grounded opinion upon the necessity of imposing them (col. 700); some details concerning the Dutch armaments; and in the French report, a part of Willimot's speech on the West-Indian trade and the corn trade (f. 221). The same minutes were very likely used for both reports. But the report of the magazines—which was published in September, eight months after the day of the debate—was remodelled according to a method which we cannot much understand or commend now. It seems that the general account of the facts is sufficiently accurate; as to the form, which was altered by the person who wrote for both magazines, the report of the French embassy restores it, and shows the part taken in the debate by each of the members whose names are on the magazines' list.

It would be easy to draw other comparisons of the same kind. But this would exceed the limits of our present task. The sources of the British parliamentary history for the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century are on the whole far from reliable. We bring to the notice of students new documents of undeniable worth, the series of which, though unluckily incomplete, will afford some solid ground for the foundations of critical work. We have just described them, but a real appreciation of their value cannot be made till many of them have been weighed and tried carefully. This will be done by the students who will make use of them for historical purposes.

It might be worth the while to look for similar documents in the diplomatic records of other states, more particularly in those of Holland and Prussia. It is not impossible that we may find there the scattered elements of a new collection of the English parliamentary debates, the first fragments of which we now bring to light.

PAUL MANTOUX.

PROOF THAT COLUMBUS WAS BORN IN 1451: A NEW DOCUMENT

It is well known that neither Columbus nor his first two biographers, his son Ferdinand and Las Casas, have mentioned the date of his birth, though all three speak of his studies, his voyages, and his nautical experiences in a manner which leaves it to be supposed that his life was a long one and that he had spent much time in preparing himself for the discovery he was to make. It is on this account that particular interest attaches to the date of the birth of Columbus, and this explains why so much ink has been shed to clear up this obscure point. Columbus having left us only contradictory statements respecting his age at different periods of his life,¹ while his two biographers have said nothing to enlighten us on the subject, criticism has been compelled to seek elsewhere for information, and has fortunately discovered in the notarial archives of Genoa and Savona, towns where Columbus spent his youth, documents which make up for the reticence of those from whom we had the right to expect authentic information on so important a fact.

These documents, dated from 1470 to 1473, supply indeed the material required for solving this problem. Unfortunately those who first studied them did so from a point of view which obscured rather than cleared up the question.

Inasmuch as these papers—with one exception, and that was only discovered later than the others—do not mention in precise terms the age of Columbus, it was thought possible to fix it approximately from the nature of the deed in which mention was made of the future Admiral. Thus, after having ascertained that the Genoese legal code of the period recognized four different majorities (those of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and twenty-five years, each one of which limited the minor's legal rights within certain defined restrictions), the deduction was drawn that, according to the purport of the deed to which Columbus was a party, he must necessarily have one or the other of the majorities admitted by the law. For instance, on August 26, 1472, Columbus, with the authorization of his parents, signs a deed whereby he renders himself responsible

¹ They have all been quoted in our essay, *The Real Birth-Date of Columbus* (London, 1903), and in the third of our *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (Paris, 1905).

for a debt¹; therefore, so we are told, he was not then twenty-five years of age, for, had he attained those years, he would not have required their permission; consequently he was born less than twenty-five years before that date, in other words, after August 26, 1447.

Again, on August 7, 1473,² Columbus authorizes his mother to consent to a sale which his father wishes to make; this proves, so it is alleged, that he had attained then the great majority of twenty-five years, as otherwise he could not have given the said authorization, whence it follows that he was born before August 7, 1448.³ If Columbus was not twenty-five years of age on August 26, 1472, but was so on August 7, 1473, he was necessarily born between August 26, 1447, and August 7, 1448.

Yet another calculation. On May 25, 1471,⁴ Columbus was not twenty-five years of age, because on that date his mother legally binds herself without his intervention. On March 20, 1472,⁵ he witnesses a will; therefore he had then attained the great majority, and consequently he was born between May 25, 1446, and March 20, 1447.⁶

The error in these apparently very clear and simple demonstrations is that they are based on questionable data. It is not by any means clear that it was because he was a minor that Columbus required the authorization of his parents in order to render himself liable for a debt in August, 1472.⁷ It is not satisfactorily established that Columbus on August 7, 1473, intervened without the sanction of his father, for the very nature of the deed then in question presupposes in fact that sanction.⁸ It does not follow from the fact that his mother on May 25, 1471, agreed to the sale of property under her marriage settlement without her son's consent that he was not then of a legal age to give it. In addition to the point's being obscure in itself, Columbus may have been absent at the time. Finally, the fact that he witnessed a will on March 20, 1472,

¹ *Documenti relativi a Cristoforo Colombo*, no. 44, in *Raccolta Colombiana*, part II., vol. 1, also in our *Real Birth-Date*, p. 18, and in our *Études*, p. 220.

² *Documenti*, no. 51; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 19; *Études*, p. 221.

³ Desimoni, *Quistioni Colombiane*, in *Raccolta*, part II., vol. 3, p. 23.

⁴ *Documenti*, no. 38; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 15; *Études*, p. 219.

⁵ *Documenti*, no. 41; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 16; *Études*, p. 220.

⁶ HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, I. 227.

⁷ According to the Genoese law of 1414 this authorization was required at any age, so long as regular emancipation had not been granted. Desimoni, *Quistioni*, p. 33; *Real Birth-Date*, p. 25; *Études*, p. 224.

⁸ See *Real Birth-Date*, pp. 61-63, and *Études*, pp. 244-246.

does not prove that he was then major, for it was perfectly legal in similar cases to act as witness although still a minor.¹

From the above brief observations, which are here merely indicated but which have been fully developed elsewhere, it may be seen that the data which have been employed to fix approximatively the age of Columbus at certain dates are wanting in consistency. If they were absolutely fixed and certain, the conclusions to be drawn from them would not be contradictory; which, however, is the case, inasmuch as it follows from them that Columbus, who was not twenty-five years old on August 26, 1472, had already attained that age on March 20 of that same year.

None of the documents which have been quoted in the above calculation mentions definitely the actual age of Columbus. But in 1887 one was discovered which gave this valuable information; the deed in question is the one bearing the date of October 31, 1470, wherein Columbus is described as then being over nineteen years of age. This document in fact completely destroyed all the fine quibbling which tended to prove that Columbus was born before such and such a date and after such and such another; but, unfortunately, those who had so exercised their ingenuity, instead of yielding to the force of the new evidence, sought only to make it fit in with their preconceived theories. The argument they adopted was the following: the deed of October 31, 1470, reads, "Christopher Columbus, son of Domenico, of more than nineteen years accomplished" ("Christofforus de Columbo filius Dominici, major annis decemnovem").² Well, then, this we are assured does not mean what it says: *major annis decemnovem*, more than nineteen years of age, or of nineteen years fully, or of nineteen years accomplished; no, what this really means is: more than nineteen years of age but not yet twenty-five³; that is to say, that Columbus may then have been twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, or twenty-four years of age at the date this deed was signed. All therefore that can be deduced from this deed, according to this argument, is that Columbus could not have been born before October 31, 1445, because otherwise he must have been twenty-five years of age on October 31, 1470, and consequently dispensed from requiring the authorization of his father; or, that he could not have been born after

¹ HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, I. 227.

² See the text in *Documenti*, no. 34, and here in the appendix.

³ "The expression used here means that Columbus had attained the majority of nineteen years, and not yet that of twenty-five." HARRISSE, *Christopher Columbus and the Bank of St. George* (New York, 1888), p. 89, note 4. See also *Christophe Colomb devant l'Histoire* by the same author (Paris, 1892), p. 65.

October 31, 1451, as in that case he would not have been more than nineteen years of age at the date of the aforesaid document.

The error of this reasoning is so evident that it is simply astonishing that the argument could ever have been for a moment maintained. Had it indeed been that the laws of Genoa recognized a particular majority of nineteen years (as they did in fact admit majorities of sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and of twenty-five years), it might have been legitimate to argue that the phrase *major annis decemnovem* meant what it is sought to read into it. But such is not the case, nor does any one claim that it is so; on the contrary, all the authorities are agreed upon the point that the laws of Genoa make no mention of a majority of nineteen years. It follows therefore, as clearly as day follows night, that if Columbus had then been twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, or twenty-four years of age, instead of nineteen, the notary would have so stated. Why, otherwise, should he have hit upon nineteen years of age unless that was actually the age of Columbus?¹

We do not possess a single deed of the Genoese notaries of the time wherein mention of the age does not state the actual age of the individual mentioned therein. For instance, when one of these notaries writes in a deed, dated September 10, 1484, referring to Jacopo or Giacomo Colombo, "*major annis sexdecim, juravit*", it is clear he wished to make evident that this younger brother of Columbus was then fully of sixteen years of age, because he adds that he has made him swear that such is the case. Had Jacopo been

¹ It is curious to note that M. Desimoni, who may be considered as the inventor of the four-majorities theory, admits that the declaration of age is only a means of verifying the identity of the contracting parties. *Quistioni*, p. 37. M. Ugo Assereto, who has studied this question from the legal point of view, makes the observation that when it was a question of verifying the fact that the contracting party had attained one of the legal majorities—the majority of nineteen years, for instance, which conveys the right of undertaking the engagement stipulated in the deed—the formula usually employed runs: *minor annis viginti-quinque major tamen annis decemocto* (of less than twenty-five years but of more than eighteen years). M. Assereto explains that very seldom in notarial engagements is mention made of an age intermediate between two majorities, such as those of eighteen and twenty-five years, and that when it does take place "it is to bring into prominence that the contracting party being older than eighteen, the age strictly required to validate his action, should for a greater reason be presumed to have a knowledge of the importance of the engagements he is undertaking". This judicious critic concludes, as we have ourselves done, that every time when "in a notarial deed it is stipulated that one of the contracting parties is older than nineteen, is older than twenty, is older than etc., we may be sure that he is not yet twenty, or twenty-one, etc., for, were it otherwise, there would have been every reason for mentioning the second age rather than the first." "*La Data della Nascita di Colombo*", in *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, La Spezia, January-February, 1904, pp. 6-7.

then of a different age, he would not have sworn he was at that time sixteen.¹ The deed of 1508, wherein Zerega, indicating his age, says "maggiore di quarant'anni",² and the one in which Pantalino Bavarello, the son of Columbus's sister, owns to twenty-seven years³ have exactly the same bearing.

This was the state of the question when the author of these lines published, in 1903, his essay, *The Real Birth-Date of Columbus: 1451*,⁴ an essay reproduced later in French in our *Études Critiques*,⁵ wherein are set forth at length the views here summarily stated, with the texts bearing thereon; whence it may be gathered that the deed of October, 1470, gives the exact age Columbus then had; and whereby his birth is determined as coming between October 31, 1450, and October 31, 1451.⁶

But when we made this demonstration the only document then known which could efficiently support our argument was the one of 1470, and, as Columbus was still a minor in 1470, those who clung to the four-majorities theory had still a pretense for arguing

¹ *Documenti*, no. 68. MM. Desimoni and Lollis both admit that this deed signifies that Jacopo was then a little over sixteen years of age.

² M. Desimoni, who himself gives this example, refers also to the mention of the phrase *major annorum XXII*, which he has found, and which, according to him, merely indicates the actual age because there existed no legal majorities of forty and of twenty-two years. *Quistioni*, p. 37.

³ *Documenti*, no. 111.

⁴ *A Critical Study of the Various Dates assigned to the Birth of Christopher Columbus. The Real Date 1451. With a Bibliography of the Question* (London, Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles, 1903).

⁵ *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (Paris, Welter, 1905, pp. 544). This volume, as the colophon shows, left the printer on January 30, 1905.

⁶ We think it only right to repeat here, as we have already stated elsewhere, that we were not the first to seize the real significance of this document. Already in 1892 Mr. Richard Davey had called attention to it (*The National Review*, London, October, 1892, pp. 219, 222); and in that same year M. Asensio, in discussing it, had implicitly admitted that it must be construed as we have construed it, though he raised the difficulty that the *Christofforus de Colombo filius Dominici* of the deed in question may not have been our Columbus (*Cristóbal Colón*, Barcelona, [1891], I. 216). In 1900 M. González de la Rosa boldly declared to the Americanist Congress that it followed from this document that Columbus was born in 1451; but we are the first who subjected this notarial act to a detailed critical examination, and who showed that it really means that Columbus had fully accomplished nineteen years of life in 1470. In 1904, about a year after the publication of our English memoir on this point, M. Assereto repeated the same demonstration in the article quoted below; and, inasmuch as he does not refer to us, we must believe he had not seen our work, although it raised some discussion at the time. Our argument is summed up in pages 95-101 in the English volume and in pages 26-63 in the French. In 1902, in our *Toscanelli and Columbus* (London, Sands and Company), pp. 262-263, we had already given the result of our studies on this point.

that the notary, in recording the fully nineteen years of Columbus, wished only to indicate thereby that he had already passed the legal majority of eighteen years, without, however, having yet attained the majority of twenty-five. To-day the position is altered. Another document has been discovered which also gives the age of Columbus; but this later discovery no longer lends itself to the support of the meaning it was sought to give to the deed of October 31, 1470.

This deed, which M. Assereto had the good fortune to find among the notarial archives of Genoa, and which he made public, in February, 1904,¹ is dated August 25, 1479, and contains a deposition made by Columbus (who was then fixed at Lisbon but was passing through Genoa) in which he states that he was at that time aged about twenty-seven years.² Here, at any rate, there can be no misunderstanding. It is the notary himself who asks Columbus what his age may be and who writes down his reply, wherein the word *major*, the origin of so many difficulties, does not occur, thus closing the door to all ambiguity that might have arisen from the expression "major of twenty-seven years"; which in itself, however, could scarcely have led to confusion, inasmuch as the legislation of the period nowhere recognizes a later majority than that of twenty-five.

When therefore Columbus said he was twenty-seven years of age or thereabouts, he could have meant to say only what the phrase itself indicates, that he was either a little more or a little less than the age indicated; and this in the first case would fix his birth toward the end of 1451, and in the second toward the beginning of 1452. But the point which is here left in doubt is fortunately cleared up by the deed of 1470, which demonstrates that it is in the first sense that we must interpret the declaration of Columbus; for according to the wording of that document he was over nineteen years of age on October 31, 1470, which would have been impossible if on August 25, 1479, he had not passed his twenty-seventh year.³

The two deeds thus complete one another and enable us to cir-

¹ Ugo Assereto, "La Data della Nascita di Colombo accertata da un Documento Nuevo", *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, January-February, 1904.

² "Interrogatus quottannis est . . . Respondit quod est etatis annorum viginti septem vel circa." ("Being asked what was his age . . . he replied that he was twenty-seven or thereabouts".) See the deed in the appendix.

³ M. Assereto remarks, on this point, that according to custom the witness mentioned the number of years he had accomplished already, so that when Columbus declares he is twenty-seven or thereabouts he intends to convey that he was over twenty-seven but not yet twenty-eight years of age. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

cumscribe within closer limits the period within which Columbus must have been born. Quite clearly, if on October 31, 1470, he was more than nineteen years old, and if on August 25, 1479, he was more than twenty-seven and less than twenty-eight, he must first have seen the light of day within the two months and five days comprised between August 26 and October 31, 1451.¹

The deed of 1479 therefore definitely settles the question of the date of the birth of Columbus. From whatever point of view we may consider the matter, it is impossible to deny the conclusion to which this deed leads when it is placed beside the deed of 1470, and we may now set forth with full assurance that it was only during either the month of September or that of October, 1451, that Columbus was born.

Without dwelling upon this point, it is well to observe that this important date in the life of Columbus is not the only point which modern criticism has successfully determined. Since 1892, thanks to Salvagnini's researches, we also know that it was only in 1476 that Columbus first landed in Portugal, and to this information we may now add that he was then twenty-five years of age. We know also from his own notes and from Las Casas that it was in the beginning of 1485 that he passed into Spain, and we have the proof that he quitted no more the Spanish peninsula until he set sail in 1492 from the port of Palos.

All these facts, henceforth indisputable, are very suggestive; but this is not the occasion to point out the conclusions which may be drawn from them, and we shall merely ask the careful and unprejudiced reader if they can be reconciled with Columbus's repeated assertions that he had sailed for twenty-three years²; that he had crossed all the known seas³; and that for over forty years he had studied the secrets of nature.⁴ We shall furthermore ask him if it be not permitted to say from all this that Columbus had a personal interest in pretending to be older than he was, and also if we do not find here a natural explanation of the fact, otherwise so extraordinary, that he who was so prolix and so fond of talking about himself never mentioned the date of his birth; that all his statements bearing upon his age are contradictory; that his son who

¹ As we do not wish to expose ourselves to the reproach of failing to render to M. Assereto the credit due to him, we think it right to say that he has drawn the same conclusions as we have ourselves from the two deeds in question; indeed no other alternative was possible. *Ibid.*

² The Log-Book, December 21, 1492.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Letter of 1501 quoted by Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie* (Venice, 1571), p. 8, and by Las Casas, *Historia* (Madrid, 1875-1876), I., chap. 3, p. 47.

wrote his life maintains silence on this point; and that Las Casas, who possessed all the family papers and who was personally acquainted with the principal members of the Columbus family, also refrains from saying a word upon the subject.

The document discovered by M. Assereto also gives some new information upon Columbus. We find therein an authentic verification, the first we possess, that he was in Lisbon in July, 1478, and was having business transactions with that same Paulo di Negro who later appears in his will; that at this period he made a commercial voyage to Madeira, a place it was not known for certain that he had visited; that the following year he was at Genoa, whither it was not known he had returned, and where he was then still considered to be a citizen of that town, which leads to the supposition that he was still unmarried in August, 1479, and had not yet in a permanent manner fixed himself in Portugal, for Las Casas tells us that his marriage and settling down in that country made him to be looked upon as a Portuguese.

HENRY VIGNAUD.

APPENDIX

We give below the essential passages of the two deeds of 1470 and 1479. The other portions of these documents, which are both of considerable length, have no bearing on the question under discussion.

I. *Christopher Columbus, aged nineteen full years, with the authorization of his father Domenico admits that he is the debtor of Pietro Bellesio, Genoa, October 31, 1470.*¹

In nomine Domini, amen. Christofforus de Columbo filius Dominici, major annis decemnovem, et in presentia, auctoritate, consilio et consensu dicti Dominici ejus patris presentis et autorizantis, sponte et ex ejus certa scientia et non per aliquem errorem juris vel facti, confessus fuit et in veritate publice recognovit Petro Belexio de Portu Mauricio, filio Francisci, presenti, se eidem dare et solvere debere libras quadraginta octo, soldos tresdecim et denarios sex Janue; et sunt pro resto vinorum eidem Christofforo et dicto Dominico venditorum et consignatorum per dictum Petrum.

II. *Deposition made by Columbus in a lawsuit brought by Ludovico Centurione against Paulo di Negro, Genoa, August 25, 1479.*²

This deposition is preceded by a request made by Ludovico on August 23, 1479, for the hearing of his witnesses. Ludovico ex-

¹ From the Notarial Archives of Nicolo Raggio, file 2, a. 1470, n. 905. First published by Staglieno in *Giornale Ligustico* of 1887, p. 259, and reproduced in *Documenti of the Raccolta Colombiana*, part II., vol. 1, no. 34.

² Notarial Archives of Ventimiglia, file 2 (1474-1505), no. 266. Published by M. Ugo Assereto in *Giornale Storico e Letterario della Liguria*, January-February, 1904.

plains that he desires to prove by witnesses who are about to start on a long voyage that the preceding year Paulo di Negro, to whom he had supplied money for the purchase of a consignment of sugar at Madeira, had sent Columbus to that island for that purpose, but that Columbus did not receive the full remittance and consequently was unable to complete the purchase.

This request was notified the same day to Paulo di Negro, and the day but one following Christopher Columbus, a citizen of Genoa (*Christofforus de Columbo civis janue*), says the notary, appeared and was heard. He declared on oath that in the month of July of the preceding year he was at Lisbon with Paulo di Negro, who commissioned him to purchase on his account at Madeira 2,500 arrobas of sugar; that Paulo handed him a portion of the funds necessary for this purchase and forwarded to him another portion at Madeira, where he (Columbus) had contracted to buy the required amount of sugar, but that, the balance of the amount not having been remitted, when the Portuguese captain sent by Paulo di Negro to fetch the sugar arrived, the sellers who had sold for cash down refused to allow the goods to be shipped:

Ejus juramento corporaliter tactis scripturis de veritate dicenda et testificanda dixit se tantum scire de contentis intitulo videlicet quod veritas fuit et est quod cum anno proxime preterito de mense Julii ipse testis et dictus Paulus essent in loco Ulisbone transmissus fuit ipse testis per eundem Paulum ad insulam Amaderie cause emendi rubas duomilia quadringentas sucarorum in plus, cui quidem testi dacti ex tunc fuerunt per dictum Paulum vel alium pro eo occaxione predicta regales centum quindecim milia et inde dum ipse testis esset in dicta insula Amaderie, etiam transmissi fuerunt ipse testi per eundem Paulum seu alium pro eo occaxione premissa usque ad summam regalium tre centum duodecim milia vel circa computatis dictis regalibus centum quindecim milia, et hoc usque ad illud tempus quo ad dictam insulam apulit navigium patronisatum per Ferdinandum Palensium portugalensem in et super quo navigio onerari debet dicta sucarorum quantitas, que tamen onerari tunc non potuit licet empta et incaparata antea fuisset per ipsum testem, licet tamen presentialiter proprie et ad punctum testificare non possit, que pars dictorum sucarorum tunc empta et per eundem testem incaparata fuisset quia non habet ejus librum in quo distincte omnia continentur et scripta sunt et ad quem se reffert. Verum tempore apulsus dicti navigii sucara ipsa empta et incaparata per ipsum testem ut supra in totum habere non potuit defectu pecunie ipsi testi non transmise per dictum Paulum pro ipsorum sucarorum solucione et ea pars que consignata fuerat ipsi testi per venditores licet non solupta applicato dicto navilio ab eis minabatur ut illa vendi facerent damno et interesse ipsius testis attento quod eorum debitum et solucionem non faciebat, quibus ex causis dicta sucarorum quantitas in et super dicto navigio onerari non potuit.

The remainder of the deposition consists of Columbus's replies to a series of questions relative to the affair. To the last questions he replies that he is leaving for Lisbon next day, that he is about twenty-seven years of age, that he was carrying away with him a little over one hundred florins, and that he sincerely hoped the party who was in the right would win :

Interrogatus si est de proximo recessurus respondit sic, die crastino de mane pro Ulisbona.

Interrogatus quottannis est quantum habet in bonis et quam partem vellet obtinere.

Respondit quod est etatis annorum viginti septem vel circa, habet florenos centum et ultra et vellet obtinere jus habentem.

Actum Janue in contracta santi siri videlicet in scagno dicti Lodixii anno dominice natiuitatis millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo nono indicione undecima Juxta morem Janue die mercurii vigesima quinta Augusti hora vigesima quarta paulo plus presentibus Johanne Baptista de Cruce qm. Jeronimi et Jacobo Sclavina Bernardi civibus Janue testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

THE BLACK WARRIOR AFFAIR

THE affair of the *Black Warrior* was symptomatic of the political conditions of its time in the United States. It may perhaps be treated as a type of the many disputes which arose during the last century over the peculiarly Spanish methods of applying the navigation laws of Cuba to our shipping. It brings us into contact with the Spanish administration of Cuba in the days of an international crisis. But the various accounts of the affair that have already been written are based in all the essential points upon such documents and diplomatic and private papers as have been given to the government printers for publication by the Department of State.¹ As this material has for the most part consisted of reports and correspondence of American origin, the evidence deduced from it in arriving at a judgment on the real merits of the case presented by the parties involved is unsatisfactory, and the data furnished by it have in many particulars remained incomplete.

An examination of the letter-files of the captain-general of Cuba preserved in the Archivo Nacional at Havana has brought to light many new papers which shed new light upon this historical incident. The Spanish documents bearing on the subject are supplemented by the correspondence, official and private, of Americans residing in Havana who played important rôles in the affair. We now have at hand probably the most important official notes that passed between Madrid, Havana, and Washington, confidential correspondence (sometimes carried on in the Spanish government's cipher code), which constitutes a very interesting commentary not only on the internal politics of the country, but on the main part of the foreign policy of the Pierce administration and the attitude of the European powers toward the ambitions of the latter.

This present account does not purport to be a complete story of the *Black Warrior* Affair; it merely attempts to avail itself of certain new matter in order to fit some missing historical passages into an existing fragmentary account. With these prefatory remarks, we pass on to a review and consideration of the important events which occurred at Havana during the months of February,

¹ Serial 724, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Executive Documents, vol. 11, 1853-1854, no. 86, pp. 306-318; Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Docs., vol. 10, 1854-1855, no. 93.

March, and April of 1854 when the situation known as the *Black Warrior* Affair was developed.

I.

The American steamer *Black Warrior*, one of the largest vessels engaged in the Atlantic coast transportation trade at the time, had for many months previous to February, 1854, been calling at Havana on her way to Mobile and New York City without particular incident. Though more than thirty trips between New York and Mobile via Havana had been made by the steamer, shipments not billed to Cuba had never been entered in the manifest of the cargo, if we are to accept as worthy of full credence the statement of Tyng and Company, consignees of the vessel. The port regulations of Havana, however, were explicit on this point: all cargo, whatever might be its point of destination, must under the law be declared in the ship's manifest and pay into the royal treasury a sum fixed by law.

On the morning of February 28, 1854, the *Black Warrior*, with upwards of nine hundred bales of cotton for New York and fourteen passengers, passed Morro Castle and anchored in the bay beyond. The vessel was late in arriving. She had been expected on the twenty-fifth and had been "cleared" for the day following. The company's agents were in the habit of applying for clearance papers before the arrival of the steamer in order to have done with a formality which might develop into a source of delay if postponed. This very obvious irregularity was sanctioned by the Spanish officials.

The *visita de fondeo* (visit of inspection) was made in the usual manner by the revenue inspectors, who at the time placed in the hands of Captain Bullock an English copy of the regulations of the port.¹ Revenue Inspector de Santiago, who was accompanied by the government interpreter, happened to glance into the open hatches of the vessel and discovered that a great quantity of cotton was being carried, although the ship's manifest made declaration of nothing but "ship's stores".

In this "heyday of filibusters" the greatest vigilance was enjoined on all Spanish officials: Pezuela, the new governor, who had been sent to Cuba because of his well-known energetic character, had undoubtedly been sufficiently warned by the feverish activities of certain adventurers in the States to take every precaution to guard the coasts and ports committed to his charge. De Santiago told

¹ Sworn statement of Jaime de Santiago, June 17, 1854.

Captain Bullock that he had twelve hours in which to correct his papers, but that in the meantime the discovery that had been made would have to be reported to the collector of the customs. The captain retorted that, as the goods were on their way to New York, Havana had no interest in them; whereupon he was informed "that the bales that he was carrying should be declared *in transitu*, according to the customs regulations, which he must be well acquainted with inasmuch as he came frequently to the port."¹ It was bruited about that the captain had aboard a cargo of contraband.²

At twelve o'clock on this same day, Tyng, the ship's agent, sent his clerk to the customs office with orders to secure a pass for Morro Castle so that the steamer might resume its northern journey. He was then told that the vessel was under suspicion. Roca, the collector, states that he sent a message immediately after the visit of de Santiago to the ship apprising Tyng and Company of the turn affairs had taken. A second visit of inspection was commanded in order to ascertain the correctness of the report of de Santiago; and the pass requested was refused pending the result of the re-examination of the hold of the steamer. Of course an enormous unmanifested cargo was found on board the *Black Warrior*. When the second official visit was paid to the vessel, Roca, after consulting with his superior officer, the *intendente*, and upon Tyng's refusing to go on the captain's bond, ordered the immediate seizure of the cargo and the arrest of the captain. Roca was careful to stipulate "that this [discharge of the ship's cargo] should proceed with the despatch that the case required in order that the said boat might suffer no delay". All this occurred before four o'clock in the afternoon of the day of the arrival of the steamer.³

Tyng now hurried to the consulate of the United States, which was at the time in charge of Acting Consul William H. Robertson. This official showed an activity all through the affair which the Spaniards characterized in very severe terms and which won for him the cordial dislike of the authorities of the country. The governor looked upon him as the type of the objectionable American

¹ *Ibid.*

² Justo Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones en Cuba: Apuntes para la Historia Política de esta Isla en el presente Siglo* (Madrid, 2 vols., 1872-1873), I. 660; Miguel Estorch, *Apuntes para la Historia sobre la Administración del Marqués de la Pezuela en la Isla de Cuba, desde 3 de diciembre de 1853 hasta 21 de setiembre de 1854* (Madrid, 1856), p. 46.

³ Roca to the General Administrator of the Royal Customs of Havana (i. e., the Marqués de la Pezuela himself), signed at four o'clock in the afternoon, February 28. 1854.

and as the fomentor of all the troubles that so complicated the affair of the *Black Warrior*.

It was decided at the consulate that the consul and Captain Bullock should proceed to the palace for the purpose of explaining to the governor-general that if an error had been committed it was due to the ignorance of the captain of the vessel, who had no knowledge of the port regulations, and that there had been no attempt to defraud the royal exchequer of a portion of its revenues. In the meantime Tyng was to call at the custom-house and lay his case before the collector of customs. Tyng alleges that the collector refused "offhand" (*extemporáneo*) to permit him to correct the manifest, declaring that the right of correction ceased at the moment of the presentation of the paper. Bullock says he learned, to his surprise, that this right had been lost when the clearance papers had been issued, that is, two days before the steamer reached Havana.

To the assertion of the Americans that the captain had followed all the formalities that had been observed in all the many previous trips of the vessel to Havana, Estorch, the historian of Pezuela's administration, interposes the rejoinder that there is record of at least one case where the captain of the *Black Warrior* had presented the proper legal manifest and where duties on merchandise in transit aboard the vessel had been collected. The very nice point that a practice long continued could crystallize into a custom which might acquire the real force of law and be entitled to all respect as such, and that the sudden enforcement of an obsolete law in opposition to custom might seriously demoralize commerce and work damage for which an indemnity could be exacted, was carefully passed over by the Spanish authorities. This question was a matter for the equitable jurisdiction of Her Majesty. It was fully debated in the Cortés a year later. From the Spanish standpoint, it was quite sufficient to interpose at this point that the governor of Cuba was sent to his high post for the purpose of enforcing the law. As to previous arrangements and practices, Roca,¹ who had just been appointed collector of customs of the port of Havana, could hardly have been expected to take cognizance of irregular agreements made before his appointment; it was his duty to compel the shipping of the port to conform to the instructions which were placed in his hands at the time of the assumption of his new charge.

It is worthy of note that none of the Spanish documents at hand, bearing dates showing that they were written within two or three

¹ Estorch, *Apuntes*, p. 70.

weeks after the detention of the *Black Warrior*, contains anything regarding the twelve-hour rule which soon came forward as the point about which the most heated discussion raged. Did the Havana authorities deny to the American citizens on this occasion the legal right they possessed of modifying or correcting the ship's manifest as they pleased within the period of twelve hours after the arrival of the vessel? This point is an all-important one. On June 17 Roca, in obedience to orders from the captain-general (who acted on a suggestion made by the Spanish legation at Washington), subscribed to a sworn statement which gave in his words what transpired during the visit of Tyng to him on the afternoon of February 28. This affidavit of Roca's will repay careful examination; for Marcy was very insistent on the point that the whole success of the Spanish defense depended on whether they could show that the cargo of the *Black Warrior* was not embargoed before seven o'clock p. m. of the twenty-eighth, or twelve hours after the boat had dropped anchor near the coal-wharves of Havana. The Roca-Tyng conference took place between the hours of three and four. Roca states that he directed Tyng's attention

to the fact that he might, if he pleased, with the view of obviating difficulties and guarding against disagreeable possibilities, make an addition to or correction of the manifest, declaring as *in transitu* the merchandise which was on board said vessel; that the instructions gave the captain (or, in case of his failure to act, the consignee of the boat) this privilege in the fifth article; that the period was twelve working [*utiles*] hours; and that he had yet time, as the period did not expire until six o'clock that evening.

Roca states that Tyng had nothing but stubborn remonstrances to offer at this point. The affidavit continues:

The said Tyng replied as follows to this: that "he would not submit to ridiculous formalities, that the cotton and other cargo on board the steamer *Black Warrior* was on its way to another point, and that, as far as Havana was concerned, the boat rode in ballast, as its manifest said"; and, taking out his watch and looking at the hour, he added, "what I do, is to protest before you that this was said at 3:30 in the afternoon"—to which he that subscribes this replied, that he [Tyng] ought not to protest regarding what the "Instruction" prescribed in the case and that he [Tyng] might protest against it before his [Roca's] superior officers, if he believed that he [Roca] was failing to perform his duty.

According to this statement of Roca, the afternoon's representations of Tyng degenerated at this crucial moment into angry protests against "ridiculous formalities" of the law instead of taking the form of an application for permission to correct the manifest that had been presented. The collector on oath further declares

that it was not until the following day that the consignee was ready to present the formal petition which was required. A few days later, Tyng had a conference with the governor-general, who reports it in his despatches to Washington and Madrid in these words:¹

. . . the consignee called upon me, openly confessing their [Captain Bullock's and Tyng's] fault, attributing it to their ignorance, and requesting of me as an act of clemency that no higher duties be exacted than those paid by every boat having cargo manifested as *in transitu*; but I did not consider it proper to accede to this request out of respect for the law and the national dignity and for the additional reason that, as judicial proceedings had been instituted, it was not in my power to take the step suggested, and furthermore and chiefly because, bearing in mind the circumstances that a sheet of [special] instructions together with a [complete] copy (in English) of the same had been placed in the hands of the captain, a plea of ignorance of customs and language could not be entertained.

Roca's statement was made some four and one-half months after February 28, and much had occurred during that interval to stir the Spanish administration to a realization of the gravity of the international situation. Bearing in mind the advice that (if we are to believe the affidavit of June 17) was given to Tyng by Roca, the following extract quoted from a letter ² written by the same official a few minutes after the visit of Tyng, and in reply to a note addressed to him by the captain-general, is interesting: "Therefore, I have given orders to the 'Comandante de Carabineros' to begin the unloading of the effects that have been confiscated, and to store them in the warehouses of Casa Blanca, charging him especially and repeatedly to use all moderation in everything." The date of this order is not doubtful: "This is all that I am able to say to Your Excellency in reply to your official note of to-day which I just at this moment received, which is four o'clock in the afternoon. . . . Havana, February 28, 1854. Your Excellency, Joaqn. Roca." If Tyng still had several hours at his disposal during which he could bring the ship's papers into conformity with the law (as the above affidavit would indicate), the immediate seizure of the property by the collector was absolutely without any moral or legal justification, an outrage committed against the property of American citizens, aggravated by the *mala fides* of the collector of the port who issued the order of detention and confiscation.

Pezuela³ advises Cueto, the Spanish minister at Washington, on the twentieth of the following June that the means indicated by

¹ Pezuela to Calderon and Magallon, March 7, 1854.

² Roca to Pezuela, February 28, 1854.

³ Pezuela to Cueto, June 20, 1854 (rough draft).

Roca as an escape from his "precarious position" was really (as he puts it) "evasive"; for Captain Bullock could not properly claim the legal privilege of modifying the manifest presented. The law in question, he goes on to say, applied only to the person "who had presented said manifest of cargo", permitting this individual to correct a mistake that had inadvertently crept into the paper, but not giving such permission to a person who, like Captain Bullock, did not present any manifest of cargo at all, and "committed a deliberate error for the purpose of defrauding the royal revenues by making a declaration *in ballast* when such was not the fact." This argument comes forward rather tardily, but Pezuela evidently cherished the hope that Roca's suggestion viewed in this light might gain a superior force, evidencing the eagerness of the Spanish officials to render every aid to the American merchants in finding a way through the labyrinth of Spanish law to a method of escaping the heavy penalty that was impending.

The Washington despatches dated May 7 and June 7 fix the crux of the difficulty in this fashion:¹

The successful issue of the negotiation regarding the affair of the *Black Warrior*, torpified at present by this circumstance [the difficulty of reconciling the conflicting statements of the officials of the two nations in Havana], depends solely for us on the possibility of demonstrating the palpable and complete inexactitude of the assertion² of Mr. Robertson.

Cueto was not slow in detecting the weak point in the governor's defense. With the record of the period before us, we can appreciate the force of added pressure which despatches of the above nature from Washington must have had on Pezuela, who through Roca had been fully advised on February 28 of the steps that had been taken that day in the matter of the seizure of the cotton aboard the American steamer. Every bit of evidence goes to establish the belief that Her Catholic Majesty's representative in the "ever most faithful City of Havana" was not at that time unwilling to avail himself of the administrative privilege of prevarication.

With the above facts clearly established, the suspicion gains strength that Havana was trying to make our consul a scapegoat for Spanish aims. It was felt in Spanish official circles that something must be done to correct the impression that Robertson's official reports were giving. Pezuela, pressed hard for facts, maintained that "our government should protest immediately against the asser-

¹ Cueto to Pezuela, May 7, 1854.

² That is, that the vessel and cargo had been seized by the authorities of Havana before the much-discussed legal period of twelve hours had run.

tions that the consul Robertson has made or may in the future make, as I consider him to be the prime cause of the strained relations at present existing between the two governments".¹ Occasionally the personal hostility of the two officials finds expression in the notes exchanged by the Consulate and the Palace. In the hurry of the moment Robertson had neglected to take a copy of the first letter² to Pezuela relating to the detention of the *Black Warrior*, and so respectfully requested that a copy of the original in the hands of the governor might be made for the files of the consulate. The note from the secretary of the governor accompanying the copy of the letter indicated remarked insinuatingly that the Marqués de la Pezuela was a gentleman and for his part had nothing to conceal. He probably adverted to Robertson's failure to transmit a copy of the letter of February 28 to the Department at Washington. Then came the articles in the *Diario de la Marina*, the official paper, savagely attacking the consul and the head of the government he represented. Robertson in both cases³ criticized the translations that had been made of a consular despatch and the President's message—translations that were so bad as to be vicious—qualifying the philippic directed against him as actuated by malice and as showing a clear intent to pervert the facts. He even went to the length of demanding that the objectionable passages in the articles he named be corrected in a manner honorable to himself. The important part of the governor's reply in the formal third person follows:⁴

That he [Pezuela] has considered as official all communications that Your Honor has addressed to him, not having had at any time motive to act otherwise; that henceforth you may abstain from directing to His Excellency complaints foreign to the exclusively commercial character of the *exequatur* (which Your Honor may please to reread at this point) granted to Your Honor by the Queen, My Lady; that there is no representation here recognized by the States of the Union as having such privileges, and Your Honor may turn with your grievances to your government as this government may turn to its own or to our representative at Washington, when it may be necessary.

The governor promised, however, to have certain of the corrections desired made. Pezuela in his secret despatches accuses Robertson of improperly and clandestinely interfering in the affairs of the country. He declares that Robertson permitted the captain of the *Fulton* to vaunt in his house the mad purpose "of taking the *Black*

¹ Pezuela to Cueto, June 20, 1854.

² A letter that was a purely formal protest against the proceedings of the Spaniards as to the *Black Warrior*.

³ Robertson to Pezuela (2), April 1, 1854.

⁴ Secretary of Government to Robertson, April 2, 1854.

Warrior out of the port by force", and that the consul "made exaggerated and erroneous reports to Washington which prompted the President's message out of which arose all the present international difficulties".¹

The very fact that inadequate powers were granted our consular representatives in Havana was the direct cause of endless friction between the consulate and the government of the island. It was inevitable that our consuls should quickly fall into bad repute with the Spanish authorities of Cuba and be arraigned as officious intermeddlers, if they were to be of any service to the Americans who were constantly falling victims to incomprehensible formalities or to the principle of *dolce far niente* of the island administration. An increase in the powers of the consul which would give him a semi-diplomatic character would have harmonized well with the viceregal prerogatives of a governor of the time of Pezuela.²

Coming back to the original facts of the case, nothing could prevent the embargo from being laid on the vessel. On March 2 Charles Tyng and Company petitioned the captain-general, acknowledging that "they *had erred* through pure ignorance, but without the slightest intention of causing loss to the Royal Treasury or of creating difficulties".³ A petition drawn up on the previous day had stated that, during the course of many trips from Mobile to New York, the agents had always omitted to make declaration of cargo in transit as it had been taken for granted that this was the proper thing to do. This objectionable phraseology was not repeated in the formal petition of March 2, probably in obedience to a suggestion from high quarters. On March 7 the *Diario de la Marina* published a decree which had gone into effect on the twenty-third of the previous month. This decree declared that a manifest once modified in any way was final and could not be allowed in any particular; it is extremely doubtful whether this order, which had been published weeks after the confiscation complained of, was law on February 28. On March 16 the vessel and cargo were released and a fine of \$6,000 imposed on the agents, Tyng and Company, in lieu of all other punishment.⁴ The captain-general agreed to permit a petition to be transmitted through him to the Queen. This petition was favorably received by the home government, Her Catholic Majesty deigning to remit the fine of 6,000 duros and to

¹ Pezuela to Cueto, June 20, 1854.

² Zaragoza, *Las Insurrecciones*, I. 654.

³ Estorch, *Apuntes*, pp. 174-176.

⁴ Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Doc. 93, p. 46.

⁵ Pezuela to Magallon, March 21, 1854; Estorch, *Apuntes*, p. 176.

grant, with generosity becoming royalty, customs privileges similar to those enjoyed by the ships of the English Royal Mail Line.

In the course of the next twelve months America heard little of the *Black Warrior* affair. During the vernal months of the following year the matter of indemnity to the owners of the *Black Warrior* had reached the stage of discussion in the stormy sessions of the *Córtes*. The American claimants received ministerial support in the persons of Luzuriaga and Zabala. It was freely acknowledged that the practice observed by Tyng of not declaring goods billed to New York or Mobile had "converted itself into a species of custom, constituting almost a law for the master of the steamer who felt sure that, if he declared the steamer to be in ballast, no inspection would be made, and this was done with the advice (*anuncio*) and consent of the authorities".¹ The official gazette of Madrid² observed that the authorities could not accept the refusal of Captain Bullock to amend the ship's manifest at two or three o'clock as a formal and effective renunciation of a right which the law gave to third parties for the space of twelve hours after the arrival of the boat.

A document discovered among the papers submitted by Pezuela³ showed that twelve hours had not elapsed from the time of the arrival of the steamer to the moment of the imposition of the embargo. In the fact that the *Black Warrior* carried mail the Spanish ministers found justification for the novel method pursued by the house of Tyng for the purpose of obtaining clearance papers for a vessel that had not yet reached port. In accordance with the recommendations of the Cabinet, the owners of the *Black Warrior* were granted an indemnity of \$53,000, thus putting a last touch to the complete triumph of the American case and severely censuring the administration of the Marqués de la Pezuela, who had been recalled in the autumn of the previous year.⁴

II.

The difficulties of communication with Cuba and the inevitable delays of distance were eagerly seized upon by Madrid as excuses for what might be properly called administrative procrastination, whenever it was feared that an affair might take a turn prejudicial

¹ *Diario de las Sesiones*, P. 8944 (1855); *ibid.*, March 29, 1855.

² *Gaceta de Madrid*, December 6, 1854.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ On May 3, 1855, the Minister of State said in the *Córtes*: "It gives me pleasure to inform the *Córtes* that the *Black Warrior* affair has been concluded and the feeling of common accord re-established between the two governments."

to the royal exchequer and disagreeable to Her Catholic Majesty. The opportunities presented by the nature of the respective positions on the map of colony and mother-country for delaying practically at will the settlement of claims of Cuban origin against the Spanish government were almost always too tempting to be neglected by Spanish statesmen. A protest handed by our consul in Havana to the captain-general was referred to Washington, which informed Madrid. Madrid must await a direct report from Havana before it could consent to take up a discussion of the case. Regarding the particular case we have in hand, however, Spanish diplomacy acted with unwonted despatch and incisiveness. On the seventh day of March, 1854, when for the first time it appeared certain that the *Black Warrior* affair would come into the international arena, the captain-general transmitted official accounts of the seizure of the vessel and cargo to Spain and to the Spanish *chargé* at Washington, who almost immediately on receipt of the Havana correspondence reported to his government on the general political situation in the United States.

No one has sought to palliate the extraordinary conduct of our representative at the court of Madrid during the course of this affair. Soulé was ambitiously exceeding his instructions and busily antagonizing colleagues and government at Spain's capital. In his eagerness to force a war and so wrest from Spain the possession of the Pearl of the Antilles, he was advancing claims and preferring charges of such stupendous magnitude that no government could in justice to itself think of entering into a discussion of the matter without being in possession of unusually full official information. Calderon de la Barca's appreciation of this situation is embodied in the instructions transmitted to Magallon on April 13: the Spanish Secretary of State describes the expectant attitude of the Spanish government; and it may be said, by way of introduction to the passage we quote, that Pezuela's first despatch of March 7 was to be continued by another prepared in time to catch the next monthly steamer, so that a complete report of the proceedings in Havana could have reached the Spanish Department of State only late in the month of April.¹

This government has not refused, as Your Excellency will see, nor does it refuse in this nor in any other case, to fulfil the obligations that are imposed by international law and by justice. But to accede without further investigation and with unseemly haste to the extraordinary demands of Mr. Soulé, presented in these solemn days² in a manner so

¹ Calderon to Pezuela, April 13, 1854.

² The Lenten festival in Catholic Spain.

unusual in transactions of this kind between friendly nations, would be derogatory to the dignity of an independent government, would be an act of arbitrariness against authorities in whom Her Majesty reposes her confidence. It is the duty of the government to hear and to take under careful consideration what the latter may adduce in their defense, and not to pass judgment hurriedly upon the presentation of evidence by the interested and irritated party alone.

The most elementary notions of justice could not be content with less. Authentic and complete data from Havana were indispensable to the formation of a correct and equitable judgment in the case.

During the time of his residence as Spanish minister in Washington Calderon, the Spanish Secretary of State, had had ample opportunity to gain a thorough acquaintance with the leading traits of American character and to obtain a more than superficial knowledge of the problems with which the leading parties were grappling. He at once realized the peculiar significance of the present affair, which bade fair to bring on all kinds of complications. All the instructions which he issued to his subordinates are couched in terms that are both firm and conservative. He saw clearly that certain factions in the States would welcome a war with Spain, and that the most exquisite tact would be required on the part of the representatives of his country to avoid a terrible international collision and gain a delay during which the excited passions of the hotheads in the Union might have time to cool. He was ready to act on a suggestion that the whole matter be submitted for arbitration to some friendly power, and was first to point to this way out of the difficulty.

Two despatches in cipher soon arrived from Washington bearing startling news of the sensation created throughout the length and breadth of the Union by the detention of the *Black Warrior*. The tone of the press and the attitude of the leading members of the Cabinet were unmistakably bellicose. The possibilities of the situation were discussed by the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* at Washington, who expressed the opinion "that internal questions have so divided the Democratic party that it will not be strange if this government utilizes this or any other excuse to create a national question, with the purpose of uniting the party upon it".¹

Was that volcano of American politics now to break out in an eruption that would destroy the last vestige of Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies? This was a question which editors were inclined to answer affirmatively and diplomats to discuss with fore-

¹ Magallon to Pezuela (inclosing Magallon to Spanish Secretary of State. March 20, 1854), March 22, 1854.

boding. The foreign representatives at Washington were fully alive to the gravity of the situation. England and France were quite sure to be behind Spain with their advice and encouragement, and the other powers followed their lead.

Secretary Marcy and President Pierce were known to be greatly incensed over the affair, and it was apparent to every one at the nation's capital that strong pressure by powerful influences was being brought to bear on the President in the effort to raise the incident to the dignity of a *casus belli*. The general situation has an additional interest if told in the words of the Spanish *chargé*; the essential portions of the confidential cipher despatches are here inserted in translation:¹

As soon as the news of the detention of said steamer by the authorities of Cuba reached this point by telegraph from Charleston, the press broke out in diatribes against the government of Cuba and that of Her Majesty, each of the editors proposing a mode of avenging the so-called outrage; only the chivalric and independent "Intelligencer" and one other sheet counselled moderation and an impartial investigation of the matter before passing judgment upon it. A representative in the House proposed the suspension of the laws of neutrality as regards Spain; this proposition was rejected. On the following day another moved that the President be requested to transmit to the House the official correspondence relating to the affair. This was approved, and in conformity therewith the President yesterday transmitted to the House the inclosed message, regarding which I believe I may be excused from making any commentary, as up to this time I have been able to study only the portion furnished by the American acting-consul in Havana, whose report is for the most part founded upon suppositions. The agents [Tyng and Company], however, state that they have been guided in everything by the counsel of this consular agent. I beg to advise Your Excellency that illusory hopes should not be built on this particular. From the President down, all are disposed to take advantage of any opportunity to get possession of Cuba, whether it be by attacking the island directly or by lending aid to the revolutionaries. The situation in the Orient they believe to be as favorable to this as they have for some time desired; and they will have it understood that the preoccupation of France and England in those regions will prevent these nations from lending aid to us and that they [the Americans] can work more freely.

If I had no other reasons in support of this statement of mine than the above, those which I now communicate to Your Excellency would suffice. On the occasion of the visit of the minister of England to the Department of State, when the minister asked Mr. Marcy whether in the case of the cessation of hostilities with Russia, and in case the vessels of H. B. M. should seize any American privateer [or as the Spanish has it, *corsair*], the law of the United States would be applied to the latter, Mr. Marcy replied in the affirmative; and added, as in jest, that England and France would in this respect be so satisfied with this government

¹ Magallon to Pezuela, partly in cipher (transmitting Magallon to First Secretary of State, March 16, 1854), March 20, 1854.

that he hoped that said powers would put no obstacles in the way of the annexation of the island. When the astute General Almonte, on the other hand, tried to convince Mr. Marcy that the modification of the article of the treaty just negotiated with Mexico, in which the United States engaged itself to employ its army and marine in the destruction of whatever filibustering expedition might take up arms against that republic, deprived Mexico of one of the most important bases of said treaty, he [Mr. Marcy] responded to him in these words: the concession would mean nothing to Your Excellency but would tie our hands in the question of Cuba; this in spite of the assurances given in the message of the President at the opening of the last Congress! The minister of Mexico assured me yesterday that a person who was present when the President received the first news of the embargo placed on the Black Warrior told him that he [the President], rubbing his palms together, exclaimed: "Good, good. Here is a fine bit of political capital!"

A note of March 20 continues the above:¹

The minister of France told me that he had had a long conference with the Minister of State, in which he had tried to convince the latter that the case of the Black Warrior was a purely commercial question and not a political question as they are trying to make it, reminding him that not long since the collector of customs of California, in contravention of the laws of the United States, had detained and sold at public auction several English and from thirteen to seventeen French vessels, without this having altered the relations of France and England with this country. The Minister of State persisted in asserting that the alleged outrage had been committed with the express purpose of offending this republic and its government, and told the French minister that at any rate his instructions had already been issued and the message of the President transmitted to the House. The Count de Sartiges said to him then that he was certain that his government as well as that of England could not look with indifference upon any attack on the integrity of Cuba, and that they would maintain the principles advanced in their project of the Tripartite Treaty. As it was rumored with some appearance of truth that this Congress of Representatives [*sic*] would vote the suspension with respect to Spain of the laws of neutrality of 1818,² the minister resident of Bremen went to see Mr. Mann, Sub-secretary of State, and in confidence protested against that proposed measure, alleging that not only our commerce but the commerce of all other nations, including his own, would suffer thereby. To this Mr. Mann replied that those who broke the law in its application to other countries would be punished, but that he believed that the government really wished to obtain this authorization from Congress. Then the minister resident pointed out the impossibility of punishing those acts of piracy, owing to the fact that it was impossible to bring forward witnesses against the offenders, as the vessels seized were sunk after being robbed. At the conclusion of his conference with Mr. Mann he came to inform me regarding it. Finally the present *chargé d'affaires* of Russia, a friend and old comrade of mine, told me that he had found Mr. Marcy much

¹ Magallon to Pezuela (transmitting Magallon to the First Secretary of State of Spain, March 20, 1854), March 22, 1854.

² See *United States Statutes at Large*, III. 447-450.

incensed, and that Marcy assured him that if he had had the available vessels he would have sent them to Havana; but that they were going to summon the squadron which they had in Japan, for this purpose as well as in view of what might possibly occur. The message of the President is still under consideration in the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House; but from a short speech that its chairman, Mr. Bayley, made in reply to a question, the report of the committee will not in the slightest degree depart from the tone of virulence of said message.

The probable alignment of the powers, in the event that America dealt the stroke that was to cut the Gordian Knot and bring on the war, was of the greatest interest. Direct word had reached Madrid that Spain's old friends would stand by her in this crisis to the end. "From communications that we have received from London and Paris", wrote Calderon,¹ "we learn with satisfaction that the Cabinets of France and England approve our course and are of the opinion that justice is on our side." On the day following the despatch of this, Her Majesty's representatives in the New World were informed that the hint had been dropped at the courts of Paris and London that the Queen of Spain would not look with disfavor upon any proposition that might be made to arbitrate the whole question.

All the news that reached Madrid from Washington, however, was far from being reassuring; the hopes that were felt at first of an early settlement gave place to a feeling of pessimism regarding the outcome. As to an amicable adjustment of the difference at an early date, the Spanish diplomats at Paris and London were informed "that, unfortunately, there are motives not unknown to you which would prevent the government of Her Majesty from placing too many hopes on the certainty of such a termination".² Calderon, who, as has been said, had passed a period of diplomatic service in Washington, could not be altogether certain that the clouds that seemed to be hovering over Cuba's coasts were not those of war. He knew that many persons were ready to applaud such sentiments as those which proceeded from the editorial columns of the *Union*, a paper which was looked upon as most certainly voicing the views of the administration. This paper declared that the time had arrived when we must meet Spain in Cuba with "the purse in one hand and the sword in the other".³ Shortly after the first news from Havana reached the public, the *New York Herald* thus harangued its readers:

¹ Calderon to Pezuela, May 7, 1854.

² Same to same, May 8, 1854.

³ *Washington Daily Union*, June 23, 1854; quoted in letter of Cueto to the Spanish First Secretary of State, June 24, 1854.

If the administration have any heart left, if there be among them one spark of American spirit, let them take up this matter in the tone which befits the gravity of the case, and the chronic character of the Cuban disease. No ambassadors, or diplomatic notes are needed. Let them simply fit out, in a week at farthest, three or four war steamers, and despatch them to Cuba, with peremptory orders to obtain satisfaction for the injury done to the *Black Warrior*. Let Governor Pezuela be allowed twenty-four hours to release the cargo of the steamer, and make full compensation to the owners, and in default, we shall see whether our navy contains but one Ingraham.¹

That the Spanish authorities of Cuba had had no intention of insulting the American flag was of course carefully emphasized by Cueto.² The Spanish premier characterized the affair as an incident which,

exploited by malice and by the spirit of hostility to Spain which is fostered by certain evil-intentioned parties, assumed an importance which it could never have had, had it been investigated in the beginning with cool deliberation, and had an attentive ear not been turned to the impassioned reports of those who sought to pass as the aggrieved parties and to exaggerate the extent of their injuries.

At Madrid, Soulé was beginning to become more moderate in his behavior and showed himself hopefully tractable in a conference with San Luis, the president of the Council of Ministers. The time had arrived, it was thought in Spanish circles, when Cueto might be instructed to lay stress upon the well-known fact of the almost brutal insistence of the American claimants and the generosity and fairness of Her Majesty's government. Cueto was instructed to make a direct appeal³ to the President's sense of justice and to prevail upon him and Marcy to lay the vexed question forever aside.⁴ Though the release of the steamer *Black Warrior*, the remittal of the fine, and the grant of special royal privileges to the owners of the boat put the minister at a loss to imagine any possible *point d'appui* in reason for new claims, it was recognized that the general situation was far from being reassuring. Quitman in the South⁵ and Slidell in Congress might be successful in their purposes. What then? All possible contingencies must be carefully considered.

If passion prevails against reason [came the word from the old Castilian], if the repeated assurances of our purpose and sincere desire to preserve peaceful relations with the Republic are vain, Your Excellency will labor for delay and to obtain the acceptance of arbitration, which is the means to which good faith turns and which cannot be

¹ *New York Herald*, March 11, 1854.

² Cueto to the Secretary of State, June 24, 1854.

³ Calderon to Pezuela, May 10, 1854; also Calderon to Cueto, same date.

⁴ Calderon to Pezuela, May 7, 1854.

⁵ Same to same, May 10, 1854.

refused when it is intended to secure a triumph of justice by discovering the truth. But although Your Excellency is authorized to support this idea, this proposition of arbitration, as a last recourse, it should not be suggested either verbally or in writing by Your Excellency. There is one contingency which, while the government of Her Majesty does not look upon it as probable, yet cannot remain unnoticed. I allude to the case that the abolition of the law of neutrality should be proposed in Congress, or what is substantially the same as the trampling under foot of the most sacred precept of the code of nations. If that country should bring such a scandal forth into the world, Your Excellency will take measures to prevent the passage of such a resolution. If, upon being passed, it is sanctioned by the President, Your Excellency will protest against it, representing that Her Majesty will consider it as a declaration of war which is most abhorred by all Christendom, the war of pirates. Your Excellency will [then] withdraw from Washington with the whole legation and send a full report of everything to the captain-general of Cuba. Your Excellency will act in a similar manner if an expedition of pirates,¹ such as has set out in the past, succeeds in leaving for that island, and if it is followed by another, although it may be a division of the same expedition. Your Excellency will state that war is considered as having been declared, and Your Excellency will advise the captain-general to that effect, in order that he may take the proper measures.²

The Spanish minister at Washington was admonished to keep in constant communication with the captain-general throughout this period of crises, and to galvanize into life the torpidity of certain consuls of Spain in the States, bringing them to a full realization of the necessity of reporting frequently to the legation and of keeping constantly on the alert. Further, the consuls in the chief cities of the States were to be kept *au courant* of the course of events in Havana by Pezuela, as is evidenced by the correspondence at hand. Extraordinary powers of removal *ad interim* of those commercial representatives who did not show the requisite official zeal were given the minister in this emergency. But the fact was apparent that the crisis had already passed. In America a reaction had already begun to set in against the undiplomatic and ambitious Soulé. The attention of the American people was directed westward to the great initial manifestations of a hostility which was soon to array one section of the country against the other in civil war.

Cueto wrote his government on June 7 that the Washington Cabinet was trying to extricate itself from the *Black Warrior* entanglement. Apropos of the manoeuvre of Soulé,³ which consisted in again presenting a mass of accumulated claims of American citi-

¹ Reference is made to filibustering expeditions.

² Calderon to Pezuela (Calderon to Cueto, dated the same), May 7, 1854.

³ Soulé to Calderon, April 20, 1854, Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Doc. 93, p. 77.

zens and in crowding Spain with demands that the claims be immediately liquidated, the envoy had this to say:¹

I do not fear it [a discussion of these claims] at the present time, because, as Your Excellency very well knows, these claims have not been disinterred by reason of any value which any one of them may in itself have, but as a method of procuring pabulum for the execrable system of political popularity, which consists in exciting the public opinion in these states against the Spaniards by imaginary grievances. Mr. Soulé, who shows himself such a stubborn promoter of this system, has lost so much of his diplomatic prestige that (I desire to state this in such a manner as will leave no room for doubt) this government will not follow his lead in the matter of the claims referred to; at least, in these moments, when the majority of the American people, disgusted with the extraordinary demonstration accompanying the presentation of groundless claims, and with the incongruous plans of the government, and distrusting the latter not a little, are restraining the ebullition of anger which was produced in the beginning by the "Black Warrior" question.

The internal strife reached such proportions and so engaged the public attention that the Spanish minister was able on the eighth of the next month to report that "all the questions promoted by the hostile policy of this government against us remain as if paralyzed; the press is silenced, and the affair of the 'Black Warrior' almost forgotten".²

When Cueto in obedience to instructions from home sought an interview with Marcy and laid before the secretary the case of his government together with the detailed reports from Havana, the whole matter had passed into the hands of Congress; and the Department of State was able only to transmit to that body such information as it received. The conciliatory note of Calderon,³ which Cueto placed before Marcy and Cushing⁴ in the original, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Cabinet members, who requested that they might have a copy of the communication. But the Spanish diplomat excused himself from this on the ground that he would first have to ask permission of his government before he could grant this request; for, as he writes to his superior, in the light of past experience he had reason to fear that the official note might be given out to the press with the "usual self-laudatory comments thereon prepared by the administration". It was quite evident from the attitude of the two secretaries that they would willingly, if they could, close up the whole matter.

¹ Cueto to Calderon, July 4, 1854.

² Estorch, *Apuntes*, p. 52.

³ Calderon to Cueto, May 7, 1854.

⁴ When Cushing learned that Tyng in his petition acknowledged that "the Captain had erred", the attorney-general ejaculated impatiently, "Of that stamp are all merchants". *Ibid.*

In this interview Marcy carefully sifted the evidence, and advanced the opinion that nothing was clear but the fact of a direct contradiction in the evidence presented by Pezuela and Robertson, respectively, and that there the matter must rest pending the receipt of further advices after a fresh investigation. The question regarding the intent of the Cuban authorities to dishonor our national emblem was hardly touched upon; it had been relegated to the limbo of all abortive international charges.

At length the normal conditions had returned. Spanish diplomacy, aided by its good ally in America, the struggle over the question of the extension of slavery, had won the day against the faction who had favored the incorporation of Cuba into the Southern system at any price. Fifteen days after the conference between Cueto, Marcy, and Cushing, Soulé received word from the Department of State that "The President . . . does not . . . expect you will at present take any further steps in relation to the outrage in the case of the 'Black Warrior.'"¹

HENRY LORENZO JANES.

¹ Marcy to Soulé, June 22, 1854, Serial 790, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., Ex. Doc. 93, p. 117. In his *Memories of Many Men*, Maunsell B. Field states that after his arrival at Madrid with Marcy's despatch relative to the Ostend Manifesto, during December, 1854, Soulé received instructions to reopen the discussion of the case of the *Black Warrior* with Minister Luzuriaga.

THE LITERATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 1899-1902¹

THE interest of the general public in the narratives of a campaign is unfortunately in inverse ratio to their historical accuracy and value. A few hours after a great action crowds mad with excitement are struggling thousands of miles away for successive editions of journals containing the latest bulletins of generals and the telegrams of war correspondents. Yet both bulletins and telegrams have been written on the field of battle with haste and imperfect knowledge of the facts and are the product of brains too overwrought for sound judgment. The letters of the correspondents and the personal despatches of the general in command which follow are read by many, but with less avidity than the telegrams. The former are expanded in book form, and become for the majority of the public the Ultima Thule of their studies of the war. The success of these books depends on their being placed on the market as soon as possible after the events which they record have taken place, and on their being written in graphic style with due regard to popular views and prejudices. The man in the street gets what he wants. If ill fortune has dogged the footsteps of a general, his shortcomings will be exposed with much candor to the indignant public by these rapid makers of history. If on the other hand a leader should be receiving worship as a popular hero, no whisper of the mistakes, which escaped paying a penalty, or of the happy accidents which insured victory will be allowed to appear. Even with the most honest desire to tell the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth, the writers of this class of books are foredoomed to fail in presenting any accounts which can in after years be regarded as a serious contribution to history. And this for two reasons: they are too near to the events with which they are dealing to look at them with a true focus; and the details of the events themselves are still wrapped in a confused tangle, only to be unravelled by strenuous labor and prolonged research.

¹ A "List of Works in the Library of Congress on the Boer War," compiled under A. P. C. Griffin, is printed in *Selected Translations pertaining to the Boer War*, published in Washington, 1905, by the Military Information Division of the General Staff, pp. 207-231. The German books on the war are mostly noted under "Kriegsgeschichte" in the *Allgemeine Militär- und Sport-Bibliographie*, vols. 8 to 12. For other works in various languages see the quarterly *List of Military Publications . . . received in the Adjutant-general's Office, War Department* (Washington). Ed.

These causes no doubt affect the making of all history, but for military historians they have a special force. The object of military history is not the mere elucidation of the truth, the vindication of a great commander's reputation, or the pricking of the bubble of unmerited fame, but its true aim is to deduce, from the experiences of the past, lessons which may assist soldiers in the performance of their duty in future campaigns. Such lessons are not to be harvested without toil, the toil not only of the men who have won victory by their sweat and blood, but of those whose duty it is to collate and piece together the disjointed evidence of the staff, batteries, battalions, and regiments composing the contending force, and after due testing, sifting, and comparison to construct from this raw material a consistent narrative which, so far as human fallibility permits, may present to the reader a true picture. The difficulty of this task has been much augmented by the conditions of modern war. The great increase in the range of firearms, in the extension of troops, and in the size of armies renders it more and more impossible for any one man, be he commander-in-chief or war correspondent, or even for a large staff to follow at the time with any accuracy the detailed movements of units in action. Waterloo was fought ninety-one years ago; not a survivor is left with us. Yet that great struggle is a vineyard in which historians still labor. The harvest of a modern campaign may take even longer in reaping.

Every war and every field of battle is not, however, rich enough in military lessons to justify such close gleaning and re-gleaning. The narrative of many of the small wars of which the British army, beyond all other armies in the world, has the fullest experience, is confined to official telegrams and a despatch published some months afterward in an obscure corner of the *London Gazette*. Others of more importance have perhaps been favored with the presence of war correspondents whose reports throw light on side issues and give color to the dry official documents. A few attract sufficient public attention to give birth later to a literature of their own. But even if such literature should be created, it but seldom attains the dignity of historical research. Even the greater campaigns often fail to reach the higher plane on which the true scientific spirit of history holds sway. Of all the wars of the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic struggle, the Civil War in America, and the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 can alone be placed in the latter class, and have alone been subjected by generations of students to that process of scientific winnowing of evidence by which true history is finally secured. Over the wars other than those great contests—

such as the 1848 Campaign, the struggle for Schleswig-Holstein, the 1866 Campaign, the Russo-Turkish War, the British occupation of Egypt and the Soudan, and possibly the American-Spanish War, has fallen a haze of obscurity, which history seems unlikely to lift.

Thus it may be legitimate for historical purposes to classify campaigns in four groups: (1) purely local expeditions of no interest to the outside world, (2) the small wars of some temporary but no permanent importance, (3) the campaigns of considerable temporary interest but which fail to become landmarks in the history of the world, and (4) the contests which influence decisively the development of great national communities.

Time is needed before any particular campaign can be finally assigned to one of these groups. It is as yet premature to classify the South African War of 1899-1902, but it would seem doubtful if it will attain the highest rank. This doubt as to the position which the campaign will occupy in the eyes of future historians renders it difficult to estimate how far we are approaching finality in its historical examination. The assertion lately made in certain quarters, that everything that the general public cares to know has already been written, is, however, clear proof that the stream of popular ephemeral books which pours from the press during and immediately after a campaign, exciting national enthusiasm, has run dry, and that future literature will be confined to the professional scientific researches of the soldier and the historian. It is proposed in the present paper to review briefly the first class of works, and subsequently to discuss how far progress has as yet been made in the latter direction.

Of the popular literature the first in the field were naturally the narratives of the war correspondents, who followed the fortunes of the British forces in the eastern or western theatres of war during the first nine months or year of the campaign. At the outset it will be remembered that Natal was the decisive point, and that thither the representatives of the leading London journals congregated. James of the *Times*, Steevens of the *Daily Mail*, Stuart of the *Morning Post*, Bennet Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*, Maxwell of the *Standard*, and Pearse of the *Daily News*. All of them were shut up in Ladysmith except Bennet Burleigh, who slipped south when he saw his communications with the outer world threatened, and attached himself later to Buller's force. Many of them collocated their experiences in book form. Of the stories of the siege the most vivid (although alas! incomplete, for enteric claimed the author as its victim early in January, 1900), was *From Cape Town*

to *Ladysmith*,¹ written by the brilliant pen of Steevens, a man beloved alike by soldier and journalist, who had the rare gift of combining in his word-pictures accuracy of statement with color and life. The other narratives of the three first weeks in Natal with their brilliant little actions of Talana and Elandslaagte, the retarding fight at Reitfontein, the skilful retreat from Dundee, the mournful Monday of Lombard's Kop and Nicholson's Nek, and of the four long months during which Sir George White held the main Boer army at bay have hardly received full justice at the hands of the able journalists who witnessed them. A siege is trying to all who are in the inner circle, but for war correspondents, whose duty it is to keep the public informed from day to day of the progress of operations, the bad luck of being cut off for the third of a year from the outer world, save for such precarious means of communication as pigeons and runners, was the most cruel of misfortunes. Imperceptibly the disappointment, the strain of doing nothing when they desired to be most active, overshadowed their spirits and in a manner warped their judgment. The hardships of the siege are fully set out in their narratives, but the strategic value of keeping the flag flying, of containing the main striking force of the republics, and thus covering directly southern Natal, and indirectly Cape Colony, was not grasped or appreciated.

Of the popular narratives dealing with the relief of Ladysmith, *The Natal Campaign* by Bennet Burleigh² and *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* by Winston Churchill³ are the most valuable. Mr. Bennet Burleigh has a high reputation as a war correspondent; he has witnessed much fighting in every quarter of the globe, and can be trusted to put down frankly and truthfully what he sees and hears. That in common with nearly all his brethren of the pen he fails to display knowledge of the higher branches of the great game of war is hardly surprising, for, although the national judgment is much influenced by the reports of the press representatives from the seat of war, the need of systematically training such guides to public opinion in the performance of their responsible duties has not yet been accepted in democratic communities. Yet not only does the professional future of commanders of armies at times depend on popular verdicts hastily formed under such amateur guidance, but the force of public opinion at home, directed into wrong channels, not infrequently exercises an unfortunate influence over the conduct of operations in the field.

¹ London and New York, 1900.

² London, 1900.

³ London, 1900.

Mr. Churchill's book on the Natal campaign is of a different character. It will be remembered that, after a few years' service as a subaltern in the Ninth Hussars, that officer found a soldier's duties in peace time not sufficiently exacting to satisfy the demands of ambition and his desire for a strenuous life. He determined to follow in his father's footsteps, and exchanged his sword for a political career. But in the intervals of wooing popular favor he found time to observe as a war correspondent the operations of General Shafter in Cuba. When the South African war broke out, Churchill accepted a similar mission from the *Morning Post*, and as the correspondent of that journal was attached to Sir Redvers Buller's force in Natal. Made prisoner by the Boers in an armored train, which was pushed toward the Tugela at the end of November, 1899, he was taken to Pretoria, but escaping from his jailers made his way across the veld to Delagoa Bay, and thence returned to Durban in time to be present at Spion Kop and the actions which resulted in the relief of Ladysmith. In this latter phase he abandoned the pen and did good service as an officer in an irregular corps. The narrative of these adventures has a romance of its own, enhanced by the writer's present position and possible future, but it may be ranked rather as the exposition of a remarkable personality than as a contribution to scientific history.

Nor, too, can it be fairly held that the war correspondents with Lord Roberts's army in its advance through the Free State and Transvaal made as a body any valuable additions to historical literature. To this statement exception might be made in favor of *With General French and the Cavalry in South Africa*¹ by Charles S. Goldman. Mr. Goldman was attached to General French's command as a correspondent from the date of that officer's landing in Natal, and remained with him until the occupation of Barberton. His book deals with all that skilful fencing at Colesberg which first established French's reputation, with the relief of Kimberley, with the holding up of Cronje at Paardeberg—the finest cavalry feat of the war, with the occupation of Bloemfontein, with Sanna's Post, and with the whole of the subsequent advance to Pretoria, and thence eastward to the Portuguese border. The first chapters moreover describe the Natal fights at Elandslaagte and Lombard's Kop. The author, as a civilian, pretends to no personal military knowledge, but he was fortunate enough to win the confidence of French's staff, and in the preparation of his book is believed to have enjoyed the assistance of French's right hand—that

¹ London, 1902.

prince of staff officers, Major-general Haig—and of his Intelligence Officer, Major Lawrence. Aided by these special advantages and with the gifts of a shrewd perception and an appreciation of the value of details in a military narrative, he has produced a book which, while attractive to the general reader, cannot be disregarded by either the military student or the historian. An excellent series of maps, based in many cases on military sketches made on the ground, adds much to the value of this work, and although Mr. Goldman has not escaped the influence of the hero-worship inevitable in the biographer, his work is not likely to be rivalled as a fair account of the achievements of the British cavalry commander during the first year of the South African War.

But except from Mr. Goldman's book, not much valuable ore can be delved from this particular corner of the mine of campaigning literature. Some bright color and an appreciation of the light in which Lord Roberts's victories appeared to onlookers may, however, be gathered from Mr. Prevost Battersby's *In the Web of a War*,¹ which carries the story down to the occupation of Pretoria. The lessons, however, deduced by Mr. Battersby from his observations, as for instance that cavalry should carry no other weapon than the rifle, are not to be commended to soldiers. For vivid journalistic sketches of daily life in South Africa during the latter part of the war, a reader cannot do better than turn to *Unofficial Dispatches* by Edgar Wallace,² the *Daily Mail* correspondent, who depicts with a faithful pen, not so much the actual fighting, but the passions, words, and appearance of the people who fought and of those who looked on. It throws much light on the effect of prolonged civil war on combatants and civilians. *With Seven Generals in the Boer War*, by Colonel Pollock,³ a Reserve officer, who was allowed to act as one of the *Times* correspondents, may also be glanced at, as a record of facts noted by the trained eye of the soldier who has studied his profession. Colonel Pollock's book may be regarded therefore as lying half-way between the journalistic and the professional classes of literature.

At this half-way house should perhaps also be placed the diaries and records of the volunteers and irregulars who played such a gallant part in the war. *With Rimington*, by March Phillipps;⁴ *A Subaltern's Letters to his Wife*;⁵ *The Record of the Mounted*

¹ H. F. P. Battersby, *In the Web of a War* (London, 1900).

² London, 1901.

³ London, 1900.

⁴ London, 1901.

⁵ By Reginald Rankin, London, 1901.

Infantry of the City Imperial Volunteers, by Lieutenants Scott and McDonnell;¹ *One Thousand Miles with the C. I. V.*, by J. Barclay Lloyd;² and *Two Years at the Front*, by Lieutenant Moeller,³ may be taken as typical specimens of this group of the South African literature. They are all written from the personal point of view of the author, either as an individual seeing war for the first time, or as a member of a unit whose share in the operations he desires to place on record. They are not quite of the same value as the regimental histories of regular corps, seeing that the writers lack the professional training which would enable them to discern the facts of importance to the professional student. Thus the text of the orders actually issued to the troops, the formations in which they marched and fought, their fine discipline, he has ignored. On the other hand the dramatic incidents of a fight, the personal experiences of the writer, the food and shelter he obtains from time to time, are set forth with superfluous ampleness. The chief value of such books lies in their laying open to an investigator the spirit and thoughts of the amateur soldier who, moved by patriotism and love of adventure, throws aside his normal work in life and, rifle in hand, thrusts himself forward in defense of the nation's interests. The actual facts and figures such narratives contain should, however, be accepted with caution, and when possible verified by reference to official despatches and records.

The observations of the regular soldiers who played a part in the war must of necessity be offered a higher rank than those of amateurs. Unfortunately not many as yet have been confided to the hands of a publisher. Professional officers shrink justly from criticizing the actions and orders of superiors, many of whom are still in high places; and, although some of the principal actors in the scene such as Lord Roberts, Sir Redvers Buller, Sir George White, Sir Henry Colville, and Major-general Gatacre (the last of whom lately passed over to the majority) are no longer holding active commands, yet, while they live, a full and frank discussion of their merits and demerits is hardly to be expected from professional critics. Two books, however, have appeared, which cannot be ignored: *The Work of the Ninth Division*, by Major-general Sir H. Colville,⁴ and *Words by an Eyewitness: the Struggle in Natal* by "Linesman".⁵ Sir H. Colville's work is of peculiar interest. One of the group of Guardsmen, who devote their lives and energies whole-heartedly to the profession of arms, he entered on the South

¹ London, 1902.

² London, 1900.

³ London, 1903.

⁴ London, 1901.

⁵ London, 1901.

African War with active service experience won in the Soudan and Uganda, both of which campaigns had been portrayed by his own pen. During Lord Methuen's advance from the Orange River Colville was brigadier of the Guards Brigade, a situation which he filled so satisfactorily at Belmont, Graspan, the Modder, and unlucky Magersfontein that on the eve of Lord Roberts's march he was promoted to the command of the new Ninth Division, made up of the Highland and Smith-Dorrien brigades. In that capacity he figured at the battle of Paardeberg, although but little scope was then given by Lord Kitchener's overmastering personality for the exercise of the responsibilities usually attached to a divisional commander. Moreover, in common with his colleague Kelly-Kenny, the other divisional general present, Colville differed from the chief of the staff's conception that one determined effort would suffice to break down the resistance of Cronje's burghers and rush the laager. Events proved the divisional commanders to be right in their forecast; but from that time Colville seems to have lost ground at headquarters. Two months later he was despatched in hot haste from Bloemfontein with his division to disentangle Broadwood's column from the trap of Sanna's Post. He arrived to find the fight over, and his infantry soldiers, already weary by a forced march, were easily evaded by De Wet's mounted commando, retiring hastily with its booty of captured guns and wagons. No direct censure was conveyed to Colville for this failure, but his command was slowly cut down to a brigade and a couple of guns. Accompanied by this force, he was on the march from Lindley to Heilbron in June, 1900, when he received a request for help from the officer commanding a newly raised Irish Yeomanry regiment which had been cut off at Lindley in his rear. Colville conceived his orders from headquarters to preclude his retracing his steps. The Yeomanry surrendered, and the lieutenant-general was deprived of his command and sent home. Sir Henry's book deals with these events naturally from his point of view, and is in substance an *apologia*. Much can no doubt be said on both sides. There are some who still think that the superseded general had somewhat hard measure dealt to him. Others will rightly lay stress on the magnitude of a commander-in-chief's responsibility to the nation and the army, and on the necessity laid upon him for subordinating all personal considerations to the need of securing leaders in whom he can place absolute confidence. Be that as it may, Colville's book is written fairly and with little bitterness. It throws instructive light on the staff arrangements existing at Lord Roberts's headquarters, and may be accepted on questions of fact as on the whole trustworthy.

The work of "Linesman" is of a totally different character. The writer, Captain Grant, Devonshire Regiment, was present as a company commander at all the actions on the Tugela. The *Times* in reviewing the work declared that "among the many books which have found their birth in the Campaign against the Boers this one stands out, not merely on account of the Author's literary merits, keen power of observation, and attractive phraseology, but in its unprejudiced comments and clever handling of battle impressions hitherto unattempted by contemporary writers. It is the work of an artist." This praise is not one whit too strong. Captain Grant's literary style is that of one both artist and dramatist who desires to bring before his reader's mind a vision of war as seen by an artist's eye, and who enforces attention by giving his vision a dramatic setting and surrounding it with such a wealth of color as to lift out of the commonplace even the most ordinary incident. To the civilian reader this method of writing military history comes as a revelation. He finds himself taken by the hand and placed in the very heart of the battle. He can hear the clock-clock of the Mauser rifle, the soft whit of the bullet as it flicks up the dust at his feet, and the crack of the shrapnel as it bursts overhead. He can see the men plunge forward on their faces as a straight shot arrests their rush; he can watch the flaming eyes and gripping hand of the survivors as they press home the final charge; his veins tingle with delight at the sound of the British cheer which carries the position. Yet to the professional soldier there is a little too much drama, and not quite enough scientific, unimpassioned attempt so to tell the tale of war as to help the student to master its true lessons. The book shows "Linesman" to be a keen observer and an artist to his finger-tips, but strategy is a matter with which he is rarely concerned, and a battle appears to represent to him little more than an exciting series of independent duels fought by companies with the force immediately opposing them. He fails somewhat to realize that the historian of a battle should study its details from the point of view rather of the General Staff than of a company leader.

One other book of this class deserves mention, *On the Heels of De Wet* by "The Intelligence Officer".¹ Its author did not hold a commission in the regular army, but commenced the campaign as one of the *Times* correspondents. In the later phases of the war he was gazetted to a Yeomanry regiment and attached as intelligence staff officer to a mobile column, which shared in the prolonged De Wet hunt. He describes in an admirable manner the difficulties

¹ London, 1902.

which beset the column and its intelligence staff in that task. Written with knowledge and humor, the book depicts the hopes and disappointments of guerrilla war; and although the suppression of names precludes its classification as history, yet it may well be run through by the historical student who desires to realize the atmosphere of that period, to get the smell of the veld in his nostrils, the whistle of the sniper's bullet in his ears, and the vision of the great, barren plateau, the boulder-strewn kopjes, and the stony drifts before his eyes.

We have considered as yet only English military. If they offer but scanty material for the historian to deal with, he must not hope for compensations from the other side. The Boer is more skilful with the rifle than with the pen, and although the present generation contains individuals such as Steyn, Louis Botha, Advocate Smuts, and others who hold their own in intellectual circles, a South African literature has yet to be made, and the Bible is still to the majority of Boers the only book required by man. To this lack of local demand must be attributed the fact that with one exception no Boer account of the Boer War has yet appeared. To soldiers as well as to the historian it is a matter of peculiar regret that the story of the gallant resistance against superior numbers made by a patriotic nation should not have been told by both sides. Nor does the solitary break in this self-imposed rule of silence compensate fully for the lack of other accounts. *Three Years' War*, by General De Wet,¹ although a book to be read, is in many ways disappointing. Dictated in haste from memory for the Continental market, it lacks the accuracy of historical work. Yet it cannot be neglected, for it sets down De Wet's recollections of his dramatic personal experiences, so far as a man who kept no notes and no diary can record facts accurately after a lapse of two years. Its very roughness and simplicity enable the reader to appreciate the merits and demerits of the author as a national leader. It is much to be hoped that other Boers will follow the example set by the late commander-general of the Free State, refreshing, however, their memories carefully from such historical records as they may possess. Military narratives by Generals Louis Botha, Delarey, and Cronje would be read eagerly by the British army and warmly welcomed.

Fortunately, however, there were with the Boers a few who by training and inclination were qualified to tell the truth frankly and impartially. Of the reports of the military attachés with the Boer forces, only one has been made public, that of Captain Carl Reich-

¹ London and New York, 1902.

mann, United States Army, extracts of which are to be found in *Reports on Military Operations in South Africa and China*, published by the Adjutant General's Office at Washington.¹ Captain Reichmann gives an excellent and informing sketch of the strength, organization, training, armament, and mobilization system of the Boers, and is, moreover, a valuable witness as to the facts connected with the actions at which he was present, which include most of the fights after Paardeberg up to the occupation of Pretoria. It is unnecessary to add that his report, as well as that of his colleague Captain Slocum,² has been read by British officers with close attention and respect. Next to Captain Reichmann the most valuable foreign witness is Colonel de Villebois-Mareuil, a retired French officer who took service under President Kruger and was killed in action at the head of his men near Boshof in April, 1900. His *War Notes*³ were written from day to day while actually at the front, and reveal unsparingly the fatal weakness inherent in ill-disciplined and untrained national forces such as the Boers. Its perusal excites emotions of sympathy for the professional soldier, who landed in South Africa so full of enthusiasm for what he regarded as a just cause, and whose trained eye saw immediately on his arrival at the front the hopelessness of the whole business. Yet Villebois-Mareuil, having set his hand to the plow, looked not back, but did his duty till the God of Battles gave him his release. Other interesting foreign testimony to the Boer methods of fighting and the actual condition of affairs in the ranks of the commandos are to be found in *Ten Months in the Field with the Boers*,⁴ by a lieutenant of Villebois-Mareuil and in a book by a German officer, Captain Otto von Lossberg, *Mit Santa Barbara in Südafrika*.⁵

This completes the list of the more important unofficial historical material which has yet appeared. For the student who desires to gather his facts from original sources, the list cannot be said to be satisfactory. Even for the first part of the war, when the dramatic nature of the operations excited profound interest, the unofficial narratives are inadequate and unreliable. On the later phases, the long struggle between Lord Kitchener and De Wet's guerrilla bands, the books which have been written by eye-witnesses may be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. The regular war correspondents had in fact been recalled home, and the arrangements made for those "drives" which gradually sapped the Boer strength were too intricate and too confidential to be fully understood by any but the

¹ No. XXXIII. (July, 1901), Washington, 1901, pp. 93-259.

² *Ibid.*, 7-92.

³ London, 1901.

⁴ London, 1901.

⁵ Leipzig, 1903.

Headquarters Staff. The general public at home was, moreover, by this time becoming bored with the war and indifferent to the extraordinary difficulties of devising means for overcoming guerrilla tactics and capturing the guerrilla bands which were scattered throughout an area stretching from the Limpopo to the Cape Peninsula and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic.

Fortunately in official documents may be found more complete and reliable records of both the earlier and the later phases of the war. These records, so far as yet published, consist of telegrams and despatches, the evidence given before the royal commission assembled to inquire into the South African War, and regimental histories. Official telegrams vary greatly in value. Some have been written for public consumption at times when it was of importance to conceal the real truth from the enemy. Others are of extraordinary historical value, but are often too confidential for publication at the time, and unless unearthed by Parliament for some special purpose are relegated to departmental pigeonholes, accessible only to the official historian. Despatches stand on a different footing. They are generally regarded with undue reverence as containing the full, accurate, and final report made by the commander-in-chief in the field to the government at home. Theoretically, no doubt, this is the case, but the resentment felt both by Parliament and by the public at the suppression or pruning of any portion of a general's despatches has long resulted in the adoption of other means for the unfolding of his mind to the Secretary of State for War. Nearly a hundred years ago Lord Liverpool instructed the Duke of Wellington to send home from the Peninsula two sets of despatches, one for public information, the other for the confidential perusal of the Cabinet. It is moreover a pleasing fallacy to imagine that all despatches are the *ipsissima verba* of the officer who signs them. This tradition dates from the days of Wellington, who had a special aptitude for the task, but in modern war a despatch, although written under a general's direction, is frequently drafted by one of his staff. In the British army this duty as a rule devolves on the military secretary. In other armies it falls on the Great General Staff. Nevertheless the general in command is responsible for the despatch as a whole, and often impresses upon it the stamp of his individuality.

Subject to these limitations, the South African despatches are full of interest and are of considerable historical importance, varying, however, with the idiosyncrasies of each commander, and the restraint imposed upon him by the situation at the moment of writing. Lord

Methuen's hastily indited communications from the battle-field are characterized by the enthusiasm of an officer exercising independent command for the first time. His engagements were described as the bloodiest known to modern war, and his traps as the most gallant. Sir George White's run on different lines. In the field that field-marshal has ever been a hot, impetuous fighter. But his reports are cold in the lucidity of their style, rigidly accurate in their facts, and masterly in their exposition of motives. Sir Redvers Buller is not equally happy. He sets forth his story plainly and simply; there are passages in his despatches—such as the famous "It was the men who did it" at the end of the report on the relief of Ladysmith—which stir a soldier's blood. Yet the true pathos of General Buller's reports lies in their revelation of himself, of that weakness of character and infirmity of purpose which hampered him and his troops so fatally. In this respect the Spion Kop despatches covering Warren's recrimination are indeed a tragedy. Lord Roberts's official letters are of a very different character. Drafted by the masterly pen of one of his staff, they set forth in perfect diction an admirable summary of the work done and the results achieved. In their criticism of subordinates these documents combine in an ideal manner a judicial spirit with definitiveness of decision. But from a historical point of view their reticence and brevity are a cause for regret. They give what they were intended to give, merely the outline of the picture; the details and the coloring must be filled in from other sources. Lord Kitchener's reports on the last eighteen months of the war are open to the same charge. Written at periodical intervals, they are limited to a mere summary of such events as could from time to time without inconveniences to the service be communicated to the public press in England. They were meant merely for popular consumption at the moment, and although in a sense forming a useful sort of diary of events, can hardly be regarded as serious official documents.

Material of even greater interest and importance than that in official despatches may be found abundantly by the historian in the *Minutes of Evidence* taken by the Royal Commission on the South African War. Here are printed *in extenso* the actual warnings—and they were many and frankly worded—given to the British government by the Intelligence Division of the War Office during the three years preceding the war. Here is set out to what extent and why these warnings were disregarded. The exact strength and disposition of the troops in South Africa at the outbreak of the war are given in these volumes. Each commander, Roberts,

Kitchener, White, Buller, Warren, Methuen, Gatacre, French, Hunter, Ian Hamilton, Colvile, Kekewich, Baden-Powell, and many others state in turn his version of the part he played in the war, and of the motives by which he was guided. The gaps are filled in by the evidence of staff and departmental officers. The characteristics, the weakness, and the strength of the troops which fought in South Africa, and of the machinery for their administration are set forth in full, and commented upon by both professional and amateur observers. No government and no army administration have perhaps ever before placed their cards on the table after this fashion on the conclusion of a war. Unfortunately this very frankness defeated the object aimed at, the institution of a sound system of army reform. The *Report* was published in the holiday season, and created a momentary sensation, but the evidence was too voluminous. Not one man in a thousand, possibly not one man in a million of the population of the United Kingdom has ever studied carefully these unique volumes of the testimony of men who have seen the truth and know it.

The newspaper summaries of the *Report* were alone scanned by the general public, and with such unappreciative carelessness that the nation a few months later allowed itself to be lulled to sleep again by another report, that of the Esher Committee. Whether army reformers will ever now digest the evidence given before the War Commission seems doubtful, but for the historian at any rate there are few documents which will repay more fully exhaustive study.

A good regimental history with a clear account of the part played by an individual unit in a campaign, its marches, formations, and triumphs is a real treasure-trove to the writer of military history. Unfortunately the South African campaign has failed to produce the abundant crop of such works that might have been expected. With some exceptions, such as the Guards, the Inniskilling Dragoons, the Royal Scots, the Yorkshire Regiment, the Rifle Brigade, the Essex, and the Connaught Rangers, regimental achievements remain unrecorded, or, if written, have not been published. The omission is surprising, for in no other army is regimental *esprit de corps* more cherished and regimental distinctions more tenaciously maintained than in the British service. The explanations of this neglect would seem to be that the value of historical records was not appreciated by regimental officers before the war, and, except as a disagreeable form of mental torture invented for examination purposes, the study of military history was rarely

attempted. A new era has since dawned. Throughout the winter months the regimental officer under the supervision of his lieutenant-colonel now devotes much attention to the examination of past campaigns and to the deduction therefrom of lessons for the future. When next the British army takes the field, the necessity for noting its methods of action and their results will be understood.

Such then is the historical material at the disposal of the student who desires to undertake original researches as to the true facts of the South African War. It must be candidly admitted that the prospect is not at the present encouraging, and the searcher after knowledge will find himself compelled to ask for help from the labors of others who have enjoyed special advantages and had access to persons and documents unapproachable by the general public.

We will turn, therefore, to the works of actual laborers in the historical vineyard. The fashion has grown up in England—I do not know whether it is prevalent in the United States—of issuing, during the progress of a war which attracts public attention, profusely illustrated popular books, which profess to lay before their readers history, red-hot from its making like a baker's rolls. These works no doubt answer their publishers' purpose. They have a considerable although purely ephemeral sale, and in the case of a national struggle fan a healthy spirit of patriotism. But it must be confessed that they have no pretension to be included in the historian's library. Their text is for the most part compiled by the scissors and paste process from the columns of newspapers. Their illustrations are strangely dissimilar to the realities of modern war, and are often palpably the work of artists who have never been under fire, and whose acquaintance with battle-fields is limited to a study of Napoleonic pictures and of melodrama as presented by the suburban stage. It is unnecessary therefore to trouble the readers of this review by enumerating works of this class given birth to by the South African War. Their brief day has passed and, save to satisfy curiosity, it would be waste of time to dip into their pages. Their elimination, however, limits—at the moment of writing—the number of actual histories of the campaign which will repay careful examination to three, Dr. Conan Doyle's *Great Boer War*,¹ the *Times History of the War in South Africa*,² and the English translation of the account of the war compiled by the Great General Staff at Berlin.³

¹ Revised and enlarged edition, New York, 1902.

² Four volumes published, 1900, 1902, 1905, 1906.

³ Two vols., London, 1904, 1906.

Dr. Doyle's work is the only popular narrative of the war which has any just claim to be regarded as history. It compresses within the pages of a handy volume the story of the whole campaign from start to finish. Whatever Conan Doyle writes has a swing and a sparkle of its own, but on this occasion he has aimed higher than merely to interest and amuse. He desired, as a good Englishman, to lay before his fellow-countrymen in a compact form a reliable narrative of the prolonged struggle. He lost no opportunity of collecting at first hand, and of insuring, so far as may be, accuracy in his statements. The results of his efforts may on the whole be said to be not unsatisfactory. The work was produced too soon to rank as a reliable historical authority. Its details are in places distressingly inaccurate. Yet on the whole Conan Doyle paints a not untruthful general picture of the campaign, a picture which may be scanned with advantage by the reader who has not the time or inclination for more extensive study. Indeed even for the more earnest student it forms at present the only coherent and complete account of the last phase of the war which has yet been published.

The *Times History* stands on a higher foundation and has a higher claim for respectful reception. The advantages enjoyed by the compilers are probably greater than any ever possessed by unofficial writers undertaking such a task. The *Times*, it is true, can no longer be regarded as an infallible guide to changes in public opinion. The decision on the final appeal of the people at a general election lies now in the hands of the masses, to whom the *Times* is but a name. Yet as a source of information, as an organ to which the leaders of every school of thought address their observations on current affairs, the *Times* is indispensable for all who desire to keep themselves fully up to date in the development of thought in England. It is thus the one paper which all men regard with a certain reverence and even fear. The support of the *Times* is a factor which no public man can afford to despise, be he statesman or soldier. Its influence is potent even on a campaign. A general who is attacked vehemently by this journal knows that it may become difficult for the government to retain him in command. The leader whom the *Times* belauds may snap his fingers at other criticism. The knowledge of this influence insures—although, be it said to the credit of the British officer, with some exceptions—that the representatives of the *Times* at the seat of war receive favorable treatment. Its correspondents in South Africa—and they were numerous—enjoyed therefore as a rule the best facilities for acquiring

information as to the inner history of the conduct of the campaign. Nor was that all. As soon as it became known that that journal proposed to produce a history of the war and had appointed Mr. L. S. Amery, its chief correspondent in South Africa, as its editor, there was a disposition both amongst the higher authorities and amongst regimental officers to assist in the task. The *Times* reaped the benefit of that reputation for impartiality which on the whole is justly its due. Equipped with these military advantages and with the other resources of a great journal, very high expectations were formed of the history which would be produced under such auspices. It is perhaps a matter of opinion how far these expectations have been fulfilled in the first three volumes. The first, it is true, is in every way worthy of its birthplace. Dealing exhaustively with the course of the war, it sets forth with excellent judgment and tact the history of the political disputes between Great Britain and the South African Republic, which were so abruptly referred to the arbitration of arms by President Kruger's ultimatum. The righteousness of the British cause, and the truth that the sole object of Lord Salisbury's government was to obtain "equal rights for all white men in South Africa" are vindicated with a lucidity and accuracy unlikely to be surpassed. The volume may therefore be accepted as a complete historical statement of Great Britain's case. The second volume opens with the story of the actual campaign, and carries it forward to the events of the "Black Week" with its triple defeats of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso. The third covers the ground from the decision to send out Lord Roberts to the occupation of Bloemfontein. The *Times* contemporaries have, with one exception, been unanimous in giving a reception no less favorable to these two volumes than that accorded to the first. The second volume was read eagerly by the general public, and was regarded for the moment as fulfilling in every way the requirements of military history. The marked diminution of interest in South African War literature which lapse of time and the overshadowing of that campaign by events in the Far East have occasioned much reduced the number of readers of the third volume, but by those civilians who have read it it is certainly deemed to reach the high standard of its predecessors. From a literary point of view, so far as men whose trade it is to fight and not to make literature may judge, soldiers indorse this verdict. The ease with which the writers unravel their intricate story and unroll before the reader's eye the varying drama of the war discloses literary gifts of the highest order, and stamps the book as one which, what-

ever its historical merits, will live for many generations. But both for soldier and for historian this alone does not suffice. For them the crucial tests are, first, accuracy in statement of fact and, secondly, a right judgment in the inferences to be drawn from the facts. As regards the first test, accuracy, the two volumes differ much in merit. The second, dealing with the earliest phases of the war, was brought out somewhat rapidly with the object of achieving a large sale before the interest of the general public had begun to fade. Its writers moreover did not quite realize the length of time needed for historical researches. They labored moreover under the serious disadvantage of going to press before the *Report* of the Royal Commission was published, thus missing much important material. For these reasons the second volume cannot be accepted as a satisfactory record of the events of the campaign down to the battle of Colenso. Its very wealth of detail is the more dangerous as serving to conceal imperfect knowledge and inaccurate statements. The third volume is free from such blemishes. There are slips here and there, but on the whole the two years' longer labor expended on it have enabled the writers to attain a degree of accuracy very superior to that displayed in the second.

But in history of every description, and especially military history, facts are in one sense unimportant. What really matters are the lessons to be drawn from the facts, and in a secondary degree the judgments to be pronounced on individuals. Weighed in this balance with each other, the second and third volumes are by no means even, and yet both have in common a grave defect, the over-severity which characterizes the criticism of an amateur who has mastered the jargon of a science and some of the science, but does not appreciate the difficulty of its technique. In the second volume this over-severity is so marked a feature as to be not only a grave injustice to individuals but even a distortion of the whole historical focus of the campaign. Sir George White, for instance, is criticized with a certain contemptuous air of superior knowledge for not having sent away his cavalry before the siege of Ladysmith, and for not having increased the fourteen miles of his line of defense to twenty by the inclusion therein of Bulwana Mountain. No professional soldier would have perpetrated such a blunder as to place side by side two criticisms which are mutually self-destructive. If the cavalry had been sent out of Ladysmith, the force left would have been inadequate to hold the line of defense. Its curtailment, not enlargement, would have been instantly forced on the general in command, and no curtailment was possible without surrendering

to the enemy positions which would have rendered prolonged defense impossible. Yet the writers of this volume have evidently no particular animus against the defender of Ladysmith. On the whole perhaps they treat him with more fairness than other leaders, but they pose too much as frank and candid critics of the British army, assuming as the foundation of their criticism that our difficulties in South Africa during the war of 1899-1900 were entirely due to the imperfect training of the troops and the incapacity of their commanders. The assumption is untrue and, being untrue, has led to a false standard of criticism and to the painting of a false picture. That the British army had much to learn in South Africa, and that many mistakes were made, every member of it will admit; but this admission must equally be made in every campaign by every army. The real cause of the gravity of the situation in Natal and Cape Colony in the last quarters of 1899 was the fact that the British government had allowed its diplomacy to outstrip its preparation for war. The twin sisters strategy and policy were not moving forward hand in hand, and their separation left British generals to face in the field an enemy not merely superior in numbers, a matter which could have been regarded with equanimity, but greatly superior in mobility and in knowledge of the country. This, and not the imperfections of officers and men, is the true governing factor of the whole of the first phase of the South African War. In failing to realize its importance the *Times* historian has placed that phase in a false focus, and thus distorted the reader's appreciation of its lessons.

The same error, though in another form, appears in the third volume, notwithstanding its historical value as a narrative of facts. It is tinged throughout with the Carthaginian tradition of crucifying the unsuccessful general. Its criticisms are in the main sound. Indeed there are grounds for believing that they are based on opinions of a body of experts held in respect by soldiers throughout the civilized world. The marked similarity between the general conclusions set forth in the *Times History* as to the operations on the Tugela and the events of Lord Roberts's march on Bloemfontein and those which appeared later in the account issued by the German General Staff is very noticeable, and, if rumor be correct, is not due to any mere accidental coincidence in opinion. The Berlin narrative calls attention to the imperfections in staff work in both the eastern and the western theatres of war; it condemns in clear language the desire to find a new way to victory without shedding of blood, which marked Sir Redvers Buller's battles on the Tugela

and Lord Roberts's enveloping tactics at Poplar Grove and subsequent actions. The *Times* historian accepts in these respects the German Staff's criticism, but, while the latter state their views in quiet professional language, which is helpful without being offensive, the former cannot resist scourging his victims with whips steeped in acid brine. For absolute disregard of the feelings both of the living and of the friends of the dead no more striking example can be found in modern English literature than the manner in which Hannay's ill-timed charge at Paardeberg is portrayed by the *Times* historian. A mistake was of course made, and a badly worded order was badly interpreted, but it is rank brutality to depict the gallant Hannay as a mad fool, uselessly driven to death by a relentless taskmaster.

The German General Staff's history of the South African War is confined to two volumes which deal in detail with the campaign down to the seizure of Bloemfontein, although a brief strategical précis of the after course of the war is appended. Its fairness of tone has already been noted. The criticisms are throughout the criticisms of professional soldiers with a just appreciation of the difficulties of the tasks confronting a commander in the field. When censure is pronounced, there is a certain graceful reluctance to condemn a comrade. The charges of inhumanity, so freely levelled at one time by Continental critics against the British army, are repudiated emphatically. The courage and devotion to duty displayed by officers and men are handsomely acknowledged. The German account is thus a work which all British soldiers can read without offense and which the soldiers of all armies may read with profit. Its translation—the first volume by Colonel Waters, and the second by Lieutenant-colonel Du Cane—is admirably done; the maps and plans which illustrate the two, although inferior to those of the *Times History*, suffice for their purpose.

It cannot be held that either of these three histories forms an adequate record of the South African struggle. That war is, it is true, not to be compared either in strategical importance or in immediate political results with the Civil War in America, the Franco-German War, or the Manchurian campaign. Yet it was the first example of a combat in which both sides were armed with magazine-rifles and smokeless powder. On the Boer side it represents a gallant struggle made by two little communities against great odds. To Englishmen, although the strain of the combat was not so great as to test fully the strength of the empire, it presents both a warning and an encouragement: a warning of the

danger of indifference to preparation for war, and an encouragement in the belief that the British empire, if forethought be but exercised, will be true to and sufficient for itself in the time of danger. But besides these considerations the South African War in the vastness of its theatre, in its distance of six thousand miles from the British base, in its improvised army recruited from every quarter of the globe, and in its prolonged guerrilla phase presents features of profound professional interest to the statesman and the soldier.

The British government has therefore done well to sanction and direct the preparation of an official history of the war which both in its statements of facts and in its criticisms may be accepted as authoritative. The ferment of perpetual reorganization in which the unhappy War Office has seethed during recent years has not yet permitted the creation of a historical section of the General Staff. The compilation of the official history was therefore originally intrusted to Lieutenant-colonel G. F. Henderson, who served on Lord Roberts's staff as Director of Military Intelligence, and whose inimitable work on Stonewall Jackson may be said to have won for him cosmopolitan reputation. Unhappily for the interests of history, and still more unhappily for the British army, death removed that talented writer after some eighteen months spent in preliminary researches and in drafting an introductory volume dealing with the causes of the war. Major-general Sir Frederick Maurice, the official historian of the Egyptian campaign of 1882, and the author of the article on "War" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, was selected to take up the reins thus dropped. General Maurice had not the good fortune to be employed in the late South African campaign. He enjoys therefore now an impartial position, and will be able without bias to bring to bear on the various problems of the war a sound military judgment and the knowledge acquired by many years of study as Professor of Strategy at the Staff College.

The first instalment of the result of General Maurice's labors will be published immediately, perhaps before this article appears. Mr. Balfour's Cabinet decided, it is understood, before leaving office to suppress the first volume prepared by Colonel Henderson, deeming for various reasons that it is undesirable to introduce matters of political controversy into a military work published by authority. The decision not only deprived the world of the last product of Henderson's able pen, but certainly enhanced the difficulty of General Maurice's task. Policy and strategy are too closely

intertwined in practice to be thus severed from each other surgically by the historian, and cast mutilated into separate compartments for examination. The whole dispositions of the British troops both in Cape Colony and in Natal at the outbreak of the war were based on political rather than on strategical considerations. It is notorious that political pressure forced Lord Roberts to undertake the relief of Kimberley as his primary objective. As a strategist he would have shut his ears to the cries of its inhabitants for instant succor. It is notorious too that throughout the war the political attitude of the Cape Colonists was a far greater anxiety to successive British commanders-in-chief than the strength of the Boers actually in the field. Mr. Balfour's decision therefore is an additional proof that British statesmen have yet much to learn as to the true relationship between strategy and policy. How far General Maurice will find it possible to surmount or evade the obstacle which has thus been placed across his path will shortly be learned. His name is a guaranty that a conscientious endeavor is being made to place the whole truth before the world without partiality or concealment. There is some reason therefore to hope that the four volumes to which the official history of the South African War is to be confined will present to the world a just, accurate, and final record of that campaign.

Since the above was written the first volume of the official *History of the War in South Africa*¹ published by the British War Office has appeared. The authors are not, as is the usual practice in most armies, the General Staff; for the reorganization of Pall Mall, carried out on the injunctions of the famous Esher Committee two years ago, omitted to establish any Historical Section, whose duty it would be to collate from the past the lessons of war. The compilation of the South African War history was, therefore, intrusted to Major-general Sir Frederick Maurice, a retired officer with a considerable reputation as a military writer, assisted by a staff, mainly also composed of retired officers.

Three features stand out prominently in the narrative which has thus been prepared: (1) the omission of the causes of the war, (2) the extreme accuracy of the narrative itself, and (3) the brevity and restraint of its criticisms.

The omission of the causes of the war is much to be regretted. But if the commencement of the official *History* is therefore maimed and imperfect, the fault is not attributable to General Maurice, but

¹ London, Hurst and Blackett, 1906.

to Mr. Balfour's Cabinet. It is only fair, however, to add that this decision was due not to any doubts as to the righteousness of the British case, but to a desire to let bygones be bygones in South Africa.

Save this single defect, the official *History* would appear to serve well the purpose for which it has been written, namely, the instruction of the army. The popularity of the *Times History* is more evident amongst amateurs than with professional readers. The sting and virulence of its irresponsible criticism attract the former (who revel in its pungency) but repel the latter, who know the true difficulties of war. Moreover, in the second volume at least, the accuracy of its narrative is not altogether above suspicion. The official *History* has a truer aim; in accuracy of statement it leaves nothing to be desired, while for the most part it seeks to present the facts to the reader in so clear a form that, given ordinary professional judgment and knowledge, he can deduce therefrom the true lessons. The soldier who studies the *Times History* has thrust under his eyes a key to all the problems which present themselves for solution, but, if his mind be already stored with a knowledge of war and if his judgment be unbiassed, he will find reason to doubt the infallibility of the key. If on the other hand he reads the official *History*, he must exert his own mental faculties to arrive at the true solution, but he will find them stimulated and assisted by undoubtedly impartial narratives, written by soldiers for the information of soldiers.

The authors of the *Times History* are no doubt patriotic Englishmen who desire to drive home into the English nation and army the true lessons of the war. But the army mistrusts the virulence of its criticisms, while the British nation has been encouraged by this very virulence in its extraordinary delusion that every civilian knows more about the art of war than a professional soldier. The nation, moreover, is at the present moment in one of those moods in which it regards all military questions with apathetic cynicism. It is unlikely, therefore, to study a book like the official *History*, which fails to afford the attraction of the impalement of unsuccessful generals. By the soldier, however, who desires to master his profession, the official *History of the War in South Africa* will be found a mine in which true ore can be dug. To the impartial historical student it presents evidence which may be accepted as above suspicion.

A BRITISH OFFICER.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Letters of Thomas Newe from South Carolina, 1682*

THESE letters were used by Professor Charles M. Andrews in his *Colonial Self-Government*, and it was he who called the managing editor's attention to them; but they have not hitherto been printed. They are to be found in MS. Rawlinson D. 810 in the Bodleian Library. MS. Rawlinson D. 810 is a volume of miscellaneous collections partly transcribed from collections of Hannibal Baskerville, of Bayworth, Berks, but chiefly written by his son Thomas, relative to their family, their friends, and the University of Oxford, of the most varied and interesting nature. Thomas Newe's letters are imbedded in the description of Exeter College, as follows:

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Exeter College. . . . This Colledge is Capacious and large enough to entertaine and lodge 120 people (so saith Mr. Crabb and Mr. Oliver Schollers in't) but my friend Mr. Newe the present Butler saith it is capacious enough for 150 people. . . .

The Gentlemen which I can remember that have been and now are of my acquaintance in this Colledge are these . . . Mr. Newe my loving friend and Butler of this Colledge as aforesaid, who had an ingenous son sometimes a Scholler of this House; who went one of the earliest Planters to Carolina whose loss, with his dear father I do much lament as being deprived by his death of further intelligence from those parts; yet to make him live what we can in our Memory take here an account of that plantation, as it came in letters from him before any narrative of that place was put in print:

May the 17th, 1682, from CHARLES TOWN on
Ashley River by way of Barbadoes in the
Samuel.

Most Honourd Father:

The 12th of this instant by the providence of God after a long and tedious passage we came to an Anchor against Charles town at 10 in the night in 3½ fathom water, on the sixth we made land 60 miles to the South of Ashley River against which we came the 8 but could not get in by reason of contrary winds sooner then we did. We had little or nothing observable in the whole voyage, but the almost continual S.W. winds. God be thanked I had my health very well except a day or two of Sea sickness but most of the other passengers were much troubled with the scurvy; Of 62 that came out of England we lost 3, two of them

were seamen, one dyed of the scurvey, the other fell overboard, the third was a woman in child bed, her child died shortly after her. As for the Countrey I can say but little of it as yet on my one knowledge, but what I hear from others. The Town which two years since had but 3 or 4 houses, hath now about a hundred houses in it,¹ all which are wholly built of wood, tho here is excellent Brick made, but little of it. All things are very dear in the Town; milk 2 d a quart, beeфе 4 d a pound, pork 3 d, but far better then our English, the common drink of the Countrey is Molossus and water, I don't hear of any mault that is made hear as yet. The English Barly and Wheat do thrive very well, but the Indian corn being more hearty and profitable, the other is not much regarded. I am told that there is great plenty of all things in the Countrey, whither I intend to go as soon as conveniently I can dispose of my goods, which I fear will not be soon, nor to such advantage as we expected. Severall in the Country have great stocks of Cattle and they sell so well to new comers that they care not for killing, which is the reason provision is so dear in the Town, whilst they in the Country are furnisht with Venison, fish, and fowle by the Indians for trifles, and they that understand it make as good butter and cheese as most in England. The land near the sea side is generally a light and sandy ground, but up in the Country they say there is very good land, and the farther up the better, but that which at present doth somewhat hinder the selling [settling] farther up, is a war that they are engaged in against a tribe of Barbarous Indians being not above 60 in number, but by reason of their great growth and cruelty in feeding on all their neighbours, they are terrible to all other Indians, of which, there are above 40 severall Kingdoms, the strength and names of them all being known to our Governor who upon any occasion summons their Kings in. We are at peace with all but those common enemies of mankind, those man eaters before mentioned, by name the Westos,² who have lately killed two eminent planters that lived far up in the Country, so that they are resolved now if they can find their settlement (which they often change) to cut them all off. There is a small party of English out after them, and the most potent Kingdome of the Indians armed by us and continually in pursuit of them. When we came into Ashley river we found six small vessels in the Harbour, but great ones may and have come in by the assistance of a good Pilot, and if they can make good wine hear, which they have great hopes of, and this year will be the time of tryall which if it hits no doubt but the place will flourish exceedingly, but if the vines do not prosper I question whither it will ever be any great place of trade. On Sunday the 14th of this instant a small vessell that came

¹ The removal to Oyster Point, between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, had taken place in 1680. Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina*, 1682 (Carroll, II. 24), confirms this estimate of one hundred houses.

² For the war with them, see *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685*, pp. 508-510.

from Mewis¹ hither, was cast away upon the Bar, but the men and goods were all saved. This is the first opportunity I have had to write since I came from England but I hope to find more opportunities here, then I had at Sea, this with my most humble duty to yourself and my Mother, my kind love to my sister and Brothers being all from

Your most duetifull and obedient son

THOMAS NEWE

My duty to my Grandmother and my love to all my relations and friends that enquire concerning me.

May 29th, 1682, by way of
Barbados.

Most Honoured Father:

The 17th of this Instant by way of Barbados in the Samuel, being the 1st opportunity since my departure from England, I sent you a letter wherein I gave you an account of our safe arrival, but not of the Voyage, that I leave to my Journall which I intend to send by the first Ship that goes directly for England, with my knowledge of the Countrey of which I have not seen much yet, but one thing I understand (to my sorrow) that I knew not before, the most have a seasoning, but few dye of it. I find the Commonalty here to be mightily dissatisfied, the reason is 3 or 4 of the great ones, for furs and skins, have furnished the Indians, with arms and ammunitions especially those with whome they are now at War, for from those they had all or most of their fur, so that trade which 3 or 4 only kept in their hands is at present gone to decay, and now they have armed the next most potent tribe of the Indians to fight the former, and some few English there are out, looking after them, which is a charge to the people and a stop [to] the further settling of the Countrey. The Soyl is generally very light, but apt to produce whatsoever is put into it. There are already all sorts of English fruit and garden herbs besides many others that I never saw in England, and they do send a great deal of Pork, Corn and Cedar to Barbados, besides the victualling of severall Vessels that come in here, as Privateers and others which to do in the space of 12 years the time from the 1st seating of it by the English, is no small work, especially if we consider the first Planters which were most of them tradesmen, poor and wholly ignorant of husbandry and till of late but few in number, it being encreased more the 3 or 4 last years then the whole time before, the whole at presen[t] not amounting to 4000,² so that their whole Business was to clear a little ground to get Bread for their Familyes, few of them having wherewithall to purchase a Cow, the first stock whereof they were furnished

¹ *I. e.*, Nevis.

² "T. A.," who was in the province from 1680 to 1682, says in his *Carolina* (Carroll, I. 82), "At our being there was judged in the Country a 1000 or 1200 Souls; but the great Numbers of Families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, which daily Transport themselves thither, have more than doubled that Number."

with, from Bermudas and New England, from the later of which they had their horses which are not so good as those in England, but by reason of their scarcity much dearer, an ordinary Colt at 3 years old being valued at 15 or 16 lis. as they are scarce, so there is but little use of them yet, all Plantations being seated on the Rivers, they can go to and fro by Canoo or Boat as well and as soon as they can ride, the horses here like the Indians and many of the English do travail without shoes. Now each family hath got a stock of Hogs and Cows, which when once a little more encreased, they may send of to the Islands cheaper then any other place can, by reason of its propinquity, which trade alone will make it far more considerable then either Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, and those other places to the North of us.

I desire you would be pleased by the next opportunity to send me over the best herbalist for Physical Plants in as small a Volume as you can get. There was a new one just came out as I left England, if I mistake not in 8^{vo}. that was much commended, the Author I have forgot,¹ but there are severall in the Colledge that can direct you to the best. If Mr. Sessions, Mr. Hobart or Mr. White, should send to you for money for the passage of a servant, whether man or boy that they Judge likely, I desire you would be pleased to send it them, for such will turn to good account here; and if you please to enquire at some Apothecarys what Sassafrass (which grows here in great plenty) is worth a pound and how and at what time of the year to cure it, let me know as soon as you can, for if the profit is not I am sure the knowledge is worth sending for. Pray Sir let me hear by the next how all our friends and relations do, what change in the Colledge, and what considerable alteration through the whole Town; I have now nothing more to speak but my desire that you may still retain (what I know you do) that love with which I dayly was blest and that readiness in pardoning whatsoever you find amiss, and to believe that my affections are not changed with the Climate unless like it too, grown warmer, this with my most humble duety to yourself and my mother, my kind love to my sister and Brothers and all the rest of our Friends I rest

Your most dutifull and obedient son,
THO: NEWE.

From Charls Town in Carolina.

From CHARLS TOWN, August the 23,
1682.

Most Honourd Father.

In obedience to your commands, I am ready to embrace every opportunity of sending to you, this is the 3rd, The 2 first by way of Barbados, the 1st of the 17th, the 2nd of the 29th of May, which I hope you will receive long before this comes to your hands. This place affords little news, nothing worth sending. The 11th of June a French Privateer of

¹ Perhaps this was John Ray's *Methodus Plantarum Nova* (London, 1682, octavo).

4 Guns 30 men whereof 10 were English men brought in here a Spanish prize of 16 Guns and a 100 men, which by the French-mens confession they had never taken, had it not been for the English, they have allready spent most of it and are providing to be gone againe.

The 30th of July cam an Indian to our Governour and told him that 800 Spaniards were upon their march coming from St. Augustine (a place belonging to our Proprietors about 150 miles to the South of us, where the Spaniards are seated and have a pretty strong Town) to fall upon the English, upon which the Council met 3 times and ordered 20 great Guns that lay at a place where the town was first designed to be made, to be brought to Charls Town, and sent Scouts at a good distance (knowing which way they must come) to discover their strength and the truth of it, which if they had seen anything were to return with all speed, and 700 men were to have met them, which were to lay in Ambuscade in a Cave, swam [*sic*] where the Spaniards were to come, through a Marsh, that every step they would be up to their middle. Our people were so far from being afraid that they mightily rejoiced at the news of it, wishing that they might have some just cause of War with the Spaniards, that they might grant Commissions to Privateers, and themselves fall on them at St. Augustine.¹ as we understand since this was the ground of the report, The Spaniards thinking themselves to be abused by a nation of Indians that lived betwixt them and us, marched out to cut of that Nation, to which this Indian belonged, which (as it is usual with the Indians) reported that they were 800, whereas some of the Privateers have been there, and say that they are not able to raise above 300 men. we have 100 Privateers here all shar like though not at the taking of the prize, which if our Governour would suffer them would fain fall on the Spaniards at St. Augustine; it is not likely if the Spaniards were so strong as the Indian reported, that they would send out such strength against them, For when the English have any war with a Nation of the Indians tho at 150 miles distance they think 20 English and 30 or 40 friendly Indians to be a sufficient party. The Indians are sent before to discover where the other Indians lay who if they see but [*gap in MS.*] of their enemyes they will returne with great speed and greater fear to the English reporting they saw 200.

The 20th of August I saw a Comet in the North East about 2 hours before day, the 21 it was seen in the west.² Sir of those goods you gave me of my Brothers, I have sold some, and most of them I bought in London, but I can not yet make any returne; for money here is but little and that Spanish which will not go for so much in England by 4 or 5 s in the li. Our pay is what the Countrey affords, as Corn, Pork, Tar and Cedar, the 3 first are fit only for the Islands. I know not whether the last will pay charges to England it can't be afforded under 30 or 32 s

¹ These sentiments were vividly manifested when the Spaniards actually did attack, in 1686.

² The celebrated "Halley's Comet."

profit in London, if you please you may enquire what it will yield in Oxon, and if you think it worth sending, and know how to dispose of it, I will take care to send it by the first, after I know your mind. Sir I have sent to Mr. Sessions for these following goods which are the best I can think of and I desire you, that you would let him have as much money as will buy them. Nuttmegs to the value of 5 li, Pepper 50 s, Cinnamon 25 s, Cloves and Mace 25 s, $\frac{1}{2}$ a C of large Beads, blue and white, or white with streaks of blue or black, or blew with beads blew and white, or white with streaks of blew or black, 1 [gap] of blew Duffals, a quarter of a Cask of brandy, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz white Castors, at about 8 or 10 s per piece, and one good French hat, 2 or 3 [gap] of fine thread to make lace, 500 small needles and 20 [gap] of that tape which is now in fashion to make lace with, 8 or 10 doz. of knives from 2 s 06 d to 5 s per doz., one good [gap] coat for myself and 2 C [weight] of pigeon shot. Sir I desire you with these things to send me $\frac{1}{2}$ C of Shomakers thread and one of my Brothers shop books if you have one that is not used. Sir I beseech you pardon my presumption since 'twas your goodness made me so by your usuall readiness in granting my former requests. Pray present my humble duety to my Mother and my Grandmother, my kind love to my sister and Brothers and the rest of our Relations and be confident that I will be industrious to improve whatsoever you shall commit to my charge and to approve my self.

Your most Dutifull and obedient Son,
THOMAS NEWE.

2. *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland, 1705-1706*

[From a manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 2291, fol. 1) to which the attention has been called by Professor C. M. Andrews. The author's name is not known.]

OCT. 2D. 1705.

WEE sett saile from Plimouth in order to persue our voyage for Mariland. wee had a fine gale att East and where about 80 saile of us in Company and kept together for 5 or six weeks butt att East wee were seperated from em by a storm which lasted 7 Dayes in all which time wee were forced to live upon Biskett and Cheese the weather pmitting us nott to boyle our Kettle, butt when itt grew faire wee made severall of the fletee again. about Novr. 26 wee made the sumer Ilands which are Called the Bermoodas Ilands. they are Verry Pleasant by reason itt is most and end¹ fine weather there butt att this time they are very Barren nott produceing anything so much as sugar oranges or Lemons. the onely thing itt produces is onions and a few Watter Mel-lons in time of Yeare. there are some ffoale sheepe and Black Cattle tho no great stocke of either. the inhabitants are naturally Prone to lasiness for if they gett no ffish a satterday night to be sure they have no sunday Dinner. they are a mighty healthfull People and Live to a

¹I. e., almost on end, almost continuously.

great age there being att that time severall upon the Iland who exceded above 100 Years old. there was one man att that time 117 years old and itt is verry Comon for 'em to live by ordinary Course of Nature betweene 80 and 90. both men and woomen are verry tall and large limbd withall; there are abundance of Broken Rocks that lyes of these Ilands which verry often ships are fast away upon and the people of the Iland are verry Bold and ventersome in order to helpe ships in distress. they will venture out in there Yauts when you'd think itt where hard for an ordinary ship to Carry her Cources. wee stand three Dayes att this Iland. Cabbages and onions wee gott good store to help of with our salt provisions and wee suplyed our selves with fowles. the Capt bought a great quantity of salt which he made a good hand off att Mary land selling itt for above 8 times what it Cost. [2] the Governer att that time¹ had nott so much as one Drop of Wine Brandy or strong Beere to make our Capt Drinke butt onely a little sort of table Beere which they Brew themselves of from Pottatoes. butt before wee left 'em the Capt made a Pressent to the Governer of 3 dozen Clarrett 3 doz S^r John Parsons stout Beere² 2 Gall. Brandy 1 doz: Cannary and a Couple of Cheshire Cheeses.

3 dayes after wee left the Iland haveing fine weather wee saw a great many Daulphins a Beautifull ffish to see too nott as our Painters make 'em upon signes Crooked butt a Clever strait fish sharp att the nose and comeing Cleane and taper of att the tayle. after you have taken that fish before itt Dyes itt Chainges to all Collours in the Rainn bow. itt is allso a verry good fish to eat. wee tooke severall in so much that our ships Company was tired with 'em. wee endeavourd to keepe some to have Carried in to Mariland with us butt could nott. wee salted 'em and Pickled and soused 'em butt no way would doe above 3 dayes. wee were allways forced to fling 'em away they then being strong and nott fitt to eatt, wee att last came in sight of Great part of our scatter'd ffeete and with a fair and easy Gales made shift to weather the the [sic] Capes of Virginia by the 22d Dec^r. wee sailed up the Bay which I beleive is one of the finest in the world for itt's bigness itt, being ffree from Rocks and watter enough att all times to Receive the biggest ships that sailes to those parts. itt has also abundance of Navigable Rivers which empties themselves into itt and well stocked with good store of severall sorts of ffish which are of great use to the inhabitants in there families.

wee were a weeke a sailing up the Bay to a River Call[ed] severn wher the Governer resides who att this time is Coll seemer³ a verry honest worthy Gentleman and well belov'd of the Contrey People who seeme to be mightily sattisfied both as to his pson and Conduct. [3] they are Govern'd by him and also have a Councell from whence they make all there by Laws of there owne which are Printed att Large. the

¹ Benjamin Bennett, governor 1701-1713.

² Sir John Parsons was the great brewer of his time, M. P. 1685-1717, knighted 1687, lord mayor of London 1703.

³ John Seymour, governor of Maryland 1704-1709.

Cuntrey of Maryland is a Noble fine Cuntrey fitt for any Manner of Buisness that Concernes the life of man provided they had People that would take that paines that such a Cuntrey is worthy off itt being Niether too hott in the Summer nor too Cold in the Winter. itt abounds in abundance of all sorts of Timbers either fitt for houses or shipping with a Bundance of fire wood. there are Good Oakes, Ash, Elm, hickery, Poplar, Beech, fir, Ceader, Locust, etc. as besides abundance of fruite of all sorts as aple Peare Cherry qunces in great quantity and innumerable Quantities [of] Peaches to that degree that they knock downe Bushells att a time for there hogs, besides what vast quantities they still and make a verry good spirritt off nott much inferior to Brandy and they also distill a great quantity of Brandy from sider which they make great quantitys off they haveing for the most Part very large orchards. and yett att some Certain times of the Yeare if You would give five Pounds You Cannott gett a Pint of Brandy unless itt be upon an extraordinary occasion and that from some Merchantt or exterordinary Cockarouse¹ ffor they are so Generous one to another that as long as one has itt the other never wants itt as long as he has any; for if they know a Man has a Gallon of Brandy by him they will goe halfe a dozen honest ffellows to pay him a vissitt and never leave him tell all be out tho the [sic] goe tenn Miles an end which is no more to them then if itt were butt to the next Tavern here. there old feilds and woods abound in straw berries and huckle berries. there are abundance of Chesenutts which att the fall of the Leaffe fall ffrom the trees that the Hogs ffatten themselves with 'em. I have fformerly seen Hogs about Oct^r. and Nov^r. come out of the woods so ffatt that they could Scarcely wallow. you would have thought they had bin kept up eight or tenn weekes att Pease or Beanes they have bin so fatt and with nothing butt the mast of the woods; butt now indeed itt is nott so for the Cuntrey is More Populous, and there are a great many Hundred Plantations more Cleared so that the timber is Cutt downe that used to Beare that mast, [4] and those plantations that Lye farther up in the Woods are still the same for att the fall of the Leaffe they have fatt Beefe and fatt Porke Comes home to their Doores without giving 'em any Corne when at the same time the people that live upon the River sides and the plantations being thick together they are forced to give there Hogs a great Deall of Corne to ffatt 'em.

there is abundance of Venison att the time of the Yeare ffree for any one to kill. I have seene Bucks as fatt in July there as I have here; indeed in the winter they are meere Carron for then the indians Come Downe a mong the English and hunt for 'em; they will kill you seven Bucks or does for a match Coat; that is a sort of stuff like a Blankett Dyed Red or Bleu which they Rap about em, goeing for the most Part Naked, onely tying a peice of a Clout or a ffox skin just before their Privities; they are exterordinary good Marks men and will kill You

¹ Indian word, meaning a person of consequence.

more game then any of our English cann; they acknolledge a Deity butt worship Sunn Moone and stars; they have no Reguard as to Dayes they know no sabbath; they Sacerafize once a year to the Devill; I was once out in the woods with my Gun thinking to shoote something and I hapned to espye an Indian with his Gun Cockt and just goeing to fire att a Couple of Deare; when on a suddan the Deare ither saw him or smelt him and so Ran away as hard as they could; the Indian imediatly tooke a little tommahauke; a sort of lathing hamer that will cutt att one side like a hatchett; and Cutt the Barke about a foot square from a Poppular tree; and upon the tree where the Barke was he Drew the Picture of a Squirell and knelt Downe and worshipt itt; and as soone as done he tooke his Gun and away he went Cleare Contrary to which way the Deare tooke; and in less then halfe a quarter of an hower I heard him shoote; I made that away out of Curocity; to se if he had kil'd any thing; and when I came I found he had killed a Deare; and was goeing to skin itt. I asked him whether he thought itt to be the same Deare and he told me he was sure itt was and would have the ffellow to Morrow. he had bin after them already two Dayes before butt he beleived they allways winded him. I asked him if he thought there was any thing in the worshiping that Picture he made (that was the occasion of his killing the Deare; he told me) he did beleive there was butt as for any Reasons he could give me none; butt it was there way; I Parted from him and in goeing home I mett with a Gang of wild Turkies and shott two of 'em butt could nott carry them both home: I hung up one upon a small sapplin Makeing remarks upon the place that I might the Better send for itt; and when I gott home I sent a Negro for itt. he went and tooke another Negro along with him and a Gun, besides that Gun he had of me; because I told him where about I mett with the Turkies. they never came home all night which made me think he could nott find the turkey I sent him for, butt he readily found itt butt could nott so soone find out the gang, for they traveld all Night after the Gang but could nott find em; they guest themselves about 5 miles from home when Day began to Break; and was for comeing home butt att last espied some Turkies Pearchd upon some high trees in a swamp; they both shot and killed three, and came home about an hower after Sun rise and with that turkie I left in the woods; these wild Turkies in that Cuntrey are of a varst wait some weying 40 some 50 and some say sixty Pounds wheigh; I have killed a turkie my selfe that has wheyed 43 Pounds out of the ffeathers and his Gutts out; I durst nott venture to tell You the Weight that I have heard some Turkies have wheyed by Credible Gentlemen which I att the same time doe beleive may be true; butt I was once at one Major Greenberries¹ in severn River when an Indian brought in a wild Turkie to him which I thought was the biggest that ever I saw, the major bought itt of the indian for a Pint of Rum

¹ Major Charles Greenberry of "White Hall" in Ann Arundell County, a prominent member of the Lower House of Assembly.

and six charges of Powder and shott. [6] I desired it might be wheyed which was done and itt wheyed verry neere 49 Pounds. he told me if I would stay all night wee should have itt for supper. I did and there hapned to come in more company. wee were Mighty merry and never eat Part of any turkie that ever Pleased me Better and in Discourceing over this Turkie there was a Planter there that told me he mett with a gang of Turkies in the Woods about a twelvemonth before and there was one that was so big and fatt that could nott ffly. he shott and Killd a Couple of 'em and the rest all flew away butt them that he killed and that that was so fatt it could nott fly 20 yards together he followed and att last overcame itt and tooke it alive and presented itt to Major Greenbury. he cutt the wings and putt itt in the yard amongst his tame Turkies butt it Droopt and would not Keepe company with the tame Turkeys so affter keeping itt alone a fortnight they Kild itt and itt wheyed 63 pounds and did beleive itt had waisted itt selfe verry much affter itt was taken. I have seene mighty gangs of these Turkies in the woods as I have bin Rideing and there is varst numbers of 'em kild every yeare. they are exterordinary Victualle butt indeed the hinder Parts are verry Course and so they are of tame Turkies for I think the Leg of a tame Turkie is as Course as a Peice of Neck Beeffe tho the Turkie be never so fatt. I have seene some when they have walked above 4 foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ high. some times there Eggs have bin found in the woods and brought home and hatcht under other Turkies that have satt att the same time and also brought to perfection butt when they come to grow up would nott keep company with the other tame Turkies butt wander about by themselves nor never be so brisk as the Plantation Turkies are. I heard of a Planter that took Notice of a Gang of Turkies that used to come into his Corne feild every Morning for he had some Corne in a Tobacco house and they used to pick up the Corne that was Scatter'd about the Tobacco house. so he takeing notice of their frequent comeing every morning he resolved to entrap 'em. [7] so one evening goes into his Corne feild and Scatters a little Corne all along the path way up to the tobacco house and allso into the house and in the Midle of the house leaves a good heap and leaves open the Doore and goes and lyes in the tobacco house him selfe and makes fast a string to the Doore so that he Could pull it two when he pleas'd. in the Morning before sunn Rise he began to heare his wellcom Guests which att last came Running one before the other Picking up the Corne as the[y] found upon the Ground till att last comeing to the Tobacco house Doore they were a little shy att first of entring butt att last the Master of the Gang ventures by little and little tell they came all lnn and gott to the Great heap which was laid on purpose for 'em to feast on without Cerrimony, when on a suddan the Major Domo pulls too the Doore and secures his new Guests. Downe he comes and apearas amongst em. butt they being altogether strainers to such sort of attendance would fain have made their Exitt butt truly the Landlord

of the house told 'em there was a Reckoning to pay and that he must be satisfied before they went so ffastned the Doore and whent out to call some assistance which was the rest of his family. so they held a Consultation what to doe whether they should lett any goe upon there parroll or nott or whether they had best secure 'em all att once. itt was Carried against 'em for itt was thought they would nott Keep their parroll to returne in any limited time and Considering they were Turks itt was thought most proper they should all fall by the sword which accordingly they Did to the Number of 32 and where after Dispers'd among the Christians of the Neighborhood.

[8] I have Caught Patrigges so verry often my selfe in Tobacco houses by shutting the Doore after I have found they have bin in the house butt nott with designe butt by accident. I have taken 16 or 18 att a time for there are abundance of 'em in Maryland as allso wild Feasants a great many. butt for wild Gweese and wild Ducks I have somtimes seene some Creekes Black with 'em. the wild Ducks and Geese are very fatt all the winter. in the Sumer there is none to be seene. there are abundance of ffoxes which live upon Poultry they gett out of the Plantations and also Roccoons a Creature much like too a Fox butt nott that Collour itt being of a Dark grey Collour butt what they Feed on I cannott tell for the[y] seldom harbour about Plantations. there is also a Beast called a Possum. itt is about the bigness of a ffox butt nott so subtle. itt is of a grey collour and has a false Belly so that if they are persued they take in there Young ones and away they carry 'em either up trees or into some safe place or other.

I have seene 40 or 50 Woolfes together. every body knows they will nott stick att any thing to suport there Ravenours appetites. if by Chance an ox or a Cow should fall sick away from home and should hapen into the way of these unsatisfied Devills they never ask who he belongs too nor where he lives butt immediately fall to tareing his cloaths and never leave him tell they can see any Part of his flesh hang together which if they cannott compase over Night they make a shift to doe the next morning by makeing an agreement to have there Breakfast out of him leaveing onely the Boanes to lett the Marster see hee is nott run away. there are abundance of wild swans. they say they are verry good meate butt I never did eate any in my life. the Hare in that Cuntrey is verry small being nott bigger then our Comon Rabbitts neither can they run a quarter so farr for if you chance to see a hare in the woods to be sure he takes to a hollow tree and then you may be sure to have him by smoakeing him Downe which I have Done many.

[9] There are also abundance of Squirrells of severall sorts as the great ffox Squirrell which are rare good meat. I have eaten part of many a one and had rather eat 'em then Rabbitt. they are admirable food with a Bitt of Bacon Boyld. they make fine Broth; there is a smaller sort which is about the bigness of a Rabbitt when about 3 dayes old which is Called a fflying squirrell. itt is of a grey collour with a

short thick head and when itt flyes itt extends all itt's feete which spreads a sort of thin skin which holds the wind butt cannott fly far. They are mighty pretty Petts. I have knowne 'em brought to England verrey often to make presents off; there is also another sort of squirrel Comonly Called a Ground Squirrel which is much less then either nott being much bigger then a Mouse of a Redish collour striped with black all along the sides and Back with a pretty tayle that Covers itt all over when itt sits upon itt's hinder parts. these are nott verrey scarce but are verrey hard to be ketch'd. these are also brought as rarities to England, with a sort of Birds Called red Birds nott so much to be admired for there fine singing as for there fine Collour, as also a Bird Called a Mocking Bird which will imitate any Bird itt heares in woods. I have much admired my selfe this bird for I have satt an hower or two together to heare how Dexterously itt will Mock the rest of the Birds. itt is about the bigness of our threshes of an ash Collour'd. there is another sort of a Bird which I think a great rarity which is called the Huming Bird which is nott a quarter so big as our renn. I have seene a large Bee verrey neere as big. itt is of severall sorts of Collours and the swiftest in flight of any in the world. itt feeds upon the Blossom of trees as Bees doe the Blossoms of fflowes. the Governers Lady of Virginia had one presented to her butt nott telling what to feed itt with itt Dyed butt they keep the Carcase hung up in the house which is worth any ones seing that is Curious. [10] I heard she should say shee would have given a hundred guinies itt could have bin kept alive.

the Indians of that Cuntrey are very Lusty Proper men as You shall see haveing fine strait Limbs off a Tawney Complection useing Beares Greese to anoint theimselves and so lett itt Dry in in the sun. there haire is as black as jett butt they Notch itt and Cutt itt into severall formes and shapes as Best likes 'em being verrey antick as to what formes and shapes they Cutt itt in some leaveing Nothing butt a Lock behind some Leaving 2 Locks one of each side some one onely just upon their forehead sometimes one upon the Crowne of there heads. they Paint there Bodies all over with some sort of Pictures or other and also there faces. the woomen are also painted like the men have verrey long Black haire downe to their hams. they Carry there Children att there Backs Like our Gipsies butt the men Carrie the Gun and the Tomahauke and they take care to build up their Cabbins which they always doe in a swamp or a Branch neare to a Little run of watter. they Cutt downe halfe a dozen forked Poles and sett 'em up anend then they Cutt Downe some small Poles for Raffters and so Covering itt with Barke they make there fire in the Midle of the Cabbin and so lye Round itt upon Matts or Beare skins which they often kill and eate they being extraordinary food. they Live Much upon oysters getting vast quantities of 'em and so Roast 'em in a fier as also fish which they are great artists att Catching and sometimes they shoote 'em with Bow and arrows which they learne their Children to doe before

they Learn them in the use of the Gun. [11] the woomen they Plant the Corne and watter mellons and gett itt ready while the men Goe abroad in the woods Hunting after other Game and so bring itt home for them to Dress and if they are so happy as to be masters of a Bottle Rum they Regaile and are as Merry as tho' they had all the Varieties that urope Could afford 'em. there are butt a few of 'em left now to what formerly they were, for they are gon more Norward amongst the Cannady Indians, butt those that are left are very servisable to the English coming downe amongst 'em in the winter and hunting for 'em and Live amonge them. Sometimes they kill Beares as I menconed which are very good food. I was att one Esq^r. Bennetts who Lives att the mouth of Wey River upon the eastern shoare and some people had killed a Beare there which was verry fatt. itt was just after Christmas. they Drest itt severall sorts of ways. some was Roasted some Boyled some Broyled like Griskins and they were so eager in the eating of itt that I thought they would have tore itt off the spitt before itt was halfe enough [sic] butt att last I eate some my selfe off that that was roasted and doe assure you itt was exterordinary victuals. I thought itt as good as Roast Beeffe itt being verry juicy and harty food full of Gravey; the fatt of 'em is verry good in old strains or aches. I once eate part of a Young Cub butt I think it eates more flashy then the old ones that are fatt. they fead upon nothing butt what the woods affoord. they eat no manner of Carron or any thing butt Grass or Cheesenutts or acorns or the like. [12] I was att the killing of one once att one Major Courseyes¹ a servant Came into the house and told the Major that there was a Beare treed about a mile off. the Major asked him if he thought itt would stay while they came. the fellow told him yes he was sure itt would for he had puld off his Coat and left itt att the roote of the tree with a Dog that he had charged nott to stir. so wee tooke Guns and gott three Mastie Dogs, by the way, and when wee came wee saw the Beare att the top of a great Oake upon one of the uper most limbs. wee all charged our guns with a Brace of Balls, and the first that fired shott him thro the Body which made him Roare and groane sadly. the second that shott hitt him some where about the shoulders which vexed him more than the former which made him fall from some of the top limbs into the midle of the tree and had much adoe to keepe there he was so weeke with the loss of Blood. att last a third shott and hitt him in the head which brought him Downe from limb to limb and so att last to the ground where he had liked to have spoyled all our Dogs afterwards, if in Case a Gentleman that was there had not tooke the mussle of his Gun and putt itt in his mouth and so shott him thro: the head. they afterwards Carried him home in tryumph and made mighty rejoycing att the feastivall they made of him which was p'formed after the same manner off the former by Boyleng Roasting and Broyling, for every boddy that heares of itt in the neighbour hood comes to take part

¹ Major William Coursey, a member of the governor's council.

of itt as a novellty and to be sure there is either a good Bowle of Punch or else a great deale of good sider Drank att the eateing of this new sort of Venison.

[13] There are abundance of fish in all those Rivers as Pearch of severall sorts. the white Bellied Pearch, the Red Bellied Pearch the Black Pearch and the Yellow Bellied Pearch; there is a sort of fish Much like to our Mulletts here in England which they there Call a Rock fish Much about the length of a Large Mackerell. itt is a verry firm fish and butt few Bones onely the great Boane downe the Back like a Mackerell. there is also the Catt fish which I beleived is so called from itt's short thick Chubbed head like a Catt with also whiscars on each side of itt's mouth. itt is a good fish butt eates much like an eele and found most an end in Muddy watter. there is also the fish Called a Drum. itt is a verry large fish about the bigness of a Cod with verry large scales about the Breadth of a shilling. they are an admirable fish. the inhabitance make much account of 'em indeavering to ketch as many as they can in a season salting 'em up to eat att other times; there is a ffish there that they Call a sheeps head which is a noble fish beyond any I yett have named. they are nott verry Plenty onely to be Caught in the Months of June, and July, and sometimes in august. I had rather eat itt then any fish what so ever nott excepting any of our uropian fish. there are also a fish called a stingwray much like a thorne Back and also abundance of Eeles. in the month of Aprill there are great quantities of Herrings comes up to the heads of the Rivers into the ffreshes to spawn. the inhabitants gett great numbers of 'em which are a mighty help to great Families. there are also abundance of shads in the month of May. they come also to spawn and to goe away again like the herrings; sometimes there are large sturgeon taken there butt no body admires 'em so that they are nott much sett by.

[14] The Corne of that Cuntrey Comonly Called Indian Corne or maise which grows in great Eares as thick as ones wriste and 7 or 8 inches in length with severall rowes of large grains round itt as big allmost as horse beanes grows upon high stalks 7 or 8 foot high joynted like a large banboo Cane with large Broad long leaves like flags groweing out of each joynt and a high tassell att the top beareing four five or six eares a peice of this same Corne itt being I beleive the greatest increase of any grain in the world there comeing five or six hundred from one grain. itt is a pleasant sight to see a feild of this growing before itt become to high itt being planted att an exact distance one from another in rowes aboutt six foott distance one way and about 5 foott distance the other way makes a mighty pretty show when itt is nott much above two foot high from the ground. itt is the cheifest Diett they have in the Cuntrey espeshally where there are great ffamilies of Negroos for they Beat itt in a Mortar and gett the husks from itt and then Boyle itt with a Peice of Beefe or salted Porke with some Kidney Beanes which is much like to Pork and Pease att sea butt they Call it

hommony. itt is verry harty and what the servants make there Constant food on. there is no want in any Family where there is plenty of that which is all the Cuntrey over, nott butt that they have good Beeffe and Bacon sometimes Mutton and abundance of Greenes as Cabbages, Parsnips, Turnips, Carrots, Pottatoes Simnels squashes and watter mellons and also abundance of other things too tedious to be here incerted; butt the cheifest Comodity which is so [15] much Looked after is Tobacco which imployes all hands in every Family. for with that they by there slaves and white servants as also theire Cloaths and all there liquors as Wine, Brandy, Rum, stout English Beere, etc: and also Cattle horses sheep, and they likewise buy there Land with itt. there is more Paines taken to raise itt then any one thing in the world again, itt is a mighty fatigue to the sailors to fetch itt from Plantations to Carry itt aboard there ships some times being forced to rowle itt by land four or five mile, nay some times I have knowne 'em Rowle itt seven miles an end befor the could bring itt to there Boates and then p'haps they have forty or fivety Miles to Cary itt to there ships.

there are abundance of snakes of severall sorts as the Black snake which is a long snake about 6 or 7 foot long and Black the red Bellied snake, the viper Corne Snakes watter snakes and the Rattle snake which is a verry fine snake to looke upon provided he had no vennom butt itt is Death to be bitt with one of them without p'sent help. they are a very large snake with a fine skin of severall Collours. I have heard of 'em have bin 10 or 12 foot Long butt I never saw one above 5 or six foot. I have Killed a great many my selfe butt never one above five foot. Long. There was one Mr. Sweatman that Kept an ordinary in wey River upon the eastern shore and he killed a small Rattle snake and a fancy tooke him to skin itt and after had itt Boyled and putt Into a Plate like an Eele with some Butter and Parsly Melted over itt and so sett by. [16] itt hapned that that evening there came a Receiver of one Coll Loyds to the house to stay there all Night. he asked what Victuall they had in the house for he was very hungry nott eateing any thing that Day. Sweatnam makeing answer they had nothing att all ready, butt att last sayes I have a rare cold eele if you like that; says the Receiver with all my harte there's nothing better. itt was brought forth and a cleane Napking laid. itt look'd Charmingly and espeshally to one that was sharp sett. itt Cooked verry white and the Butter and Parsly over itt made itt inviteing. the p'son fell too and eate hartily and made a good supper butt aftter super they had a boule of Punch and smoaked two or three pipes of Tobbacco and so went to Bed. in the morning he gott up for he was to receive some Tobacco about 3 or 4 Miles from thence butt promised to Come and dine there att Noone which accordingly he did and after Dinner he asked him how his super agreed with him. he told him verry well and that he never supped better in his Life he thanked God for itt was what he lovd and comeing so unawares he liked itt the Better. the man of the house asked him if he knew what itt was he had

eate he told him he thought itt was an eele; swettnam swore no itt was a Rattle snake and to Confirme itt cal'd in his maid that Dressed itt who declaireing the truth of the matter that itt was so, putt him to a surprize. he imediately called for his horse and went home and tooke his Bed upon itt and had a verry severe fitt of sickness so that he lost all his haire. [17] affter he gott well he sued this swettnam and Recover'd twenty thousand wheight of Tobacco from him for treateing him with an uncomon supper. Now whether or no, in any ones oppinion, this was the affects of the supper or whether itt was the affects of a strong imagination itt being allmost 24 howers affter he had eat itt before he knew itt.

There is a sort of a Plum which grows there about the bigness of a Medler with 4 or five stones in itt. itt is Ripe about Sept^r. or Oct^r. itt is a Pleasant fruiitt to eatt if thorow Ripe. if not itt seemes to draw Your Mouth up to Your eare for a Considerable time.

wee gott our ship Loaded about the begining of June and then weighed Ancor and so sailed downe the Bay in order to joyne the Grand fleet which consisted of about a hundred and odd Saille. butt before wee gott Downe the Bay wee heard that they had bin sail'd four or five dayes before so that wee could nott tell well what to doe whether wee had best follow 'em or stay for more Company there being three or four ships that was nott come downe the bay, and while wee were consulting about the Matter wee saw two under saile makeing the best of there way downe. wee came to an Ancor in the Mouth of the Bay untill that they should come as low as wee which when they did they Cast ancor like wise. the one was a large ship of about eight hundred hh^{ds}. and Carried about 14 Guns and had 22 sea Men on Board besides some Passingers butt the other was a Pink of about 4 hundred hh^{ds}. butt no Guns she belonging to the Quakers imploy and they never Carry Guns and had about 12 men. [18] wee hoisted out our Boat and went aboard that ship that had 14 Guns to Consult with the Master of her what he intended to doe and also the Master of the Pink came aboard him likewise and he told us there was two ships more to come downe one a ship of good force and the other a verry small one nott Carrying above one hund^d hh^{ds}. butt the other Carrying seven hund^d and fivety hhds. and 16 Guns and about 20 Men besides Passingers and then when they came wee should be five sail'd with our ship which Carried six Guns and 5 hundred hh^{ds}. and 16 men so that when wee were come all together wee did designe to p'sue our Voyage and make the Best of our way for England. the Next Day the other two ships came downe the Bay and joyn'd us and then by consent wee weighed Ancor and sail'd downe to a place Called Linn haven Bay just within the Capes mouth of Virginia and so came to an ancor the wind nott being fair for our putting out to sea; and holding in the same Corner Kept us in for above a weeke all which time I was a shore with my Gun and also went a fishing in which Pastime I had good success Killing seventeene Drums and five sheeps head two Large sorts of fish which I sent on Board att three times. I took p'ticular

Notice as I walked upon the strand by the sea side of some Cockle shells [19] for their largeness theing [they] being as Big as our scollop shells which wee dress oysters in over the fire in Taverns and the Oysters there are as large as a Midling horses hoofe. I gave a Man a shilling to gett me some tho: itt was att that time of the Yeare in the month of June when wee doe not eat 'em here in England butt they were extraordinary good and firme onely a little of the ffreshest. wee Pickled up some of 'em which was a great use to us in making of fish sauce when wee had occasion which wee often had; the people of that place say those large Cockles are extraordinary good and make verry good Broth when stewed butt the fish itt selfe is verry tough. att last the wind pressented and wee sett saile and came away with a fresh gale att South east and so Continued for about a fortnight when wee saw to windward of us a Couple of Large ships as wee thought and standing right upon us so that wee concluded that they were two french privateers and that wee should be all taken unless itt was the Pink that had no Guns for shee could saile admirable well and would make the best of her Way while they where Buisy in taking of us, for wee was Resol'd nott to be taken, by two small privateers tho att the same time one Privateere of 14 or 16 Guns would have taken us all; butt at last our feares was soone over for they Proved to be two sloopes one off Virginia and the other of Penselvania Both from jamaca, Loaden with Rum and sugar and Bore downe upon us to know if the Virginia fleete was sail'd; for they thought to have come to a good Markett if wee had not bin sail'd. so after haveing satisfied 'em they stood on their Course and wee ours, butt the Next Day about Noone wee made something butt could not tell what itt was butt at last beareing downe to itt wee found itt to Bee a sloop in Distress. shee was come from Fiall¹ butt was of New England Called the providence of Boston and Bound for Mariland Loaden with wine, shee had bin out Nine weekes from Fyall, and had lost her Mast and Boome and all her sailes. she had two men wash't over Board and her Binickle and lost her Compass about a Month before in a Mighty storme. [21] the one of the men that was washed over was theire Carpenter and so they lay Rowling with out either Mast or sailes and had done so for a month onely save a Bitt of a saile about the bigness of a wherrys saile. they had never a bitt of Bread nor no meat of any sort in nine Dayes before and had only lived upon some walnutts which they had a good quanty off and a little wine and watter for they durst nott drink wine by itt selfe for feare itt should over Come 'em; those that was left was two Men and a Boy and did nott know what day of the weeke itt was for wee hoisted out our Boat and I went a Board of her and the poore soules that was aboard look't like death. they were so weake they could nott man the side; and were verry glad when wee Boarded 'em for itt had bin joyfull to them if wee had bin french Privateeres so long as they were saved from being

¹ Fayal in the Azores.

Rac't for they must Certainly have Perished in the sea if wee had nott Mett with 'em and besides in two or three Days they must Certainly have starved for want of food for they had nott one Crome of any sort lefft save onely some walnuts for they had butt five weekes Provisions when they left Fyall; [22] they asked us how far wee thought they Might be off the Capes of Virginia and Wee told em Wee thought itt Might be about three hundred leagues. I came aboard of our owne ship and gave the Capt this Deploreable accom^t of 'em which moved him into Compassion towards them. he went aboard him selfe then to see how things was and found em no Better then I told him; he ordered our Carpenter to take a small Boome that wee had and to fix em up a Mast and took a spare Missen Topmast and made 'em a Boome and while that was doing the Capt order'd 'em a Compas and halfe a dozen Pound of Candles and a sack and a halfe of Bread a Barrell of Oat Meale halfe a firking of Butter or Chesher Cheese and twenty Peices of Beefe and 12 Peices of Porke and a sett of slooppe sailes which wee verry luckily happned to have aboard which belong'd to one of our sloopes in Mariland; and was Carrying them to England to have em alter'd which verry luckily fell out to be off servis to these poore People in distress which they gave the Capt: Bills for all that they had of him upon there owners; wee gott a pipe of Fiall wine and some wallnutts from 'em wish'd 'em a good Voyage and so sent em goeing nott a little overjoyed for meeteing so good Freinds espeshally att such a time when that they had given themselves over either to be starved or drowned which must Certainly have bin in a verry little time if wee or some other ship had nott mett with 'em.

[23] The wind then being faire and affter Parting with the slooppe wee Made all the saile wee could while [until] such time as wee thought wee were neare the English Coast. in the meantime wee saw severall ships butt did nott care to speake with 'em for feare least they should nott be Friends. att last all the Commanders mett aboard of the great ship to consult what they had best doe whether they should make directly for the Chops of the Channell or whether they should saile North about by Ireland and Scotland and att last itt was Concluded that wee should goe north aboutt by reason they did beleive that a great many French privatteers might be in the Channell picking upp the Scatterers of the Virginia Fleete. wee were all Bound for London butt one which was the least Ship amongst us which Carried butt a hundred hh^{ds}. he being bound for Bristoll thought he was run his Length and so left us and made in for the shore butt wee heard afterwards he was taken the next Day by a French pryvatteere just under the Land goeing up for Bristoll. wee stood away for the Norward and att last Came into the I'les of Orkneys. there are severall of 'em butt there is butt two of any consequence. wee came to an Ancor In the Great Ilands in a Place Called Cate-ness.¹ [24] There is twelve Miles from thence a verry good Towne well

¹ Caithness and the Orkneys are apparently confused.

inhabbitted.¹ the people are all Scotch and a verry good sort of People they are speaking Mucch better there then the doe att Barwick or new-castle. there is abundce of good ffish to be had there for Dureing six weekes stay that wee made there wee had plenty of all sorts as Large Codlings whiteings Large soules Large fflownders Turbutt haddock and the finest Ling that ever I saw in my Life. I have seene Ling there 6 foott Long and as yellow as gold; and good Lobsters and Crabs as big as two penny Loafe. wee could buy for 6 pence or seven pence as much of these sort of ffish as would well sattisfie twenty men. I have for a Peice of Tobacco which might whey about a quarter of a Pound had 4 pair of soules 8 Codling a dozen of white and four thorne backs. I once bought for eight pence and a peice of Tobacco a verry large Turbutt 4 paire soules 4 Large Codlins and a dozen of fine fflownders and might have had what Thorne backs I had had a Mind for if I would have taken 'em butt thinking I had enough for Money lett 'em alone.

[25] wee Bought excellent French Brandy for twelve Pence a quart there Quarts being much Larger then ours² and wee bought also extraordinary good French Clarrett Neat from the Grape for Nine Pence the Quart, the Measure as I told you accordingly, which made itt seeme to us mighty Cheepe Considering the goodness which wee often Laid our harts in soake in; this Iland is very Barren mountanous and Rocky Beareing no Manner of Trees nor fruite. itt Beares no Corne butt a Little poore Barly and when that was fitt to Cutt itt was nott a foot from the ground. Affter itt was thrasht the straw Could nott be above 6 or 7 inches Long; there is not so much as a gooseberry Bush Growes there nor a sprig of Rosemary will nott grow. itt beares a great deale of Catle. there Cows and steeres have no hornes. the Beefe is verry good but verry small. I bought a steere of six Yeares old for 12 shillings. the Mutton is verry small butt verry sweete. as for there Porke itt is verry Bad. itt eates fishy for they feed there hogs with fish. I eat a sort of a fflowle there which they call a Puffin a Perfect Lump of fatt butt eats verry fishy. I bought Pulletts for three halfpence a Peice and Chickens for a Penny a Peice and Geese for 3 pence and Ducks for three halfpence a sheepe for two shillings and six pence and a Lamb for eighteen pence. there is the worst Beere that ever I Drank worse then watter and yett there are some [26] Gentlemen that Live upon those Ilands that have four or five hundred Pounds a Year Rent and altho the Ilands are so very Barren Yett they have great flocks of sheepe and vast flocks of Geese; affter wee had made about six weekes stay. wee sett saile for new-castle and arrived there after three Dayes saile; wee saw upon the Coast as wee were sailing betweene Orknes and Newcastle foar or five hundred sail of Dutch Busses fishing for Herrings itt being then the season. att last wee sail'd from New Castle with a fletee of Laden Colliers under Convey of two small men of war and arived att Graves end the 2^d of Oct^r. that Day 12 month that wee sett saile from Plimouth.

¹ Kirkwall was then the only considerable town in the Orkneys.

² The Scottish quart was about three times as large as our imperial quart.

3. *Intercepted Letters of Virginian Tories, 1775*

THESE two letters from Tories at Portsmouth, Virginia, were found among the manuscripts in the Virginia State Library, "Executive Communications", by Mr. Waldo G. Leland. The first has lost its original wrapper and bears neither signature nor name of addressee, but is identified as having been written by John Johnson by an indorsement on the part of H. W. R. Curle, who was perhaps the interceptor. The second was apparently written by a canny Scottish merchant or factor, chiefly interested in the "main chance". but for that very reason not indifferent to the political events going on around him. The sequel of his strivings for profitable commerce, resulting in prosecution for violation of the non-importation agreement in January, 1776, after Norfolk had passed into the hands of the Americans, may be read in the report of a committee of the Virginia Convention, Force's *Archives*, fourth series, IV. 109, 126, 128. In date both of these letters fall in the interval between Lord Dunmore's minor success at Kemp's Landing and his more important defeat at the Great Bridge.

PORTSMOUTH Novemr. 16th 1775
being Thursday

Dear Sir

As Politicks are now uppermost in all men's minds I sit down to give you a sketch of affairs in this Colony, and of the Situation of Foreigners, particularly Britons residing here. Ever since the Convention broke up in August the greatest diligence has been used in raising Troops, and a considerable Number have been imbody'd at Williamsburg, some say Twelve or Fifteen Hundred, others more. They consist of Regulars and Minute Men. The footing on which the latter are rais'd, and are to act, I cannot explain to Your satisfaction, without having the Ordinance of Convention,¹ wch. indeed I have never seen. Part of this Body are destined for Norfolk, and there is certain intelligence, that, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Tenders employ'd to guard the Ferries on James River, about Seven Hundred Men are got across to Grays Creek, and probably are now on their march down. People at Norfolk and this place, are dreadfully alarm'd with the report that has long prevailed of their intentions of burning the Towne: certain it is many terrible Threats have been made, either because they are made to believe that a majority of the Inhabitants are Scotch, and of course Friends to Government, or from an apprehension that Norfolk will be made a Garrison, and consequently a Station for Troops and ships of War. To quiet People's minds the Committee of Safety have publish'd a Declaration of which I send you a copy; tho' I am far from thinking their integrity is call'd in question, yet this will not remove People's appre-

¹ Hening, IX. 9-35.

hensions; if the Colony Troops get possession of Norfolk, the Rifle Men will endeavour to annoy the Ships by taking their stand behind Houses, and firing at the officers or men who appear on the Decks, which may bring on the destruction of the Place, tho' not at this time intended by either Party. Almost all the Goods are pack't up, and moved or moving out of Town, with Household Furniture and everything that can possibly be spared, many are gone out to the Country with their Families, in short I believe on the approach of the Virga. Forces every one will go who has any Friends to receive them; Scotch Men who are single will probably go on board some of the Ships in the Government service. Notice was brought Lord Dunmore on Sunday Evening¹ that a Body of Men was assembled at the Great Bridge about 10 miles distant, up the Southern Branch; on Monday night he went against them with about 200 Soldiers and Marines, and a few volunteers from Norfolk, about day break on Tuesday He got to the Bridge, but found no Body there; from thence he proceeded to Kemp's² where 'tis said about 300 men were in Arms, these He dispers'd after a few discharges from the Troops. Tho' this happen'd so near us we have not yet got any certain account of it some say three of the Provincials are kill'd and one drown'd, others that only one is kill'd. Several are taken Prisoners, among them Colo. Joseph Hutchings of Norfolk.³ Since the dispersion of this Body Lord Dunmore has been employ'd as we're told in receiving submissions from such as are willing to return to their Duty and allegiance, and in making search for these who have been active in raising and carrying on this opposition to Government—For some time past He has declared that as soon as he certainly knew of the Colony Troops having cross'd James River in order to march down here, that he would issue his proclamation declaring them Enemies to the Government, of which herewith send you a copy.⁴ I am extremely sorry that he has promis'd freedom to their Slaves, as without serving his cause it may subject many of these poor Wretches to the Loss of Life, and most severe punishments. You may judge the Situation of Your Country Men at this Crisis, these settled here may be compell'd to take up arms, which is contrary to their inclination, their Interest, and future Views, those in the Country must rise to suppress any Insurrection amongst the Slaves, which is expressly mention'd in a Memorial or Petition presented to the Convention at Richmond last August. It would not surprise me to hear of some of them being made Prisoners, as Lord Dunmore has taken several who

¹ November 12.

² Kemp's Landing, now Kempsville, ten miles southeast of Norfolk. On the skirmish here, see Mrs. Maxwell's recollections in *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, III. 132-134.

³ Col. Joseph Hutchings was one of the chief men of Norfolk. See letter of Edmund Pendleton to Richard Henry Lee in Force's *Archives*, fourth series, IV. 202.

⁴ For Dunmore's proclamation from on board the *William*, November 7, 1775, see Niles, *Principles and Acts*, ed. 1822, p. 373, or Force's *Archives*, fourth series, VII. 1385.

were not in Arms, it will signify perhaps little that their conduct was different from that of our Countrymen, and that they openly busied themselves in exciting others to an opposition to Government, while we have avoided such measures in favour of it, Such Circumstances will I am afraid be overlook't. I heartily wish my apprehensions may be ill grounded. The Governor and the Troops are not yet return'd from Princess Anne, the weak resistance he met there will probably give him a mean opinion of the Forces from the upper parts of the Country who are certainly very different men, many of them possessed of considerable property, who serve to promote the cause, and not merely to earn a subsistence. Should he resolve to meet them, I among others shall be call'd to the Field. I am so circumstanced that all my private Debts are in reality Debts of honour, if I should fall God knows how they will be adjusted! to Your management I must commit this Task, I do not think it worth while to make a Will or would appoint you Executor.

I unluckily left behind me at Page's some Papers without which I cannot settle my private affairs. I intended before this time [*sic*], but of late People have been obliged to apply to the Committees for permission to pass,¹ and here we have no Committee to whom to make application. Yet I cannot say this alone has prevented me from going up, tho' join'd to other disagreeable Circumstances it has had Weight. Some time ago Anthony Warwick, Mich. Wallace and I went down to Hampton and were detained by the Committee from Monday Evening till Friday morning when we made our escape while some of the Tenders were firing on the Town, cross'd Hampton Creek, and Mill Creek, walk'd round by the old Fort, and were taken on board the Tenders and brought to Portsmouth. We could not obtain a hearing from the Committee, nor was any Parole required of us, the last night of our stay we were confined to a room, and three Sentinels placed over us. We were taken into Custody in consequence of an Advertisement publish'd by the Committee of Safety requiring them to examine all suspected Persons, they rank'd us in that number, and suspected us of coming as Spies. I mention this affair to show you the Spirit of the times. During our confinement at Hampton a Number of men were station'd there for the defence of the place, on the day we came off, the Tenders were repuls'd owing chiefly to their want of amunition; and a Pilot Boat was taken, occasioned by the rashness of a Lieutenant who ran her close into John Jones's [*illegible*], from whence a constant fire was kept up [*rest of line torn off*] posted themselves in it. One man was kill'd another mortally wounded and seven taken Prisoners, who are all since released, excepting one detained for some misbehaviour. Many Falsities have been circulated concerning this ill judged attack.²

By a Vessel which arrived from New York about a fortnight ago the Governor and several of the Officers had intelligence of Montgomery,

¹ Orders of the Committee of Safety in Force, *Archives*, fourth series, III. 1190.

² See the account of it in Henry's *Patrick Henry*, I. 323, 324.

who during the Sickness of Schuyler, commanded the Army sent against St. John's, being totally defeated, having lost about a Thousand Men and several officers of rank, but this will never be generally known in this Country, and private Letters from New York say every human Artifice has been made use of to prevent its being made known. If true as I make little doubt and sincerely wish it, we will first see the account from England. I have troubled you with this long incorrect scrawl (which I have not time to copy) to give you some idea of our Situation, treated and dispised as the most worthless of mankind, for adhering to the Government, under which we were born, have lived, and till of late been happy. It is certainly a mistaken lenity to leave the Friends of the present Establishment at the mercy of those doing their utmost to overturn it, and [*line torn off*] hoped that next summer Great Britain will exert her utmost vigour to crush this ungrateful Rebellion, and send out an Army sufficient to disperse Washington's and a Fleet to convince the City of Philadelphia that it is not inaccessible. It at present rests secure that some floating Batteries they have built are capable of defending them, and it is said they are building a Sixty Gun Ship, and fitting out Privatiers. Should a British Fleet get up to Philadelphia I imagine there would be no occasion to proceed to extremeties, every thing would be given up to save it from destruction. I hope the Ministry will no longer be intimidated by the Clamours of the wretched Remnant of a disappointed Faction, from prosecuting the War with vigour and depriving America of supplies of Goods arms and amunition, of all which they have this summer smuggled considerable quantities, and it has not been in the power of the few Vessels station'd here to stop them. Unless a Packet is established from Britain directly to Virg^a, You must be very cautious what you write, the Congress has now erected a Post office and in all probability Letters from Britain will all be opened and any thing [*two lines torn off*] may always be mentioned. The 17th. This day Lord Dunmore and the Troops returned, there were five of the Princess Anne men kill'd at Kemps, two drown'd and fourteen Prisoners or some say fifteen. So many Falsities are daily circulated, that we can hardly credit anything that passes through a number of hands. That we may again see Peace and good Government firmly established, and be enabled to do Justice to all Mankind, is my most fervent wish.

I forgot to tell you that about 300 P. Anne Men have come in and sworn allegiance Yesterday and to day the Oaths have been administered to the people of Norfolk, our turn I imagine will be next

I am with great sincerity

Dear Sir

Your most obed. Servt.

[Indorsement]

John Johnson was the person confined in Hampton as above mentioned with Warwick and Wallace.

H. W. R. CURLE.

PORTSMOUTH Novr 20th, 1775.

Dear Jack:

I have yet at this date an Opportunity of writing you by the Christie Capt James Avery Which I am sorie for, I wish she had Saild 10 days Ago As I expected, for I Apprehend Within this few days A great Many people has had there Eyes Opened And Will Write now by this Sloop for Goods.

the Governor went this day Week with a party of the Troops and some Volentiers from Norfolk to the Great Bridge landed them and marched to Kemps, where a Number of Shirt Men¹ from Princes Ann and some of Norfolk Co^r. had collected to the Number of 3 or 400 Men who drew themselves up, and determined to Wait the arrival of the Troops and give the Governor Battle. As soon as the Troops Appeared the Shirt Men began to fire as far as they could see them, and kept on firing till the Troops got pretty near them but did no damage. the Troops Made One fire which made the Shirt Men all take to the Woods they killed Some Say 4 or 5 others 8 or 9 and took a Number of Prisoners amongst them Col^o Hutchings and Anth^o Lawson² who is now Confined on Board the Eilback. the Governor Imediately Issued his Proclamation (Copy of which I Inclosd Mr Sym) declaring all Rebels that did not Immediately repair to the Kings Standard, their Negroes and Servants free that was able and willing to bear arms. *Since that the whole countys of Norfolk and Princes Ann to a man has come in to the Standard which is now erected in Norfolk and taken the Oaths of Allegiance to his Majesty—a few Individuals excepted which the Governor would not allow in order to make some examples of some of the Leading Men.*

before Saturday Night I think Government will have such a party here as the Shirt Men dare not face, there was a great many volinteers went with the Governor and his party to Kemps, the greatest part of which has had the Offer of Commissions, amongst the rest George Blair is appointed and has accepted a Captains Commission in one of the Companys which is to be rais'd Imediately. I hope we shall be allowed to remain in peace and quietness Now. John Brown who was one of the volinteers upon the Strength of being protected has begun to Load his Sch^o with Staves for Jamaica, they bear a high price amongst all the West Indie Islands. I Should Send Pickets Sloop out Imediately, but I keep him to hold my goods in case of accident that I May have my property amply [*illegible*]. as soon as the Regt is completed which is now raising, I shall land the Whole of my goods and think them very Safe in my Stores again.

¹ Virginian minute-men, often dressed in hunting-shirts.

² Col. Anthony Lawson, J. P., was one of the richest and most prominent men of Princess Anne County. Proposals for his exchange and that of Col. Hutchings were made in vain by the Virginia Committee of Safety, May 3, 1776, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, VIII. 166; Lawson was released on parole in the ensuing November by Governor Tonyn of East Florida, after confinement at St. Augustine. The order for release is printed in Hanson's *Old Kent of Maryland*, p. 174.

let me beg of you to loose not a Moment, but be as Expeditious as possible and bring out as Many Goods in the Brig as She will hold. Now is the time to Strick a bold Strock depend upon it you will Never have such another to Make Money by dry Goods in this Country.

Oznabrigs and Canvas a large q^{ty} [quantity of] Course Linens, Checks, Sheetings, handfs, Stockings, and every necessary article a large and full assortment of goods, Nails etc. bring as many as you can get credit for.

If Gibsons Sloop is at Glasgow, I would wish him Loaded also. If you wish bring 20 M^l Steg¹ I am certain they could be sold of Instantly and to Advantage, have them insur'd that in case of accident the creditors May be Safe.

As soon as Matters is a little Settled here, I expect to be a Considerable remitter. I have 1300 £ Steg from the Birth [?] will be due in a few Months and the like sum from Calderhead, besides 1000 £ owing me in Norfolk and which is owing me in the country. If we could have a Meeting and any Sort of payments I expect to Remit a large Sum. I am afraid McRenals lost he has never been heard of Since he Sailed from the W Ind the 30th Augt for Norfolk. the Agatha² is Never yet Arrived. I am afraid he will be a long time detained in Lebay [?].

Aga³ is perfectly Recoverd Since you left us I thank God And we are all in good health. Remember us all to My Mama and Sisters and all Friends I am Dear Jack

Your Affect Brother

ROBERT SHEDDEN

[Addressed:] To

Mr John Shedden Jnr
Glasgow

[Endorsed:] Robt Shedden

(intelligence and inimical)

No 5

Nov 20th 1775

4. Letter of John Marshall to James Wilkinson, 1787

For the following letter we are indebted to Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, LL.D., of Louisville, Kentucky. Colonel Durrett writes: "This letter was written to General James Wilkinson, at that time a resident of Kentucky, although his name does not appear in the address. His name and address were on the envelope, which has since been destroyed." The letter, as Colonel Durrett intimates,

¹ Twenty thousand pounds sterling.

² The sloop *Agatha*, Captain Wilson, was on her way from the West Indies. Upon her arrival she was seized for violation of the non-importation agreement. Force's *Archives*, fourth series, IV. 109, 126, 128.

³ Agatha, wife of Robert Shedden. Their marriage bond, dated August 30, 1768, is calendared in the *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, IV. 57.

shows a kindly feeling between writer and recipient that Humphrey Marshall the historian, John Marshall's cousin, would hardly have been willing to admit. He also calls attention to the efforts which Colonel Thomas Marshall, father of John, made in 1791 toward securing Wilkinson's reappointment to the army of the United States. Colonel Marshall, however, it should be said, gives as a reason for this that Wilkinson was a dangerous man while not engaged, but that the danger might be removed by giving him employment. Colonel Durrett suggests that possibly John Marshall may have been moved by similar considerations in trying to obtain for him a passport out of the United States. The governor of Virginia in January, 1787, was Edmund Randolph.

RICHMOND, Jan. 5th, 1787

Dear Sir,

It is with a great deal of mortification I tell you that I have failed in obtaining the passport I applied for. On my mentioning the subject to the Governor he said he was acquainted with you and would with great pleasure do any thing which was proper to serve you. He took time to consider the subject and after several applications, told me to-day that to grant the passport as an official act was entirely improper because it could only extend to the limits of Virginia to which you had a right to go without his permit and that he could not write a private letter of recommendation to the Governor without having some acquaintance with him. On these reasons sir, my application in your favor was rejected. I am much chagrined at my disappointment.

I am much indebted to you for the clear and succinct account you have given me of the two expeditions against the Indians. I fear with you that so long as you remain connected with Virginia it will be absolutely impossible to act on any great occasion with reputation or success. Just information from such a distance will never be obtained by government without a solicitude about intelligence which seldom exists in a proper degree on the eve of a separation. You are considered as being certainly about to part with us and therefore less attention will be given to any regulations respecting your country than if the disunion was not expected.

All is gloom in the eastern states. Massachusetts is rent into two equal factions and an appeal I fear has by this time been made to the God of battles. Three of the leaders of the opponents to Government have been taken and imprisoned in Boston. The whole force of the party is collected for their relief. The last intelligence gives us reason to fear that before this time the attempt to relieve them has been made with the whole power of one party and opposed by the whole power of the other. But of this I suppose you receive better information than I can give you. We have contradictory accounts of the motives and views of the insurgents. We are sometimes informed that they are a British

faction supported secretly from Canada whose immediate object is to overthrow the present and restore the former government, at other times we are told that it is a mere contest for power between Bowdoin and Hancock and that the Hancock faction are aiming at the destruction of all public securities and the subversion of all public faith. Whatever may be the cause of these dissensions or however they may terminate, in their present operation they deeply affect the happiness and reputation of the United States. They will, however, I presume tend to people the western world if you can govern yourselves so wisely as to present a safe retreat to the weaker party. These violent, I fear bloody, dissensions in a state I had thought inferior in wisdom and virtue to no one in the union, added to the strong tendency which the politics of many eminent characters among ourselves have to promote private and public dishonesty cast a deep shade over that bright prospect which the revolution in America and the establishment of our free governments had opened to the votaries of liberty throughout the globe. I fear, and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity of man, that these have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself. I fear we may live to see another revolution.

I am dear sir, with high esteem and respect,
 Your obed't serv't.
 JOHN MARSHALL

5. *Gilman v. McClary: a New Hampshire Case of 1791*

PLUMER in his *Life of William Plumer* (pp. 170-172) refers to a New Hampshire case of 1791 in which an act of the legislature was declared unconstitutional but says: "Beyond a brief notice of it in my father's papers, I am not aware that any report of the case is to be found." A brief record of the decision in this case has been found among the records of the Superior Court of Judicature, for Rockingham County, at Exeter, N. H.

During the Revolution trials by the legislature were frequent in New Hampshire. This practice was continued after the adoption of the Constitution of 1784, and the General Assembly ("General Court") assumed for a time the position of a court of appeal. Legislative interference in judicial matters usually assumed the form of a special act "restoring the party to his law", i. e., granting him a new trial in the Superior Court.

In 1789 Nathaniel Gilman sued Elizabeth McClary for a certain sum of money alleged to be due to him. Upon agreement of the parties the matter was submitted to referees, who decided against Elizabeth McClary, and the Superior Court entered judgment against her. The following extracts from the House and Senate

journals of New Hampshire and the decision of the Superior Court give the further history of the case.

WALTER F. DODD.

Voted that M^r Warner, M^r Dole and M^r Gibson with such of the Honb^l Senate as they may join be a Committee to consider of the Petition of Elisabeth M^rClary and report thereon. (Journal of the House of Representatives, June 10, 1790. *N. H. State Papers*, XXII. 59.)

A Vote for a committee to join a committee of the Senate to consider of the petition of Elizabeth M^rClary, and report thereon. Was brought up, read and concurred: M^r Webster joined. (Senate Journal, June 11, 1790. *Ibid.*, 15.)

The Committee on the Petition of Elisabeth McClarey reported that the Petitioner be heard thereon before the General Court on some day in the next Session—On reading said report Motion was made to accept the Same on which motion the yeas and nays were called and are as follows viz. . . . 33 yeas—19 nays—so it was Accepted.

Whereupon *voted* that the Petitioner be heard thereon before the General Court on the Second Friday of the next Session and that in the mean time the Petitioner cause that Nathanael Gilman the Petitionee be served with a Copy of the Petition and order of Court thereon three weeks prior to the Sitting of said court that he may then appear and Shew cause why the prayer thereof may not be granted and that the Execution against the Petitioner be stayed until the decision of the General Court. (Journal of the House of Representatives, June 14, 1790. *Ibid.*, 67-68.)

A Vote to hear the petition of Elizabeth M^rClary on the second Friday of their next Session, and that she cause N. Gilman of Newmarket [to be served] with a Copy of the petition etc. etc. was brought up, read and concurred. (Senate Journal, June 16, 1790. *Ibid.*, 22.)

Upon hearing and considering the Petition of Elisabeth McClarey *voted* that the prayer thereof be granted and that the Petitioner have leave to bring in a Bill accordingly. (Journal of the House of Representatives, January 14, 1791. *Ibid.*, 156.)

A vote granting the prayer of the pet^a of Elis^a McClary and giving her leave to bring in a bill accordingly was brot up read and concurred. (Senate Journal, January 14, 1791. *Ibid.*, 104.)

An Act to restore Elisabeth McClarey to her Law—was read a third time and passed to be Enacted. (Journal of the House of Representatives, January 21, 1791. *Ibid.*, 168.)

An Act to restore Elisabeth McClary to her law having been read a third time *voted* that the same be enacted. (Senate Journal, January 25, 1791. *Ibid.*, 113.)

Upon motion it was objected by the Counsel for the original plaintiff that the Act of the General Court by virtue of which this action was reentered could not entitle the original defendant to a trial by way of

appeal because if it reversed the judgment the court rendered on the report of referees it was repugnant to the constitution of this State and if it did not reverse the judgment the same might be pleaded in bar on the appeal Whereupon after a full hearing of the parties by their counsel learned in the law and fully deliberating upon the constitution of the State and nature and operation of the act, it appears to the Court that if the act virtually or really reverses the judgment of this Court it is repugnant to the bill of rights and constitution of this State and if the Act does not reverse the said judgment the Court cannot render another judgment in the same case upon appeal while the first judgment remains in full force It is therefore considered by the Court that the said Act is ineffectual and inadmissible and that the said action be dismissed. (Manuscript record, Superior Court for the County of Rockingham, September, 1791.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Studies of Roman Imperialism. By W. T. ARNOLD, M.A. Edited by EDWARD FIDDES, M.A. With Memoir of the Author by MRS. HUMPHRY WARD and C. E. MONTAGUE. (Manchester, England: The University Press. 1906. Pp. cxxiii, 281.)

THE historical sketches which this volume contains were intended to serve as chapters in a history of the early Roman Empire. Before the author's plan could be brought to completion he died, and these *Studies*, introduced by a memoir from the hand of Mrs. Humphry Ward, his sister, and of Mr. Montague, his colleague on the editorial staff of the *Manchester Guardian*, are now published without change. Few people were aware of the services which Arnold rendered to the public, and of his record as a journalist, for he held the opinion that "there is no limit to what a man can do who does not care who gains the credit for it". The important work which he did for the world in this unselfish way and his rare personal qualities are finely set forth in the sketch which his sister and his friend have drawn of his life.

The seven historical essays which Arnold left behind him deal with two general topics, the home government and the provinces. In the chapters of the first group constitutional and political questions are discussed; in the second the geography and conditions of life in the provinces are treated. This natural division of the material has not been properly recognized in the arrangement of the chapters; and the reviewer would advise the reader of the book to read chapter v., on "The Domestic Policy of Augustus," immediately after chapters i. and ii., which deal with "The Foundations of the Imperial Power" and with "The Senate."

These three studies are written in a clear, forceful style and give a well-proportioned account, which is sound in the main, of the institutions of the early empire. The author was apparently under the spell of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, and does not seem to have been aware, when the chapters were written, of subsequent discussions later than Mommsen's work which have led us to modify that writer's view at certain important points. The treatment of imperial finances (pp. 57-59) is especially open to criticism. Egypt did not form part of the emperor's *patrimonium*, and the reviewer cannot accept as true the statement (p. 58) that "the distinction between the two treasuries [*i. e.*, the *aerarium* and the *fiscus*] seems to have been little more than nominal." The Senate continued to have a real control over the *aerarium* under Au-

gustus (cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, pp. 13 *et seqq.*); and therefore Arnold's contention (p. 59) that "the 'dyarchy' never in reality existed" is invalidated, because his theory is based in part on the errors mentioned above. Some minor points which need correction may be noted briefly. It is reasonably certain that Augustus held the office of censor (p. 17). The census for a senator was 1,000,000, not 1,200,000 sesterces = £10,000 (p. 18); cf. Dio 54.17. Suetonius (Aug. 41) has been misled in mentioning the latter sum. Augustus removed 200 men from the Senate (p. 17), it is true, but he added some new members; cf. Dio. 52.42. Probably the Senate, not the emperor, took the census in the senatorial provinces (p. 28); cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 55. One would infer from the statement on p. 177 that the present Pantheon was constructed by Agrippa. Of course it is the work of Hadrian. Of misprints or slips one may mention "concilium" for *consilium* (p. 66), and "to impose" "great privileges" (p. 178). In the chapter on "The Domestic Policy of Augustus" something should have been said of the emperor's regulations concerning the knights and the Augustales.

The four chapters on the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Arabia, Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor give an admirable account of the geography of these regions and of the conditions of life in them. They take into account the latest investigations, and form an excellent pendant to the author's sketch of provincial government, to be found in his prize essay on *Roman Provincial Administration* (1879). The different methods which the Romans adopted in the East and the West, and their comparative failure in substituting Roman for Greek civilization in the Orient, are brought out with great clearness. We miss a treatment of the cult of the emperor in these discussions of social conditions in the provinces. Probably Samos should be added to the two Roman colonies in Asia mentioned on p. 232. The phrase, *ἑταυρὸς καλυνίας*, applied to it in an inscription cited in the *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F., XXII., p. 325, seems to point to this conclusion. The editor's bibliographical note on the provinces (pp. 246-248) is not thoroughly satisfactory. Even for the general reader Halgan's *Les Provinces Sénatoriales* (1898), Chapot's *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie* (1904), and other books of like character should have been mentioned.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: Introduction à l'Histoire des Écoles Carolingiennes. Par M. ROGER, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: A. Picard et Fils. 1905. Pp. xviii, 457.)

M. ROGER's book is true to the programme of its title. It traces conscientiously the distressed currents of education in Latin letters from the time of the rhetorician poet Ausonius to the period when the great

educator Alcuin labored so effectively to meet the needs of Frank and Saxon learners. The book does even more; for it goes back of the period of its nominal commencement, and considers the scheme of study as laid out by Quintilian. Thence it advances, noting the abandoned threads of classic discipline, and following those which merely decayed and did not break.

The literary skill of Boissier or the constructive imagination of Ozanam would be needed to make a discussion of Latin education in these centuries interesting or especially suggestive. M. Roger is but fair-minded and painstaking. He is occupied with a time of literary decay, and one as to which our information on the topic of Latin studies is so unsatisfactory that a work like the one before us necessarily becomes a thesis on the paucity of our veritable knowledge upon the subject of the book. Nor would the author's modesty lay claim to having exhausted such information as may be had. One notes that his treatment of classical education in Italy is inadequate. He refers to Giesebrecht's *De Litterarum Studiis apud Italos*, etc., but appears unacquainted with Novati's *Influsso del Pensiero Latino sopra la Civiltà Italiana del Medio Evo* (1899) and Salvioli's *Istruzione Pubblica in Italia nei Secoli VIII, IX e X* (1898). Again, in what the author has to say of Fortunatus, one might have expected a reference to Wilhelm Meyer's *Der Gelegenheitsdichter Venantius Fortunatus* (*Abhandlungen d. kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., n. f., Bd. IV., No. 5, 1901); and some reference, when discussing Caesarius of Arles to Carl F. Arnold's elaborate monograph, *Caesarius von Arelate und die gallische Kirche seiner Zeit* (1894).

In general, however, M. Roger's learning is sufficiently exhaustive; and while on many branches of his subject he has little to offer that is novel, we think that he has made an important contribution to the discussion of Latin letters in Ireland during the fifth and following centuries. This is a matter on which there has been enough genial generalizing; but we know of no such thorough investigation of the somewhat squalid data as M. Roger has presented. His theme is not the entire history of the Irish schools, but is confined to the sixth and the first half of the seventh century, when the Irish were "les représentants les plus actifs de la culture classique dans l'Europe occidentale" (p. 202). With the close of the seventh century, the centre of interest passes, as he says, to Great Britain, where Aldhelm, Bede, Egbert, and Alcuin take up the torch of learning, and prepare "le programme du futur enseignement des écoles carolingiennes" (*ibid.*). M. Roger seems to express the kernel of his thesis when he says: "Au lieu de considérer l'histoire de la culture classique en Irlande, du iv^e au ix^e siècle, comme un mouvement provenant d'une impulsion unique, il faut y distinguer des époques différentes, caractérisées par la diversité des influences subies, et ne pas rechercher une solution, qui explique à la fois la teinture

classique de Columban et la culture philosophique de Scot Érigène" (p. 207).

The method of the author seems sound. The attention of scholars has frequently been attracted to the brilliant performance of certain men of the ninth century, who probably were Irish (Erigena, Sedulius Scotus, and others) but lived chiefly on the continent. It is manifestly hazardous to draw, from the character of their work, inferences as to the state of learning in Ireland two or three centuries before. For the sixth and seventh centuries, M. Roger finds that certain groups of Irish monks devoted themselves to the study of Scripture and the works of the Latin Fathers. The efficient prosecution of their sacred studies was the motive impelling them to acquire a knowledge of Latin letters. From this they were led on to a study of rhetoric and the classic writers. The author in part ascribes the readiness with which Irish students passed from sacred to profane studies to the circumstance that Irishmen had inherited no aversion to the profane character of these writings, since the heathen Irish past, from which the race had been converted, had no connection with classic paganism (pp. 236-237).

We cannot follow M. Roger further, for instance through his consideration and incidental minimizing of the work of the Irish for the diffusion of letters on the continent in the sixth and seventh centuries (p. 403 *et seqq.*); but will close with the remark that whatever credit he takes from the Irish, he carries to the account—and quite properly as we think—of the great Anglo-Saxons who learned and labored at Jarrow and York. They indeed had drawn from Irish teachers, but had profited quite as much from the learning brought to England by the African Hadrian and Theodore of Tarsus, whom Pope Vitalian sent in 669 to take charge of the See of Canterbury.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Codex Diplomaticus Moenofrancofurtanus. Urkundenbuch der Reichsstadt Frankfurt. Herausgegeben von JOHANN FRIEDRICH BOEHMER. Neubearbeitung auf Veranlassung und aus den Mitteln der Administration des Dr. Johann Friedrich Boehmer'schen Nachlasses. Erster Band, 794-1314; zweiter Band, 1314-1340. Bearbeitet von FRIEDRICH LAU. (Frankfurt am Main: Joseph Baer and Company. 1901, 1905. Pp. xii, 562; vii, 645.)

THE edition of documents relating to Frankfort which Boehmer announced in 1826 and finished ten years later seemed so worthy in purpose and so well done that it was widely imitated. It became the forerunner and in great part the model of many collections of sources upon German towns. It had, however, along with the opportunity of pioneer

work, also the disadvantage. Students of a new generation found its references and explanations insufficient, its lack of an index a constant source of needless labor. They found also—as various archives came to be better ordered—that it gave by no means all the available sources upon medieval Frankfort; not only for the fourteenth century, which it pretended to cover by a selection, but as well for the period down to 1300, which it professed to cover fully. The entire work, through little or no fault of Boehmer's, called for redoing.

Accordingly, as long ago as 1880 the administrators of Boehmer's estate provided for a new edition of the Frankfort *Codex*. The work upon it, however, advanced but too slowly until it was entrusted, in 1897, to Friedrich Lau, who was able to give it for more than a year and a half his entire time. By help of the many copies and collations made by his predecessors, Grotefend and von Nathusius, and by much research on his own part, Dr. Lau has brought together, along with most of the pieces in the original edition, a great amount of new matter. Boehmer's single quarto contained, all told down to the year 1400, 1,026 documents. The two quartos of the new edition have 1,699 numbers, together with some additional matter, and go only to 1340. Also, the definite and concise references and explanations accompanying the successive pieces, and the carefully-wrought index at the end of each volume, show a clear appreciation of what present-day students require of such collections. Errors in detail were not wholly to be avoided; scholars of special competence in the local history have pointed out a considerable number of them in the first volume (von Nathusius, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 21, pp. 211-216; Reimer, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 164, pp. 826-830). Especially, the index, careful as it is, still is not so helpful as it might be with regard to forms of names and locations of places. These shortcomings, however, are of relatively little moment; in the main, the editor has done his part with entire success.

With this enlarged and properly equipped body of sources, it will be possible to extend in many directions present knowledge of the people of medieval Frankfort. Their local public institutions can now be better known. Relations they had with the emperor, and with others outside the city, can be seen in more detail. Probably, however, no sides of their history will profit more strikingly than those relating to economic and social conditions, especially in the first half of the fourteenth century. On such matters some of the new pieces will prove of quite unusual interest, notably the wills in nos. 377, 412, 425, 475, 517, 575, and 621 of vol. II. The new *Codex* thus is in a way to give aid not only on the sorts of questions that Boehmer had most in view, but also on others which have come within the vision of historical students chiefly since Boehmer's time.

Dr. Lau takes leave of the work with the second volume. His

successor, whoever he may be, will have but to continue—with some improvements in detail—upon the model already provided.

EARLE W. DOW.

An Epitomized History of the Militia (the "Constitutional Force") together with the Origin, Periods of Embodied Service and Special Services (including South Africa, 1899-1902) of Militia Units Existing October 31, 1905. Compiled by COLONEL GEORGE JACKSON HAY, C.B., C.M.G. (London: The United Service Gazette Office. [1906.] Pp. 444.)

COLONEL HAY exercised good judgment in describing his work as a compilation. That it is a compilation is obvious on almost every page; and as regards smoothness and easy reading it has most of the drawbacks of a compilation—drawbacks that at times are a little disconcerting if not irritating to the reader. But, this said, it must at once be added that the compilation is marked by good arrangement of material and admirable grouping; and that by the enormous labor that Colonel Hay has bestowed on his work he has produced a volume of first importance to students of the military and constitutional history of the United Kingdom.

The book bears the marks of having been written chiefly for students of military history and organization; and these students cannot but admire the enthusiasm which Colonel Hay has put into his work, and the infinite care that he has taken with details. Some of the constitutional aspects of the militia are lacking, due chiefly to the fact that Colonel Hay has taken his Parliamentary history mostly at second hand; that he has not himself gone to the *Journals* of the two Houses of Parliament and to the Parliamentary histories and the Hansards. Had he gone to these sources, in particular had he gone to the Hansards for 1831-1832, he would have been able to round out his excellent summary of the statutes enacted for the raising, organization, and government of the "Constitutional Force" from 1122 to 1902, by an account of the circumstances under which balloting for the militia was allowed to fall into desuetude.

For many years before 1831 it had been, as Colonel Hay incidentally shows, more politic to raise the militia by beat of drum and bounties than to raise it by ballot under the more modernized system which had been established by the famous Militia Act of 1756 and the Explanatory Act of 1758. But although there was little need for the services of the militia between the peace after Waterloo and the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, the ballot survived as late as 1831. At this time the movement for Parliamentary reform was about to achieve its first great success. The measure which ultimately became the Act of 1832 was under discussion in Parliament. It did not go far enough for some of the Radical reformers in London. The ratepaying qualifica-

tion for the boroughs, as then proposed and as ultimately embodied in the act, still excluded thousands of occupiers of small houses from the Parliamentary franchise; and when the militia ballot for 1831 was taken, a number of North London Radicals, at the instigation of William Lovett, wrote across their schedules for the militia "No vote, no musket." When these men were balloted, they refused either to serve with the militia or to pay the £15 for a substitute. Lovett's household furniture was seized by the sheriff's officers. There was much popular commotion over the seizure. A petition to the House of Commons followed; it was presented by Hume and Cobbett. In general the ballot for the Middlesex Militia in 1831 caused so much disturbance that the Whig government allowed the balloting to come to an end; although there are still on the statute-books laws that would admit of a return to the old system, there has been no balloting since 1831, and, as the South African War made plain, volunteer recruits for the militia as for the regular army are never lacking at a time of national crisis.

Earlier stages in the history of the militia, especially in the eighteenth century, could have been much more illuminated than they are in Colonel Hay's pages had he given as much care to the Parliamentary debates as he has given to the chronicles, the older standard histories, the papers at the Record Office, and the regimental histories. The archives of the English counties and boroughs also contain material of value concerning the militia, most of which is now available in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; and English biography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not without matter which would have added to the human interest of some of Colonel Hay's chapters.

Still, for students of constitutional history there is nothing in print which can be compared with this history of what Colonel Hay styles the "Constitutional Force". The summary of the militia ordinances and laws from the reign of Henry I. to that of Edward VII., which covers just one hundred pages, in itself enables a student to trace all the changes which the militia has undergone; to realize its local organization, how it was recruited, how officered, how disciplined, the varying length and nature of the service, how the force was paid, and the parts which king, Parliament, and lord lieutenants of counties have had in its economy.

Much of the material which Colonel Hay has collected and arranged so well in these chapters, including as it does royal warrants, army orders, government orders, and War Office circulars, will appeal to students of social and economic conditions in England. So also will the chapters on the discipline, equipment, and clothing of the militia; while Colonel Hay's chapters on the arms of the militia, and his statistics of the aggregate strength of the forces at frequent periods

between 1539 and 1902, which are for the most part set out in tabular form, make his book of permanent value to students of British military history.

Great enthusiasm for the task and much painstaking care have obviously gone into the second part of the work (pp. 187-444), which is devoted to records of the origin, periods of embodied service, and special services in England, Scotland, and Ireland and abroad of the 168 units of militia which were in existence on October 31, 1905. It is only to be regretted that Colonel Hay's great interest in his work did not impel him to add a bibliography and an index. Both are lacking; and the lack of a bibliography is the more noticeable because neither in the text nor as foot-notes does Colonel Hay give the page of the books which he uses as authorities. These two defects, but especially the lack of an index, tend greatly to lessen the serviceableness of this history of the "Constitutional Force" as a work of reference.

Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich. Von DR. ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI. Band II. *Der Kreuzzug, 1187-1191.* (Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung; Paris: H. Le Soudier. 1906. Pp. xxxi, 360, and four tables.)

Six years have elapsed since Professor Cartellieri of the University of Jena completed the first volume of his generously planned work on Philip Augustus (1899, 1900), the earliest installment of which was noticed in this REVIEW in its issue of October, 1899 (V. 116). He has now carried forward his task with similar amplitude of plan and thoroughness of execution to the return of his hero from the Holy Land to Paris in the closing days of 1191. As its title indicates, the portion of Cartellieri's elaborate biography now under review has as its theme Philip's relations to the Third Crusade; but the author takes a much wider range of events into consideration than those of the mere military expedition itself in order to show its antecedents, the preparations for its accomplishment, and the financial and governmental devices to which it gave rise. Thus, he sketches the plans for aid to the hard-pressed Holy Land presented in England and France from 1146 to 1187, and the misfortunes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem which were the immediate causes of the Third Crusade. This attempt to put the event itself in its proper historical setting is effectively accomplished.

Probably Professor Cartellieri's most interesting contribution to the discussion of the problems which the crusading movement brought forward is regarding that of taxation. The religious purpose gave ground for imposition upon all classes of society, and the author concludes (p. 85):

Let the origin of the crusading movement be what it may, the State desired to execute it. For that purpose it needed money, much money, money immediately. The devices of feudalism could not furnish it.

The Church, which had so often laid hindrances in the way of the central authority, then came forward and helped the State to raise the means. Out of the necessities of the Holy Land, which united in sympathy all that was called Christian, modern tax legislation arose.

Professor Cartellieri shows that the union of France and England in the crusade was but a brief and imperfectly realized interlude in the rivalry of the Plantagenet and Capetian houses. He makes evident the difficult position of Philip during the trying winter in Sicily and the siege of Acre in the face of the better equipment, more extensive means, and overbearing conduct of Richard I., and vindicates for the French king a high degree of political wisdom in a situation fraught with the gravest dangers. In Professor Cartellieri, Philip has a warm and on the whole successful defender. Even his abandonment of the crusade is fully justified in the view of the biographer (p. 261):

He had the welfare of France singly and alone in view, and therefore his act, which wounded the religious feelings of his contemporaries, deserves high recognition from the point of view of the French monarchy. But from the point of view of the crusade even it deserves no blame, since, though highly disagreeable, it was the consequence and not by any means the cause of an untenable situation. What deserves the sharpest blame is the perpetual discord and selfishness of occidental as well as of oriental Christians. Herein lay an insuperable hindrance to the restoration of sound conditions in Palestine. But if it is asked, who sowed the discord, the chief responsibility falls on Richard.

Whether Philip deserves this degree of clearance from blame for the failure of an undertaking of such magnitude and public interest or not, Professor Cartellieri has made an effective presentation in his behalf. The volume with its ample bibliography and appendixes well sustains the promise that, if its author's intention is carried out, we shall have an adequate biography of one of the most interesting and significant of medieval sovereigns.

WILLISTON WALKER.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. In four volumes. Volume II. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 608.)

THE second volume of Mr. Lea's great work on the Spanish Inquisition deals with its jurisdiction, its organization, its revenues, and its procedure. Its jurisdiction was limited to heresy; but heresy, as Mr. Lea shows, was a comprehensive term. It included all lapses into Judaism or Mohammedism; for all but christianized Jews and Moors had been driven from Spain, and, once baptized, all apostasy was heresy. It included, for reasons known only to the Inquisition, all seduction of penitents by their confessors. It included not only all conscious variance from the prescribed religion, but all accidental and unconscious

as well. This was "material" heresy, voluntary and pertinacious error being "formal" heresy. But formal heresy comprised not only "external", which is manifested by word or act in private or in public, but "internal", which is secretly entertained and never manifested at all. Not all, however, were ready to admit its exclusive jurisdiction as to heresy, and Mr. Lea illustrates at much length its controversies with the regular orders, with the bishops, and with the papal see, pausing for a chapter to tell of the "edict of faith", by which every Spaniard was urged and equipped to become an informer. "No more ingenious device", thinks Mr. Lea, "has been invented to subjugate a whole population, to paralyze its intellect and to reduce it to blind obedience."

Under the organization of the Inquisition he treats not only its salaried officers—the Inquisitor-general and the Supreme Tribunal at its head and the permanent members of its local tribunals—but the vast army of unsalaried officials, into whose ranks by pride or perquisite was tempted nearly all the talent and energy of Spain: the *calificadores*, or censors, whose unpaid functions enlisted and burdened all orthodox scholarship, the honorary consultors, the well-feed commissioners, the host of officious familiars. A chapter deals with the peculiarly Spanish notion of *limpieza*, or purity of blood, which made it infamy to be descended, no matter in how slight degree, from Jew, Moor, or heretic, and which, by thus making the Inquisition the custodian of the national vanity, put at its mercy the purse and the self-respect of every Spaniard.

A sordid side of the Inquisition's story is that laid bare by the commercial experience and insight of Mr. Lea in his chapters on its resources. Studying with him the confiscations and fines by which Spanish royalty knew how so opportunely to meet its own financial emergencies, it is not always easy to share his generous faith in the pre-eminence of piety among its motives. But the portion of the present volume which is likely to be of widest interest is that dealing with the practice of the Inquisition. Here less than elsewhere are manuscript sources the basis. The old printed manuals of procedure find here their use; and in a note (pp. 475-476) Mr. Lea gives a useful bibliography of these. It may be worth while to add that the original impression of Alberghini's *Manuale* is of Palermo, 1642, not of Saragossa, 1671, and that the treatises of Simancas may be found in his collected *Opera* as well as in the separate editions. Relentless as is Mr. Lea's analysis of the cruel unfairness of the Inquisition's methods, he feels constrained to admit their efficacy (p. 482):

The situation of the accused, in fact, was helpless. Standing up alone before the stern admonitions of the trained and pitiless judge; brooding in his cell, cut off from all external communication, during weeks or months of interval between his audiences; apparently forgotten, but living in the constant uncertainty of being at any moment summoned to appear; torturing his mind as to the impression which his utterances might have made, or the deductions drawn from his admis-

sions or denials; balancing between the chances of escape, by persistent assertions of innocence, and those of condemnation as an *impenitente negativo*, and urged by his so-called advocate to confess and throw himself on the mercy of the tribunal—it required an exceptionally resolute temperament to endure the prolonged strain, with the knowledge that the opponent in the deadly game always had in reserve the terrible resource of the torture-chamber.

Yet the picture is not absolutely black. The prisons of the Inquisition, foul though they often were, were at least, thinks Mr. Lea, "less intolerable places of abode than the episcopal and public gaols" (p. 534).

An appendix of documents closes the volume.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG PASTOR. Vierter Band: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance und der Glaubensspaltung von der Wahl Leos X. bis zum Tode Klemens' VII. (1513-1534).* Erste Abteilung: *Leo X.* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 1906. Pp. xviii, 609.)

SINCE Professor Pastor in 1895 gave us the third volume of his history of the popes, another decade has rounded to the full. He has made good use of it. The new volume is a masterpiece. The flattering reception it has thus far met from scholars, Protestant as well as Catholic, is due, indeed, not wholly to its superiority over its predecessors. The last ten years have seen a notable broadening of the horizon of Protestant historians and critics; and the bitter book of Denifle, so able yet so unfair, must have contributed both to abate their complacency and to deepen their appreciation of an opponent who can be at the same time loyal to his own faith and just to its foes. But there is surely progress, too, in Dr. Pastor's work: a clearness of insight, a ripeness of judgment, a charm of style, which his earlier volumes had not reached.

His characterizations are veritable cabinet-pieces—none more so than that of Leo himself (pp. 350-351):

The outward appearance of the Pope who gave a name to the beauty-drunk age of the high-Renaissance had in itself nothing attractive. Leo X. was of more than middle size, broad-shouldered and very corpulent, yet, as Giovio insists, bloated rather than really strong. His unusually large and clumsy head, which rested on a thick, short neck, was out of all proportion to his other members. His legs, well-formed themselves, were too short for the heavy body. Handsome were only the snow-white, well-kept hands, which the complacent Medicean loved to adorn with costly rings. The unattractiveness of the flabby, fat face was heightened by the purblind, greatly protruding eyes, whose extreme near-sightedness—a family heritage—forced the Pope, despite his early reluctance, to frequent use of a magnifying-glass. . . . But the unpleasant impression of his exterior vanished almost wholly on nearer association. The surpassingly melodious and pleasing voice, the witty and tactful diction, the wholly dignified yet intimately friendly and

often actually seductive bearing, the lively interest in scholarship and art, and the hearty, sunny fashion in which the Pope enjoyed the creations laid before him by the highly developed culture of the time—these could not but captivate all.

But the most striking quality of the book is its fairness. There was room for fear that on the hotly fought field of the Reformation even eyes so clear as Professor Pastor's might be blinded by the smoke; but of this there is no sign. He nowhere belies his sympathy with the cause of the Church; but he nowhere lets his sympathy color his facts. A long chapter is devoted to the dealings of the Curia with the case of Martin Luther. It is a theme which during these last years, especially since the opening of the archives of the Vatican, has busied some of the keenest of non-Catholic scholars. The labors of Karl Müller, of Aloys Schulte, of Paul Kalkoff, he has used to the full. Everywhere he has verified, at many points he has enriched them. But, to their honor, as to his, and to the encouragement of all honest research, there is between his results and theirs not a shadow of partizan variance. That in his book they recognize a like acumen and find as little ground for dissent, we know already from at least the pen of Kalkoff.

That Leo X., as has so often been assumed, failed to recognize the importance of the Lutheran schism and to take prompt measures for its suppression seems disproved. Such delays as there were must be ascribed rather to the dilatoriness of ecclesiastical procedure and to the political crisis brought by the death of Maximilian. What Leo failed to recognize was the pressing need of a reform. On this point no Protestant could be more explicit than is Professor Pastor (p. 4):

Ever more threatening became the signs of the times. It could not escape the attentive observer that at the accession of the Medicean a severe tempest was gathering over the Church. It was a stern trial which God suffered to come upon Christendom that in a moment of such peril there was raised to the chair of St. Peter a man who was not equal to the earnest tasks of his lofty office, aye who for the most part was wholly oblivious of them. With unexampled optimism Leo X. looked unconcernedly into the future, and, lost in his sport, deceived himself as to the seriousness of the times. Of a reform on the great scale which had grown a necessity he never thought.

And in the brilliant pages which describe the political successes of Leo and the bloom under his patronage of literature, of scholarship, and of art, the historian never obscures this fundamental defect. Yet, while thus maintaining the austerity of his standards and discriminating still between a Christian and a Pagan Renaissance, there is in these pages of Dr. Pastor hardly a trace of that somewhat unctuous censoriousness which gave so clerical a tone to his earliest volumes; and this but illustrates the ripening judgment and the mellowing temper which increasingly mark his work.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Primitiae Pontificiae. Theologorum Neerlandicorum Disputationes contra Lutherum inde ab a. 1519 usque ad a. 1526 promulgatae collegit denuo edidit commentariis praevis necnon adnotationibus instruxit F. PIJPER. [Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, Derde Deel.] (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1905. Pp. xi, 642.)

IN the present volume Dr. Pijper, professor of Church History at the University of Leiden, reprints seven excessively rare Latin works directed chiefly against Luther. Each is reproduced complete, with the old marginal notes, all remarks by the editor being relegated to the foot of the page. The ancient spelling and punctuation are preserved, save that abbreviations are resolved and the hyphenation modernized. Each document has a long Dutch preface, explaining the genesis of the tract, with an analysis of its contents. The large amount of biographical material which these introductions contain renders them almost vivacious; the elaborate bibliographical and other notices are given in foot-notes.

The works presented are as follows: (1) *De trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione dialogus*, Antverpiae 1519, a work of the noted Jacobus Latomus (Masson), professor of theology at Louvain, defending the study of the great scholastic theologians against humanistic criticism. Though apparently attacking Petrus Mosellanus, the author is really breaking lances with Erasmus himself. (2) Latomus *De primatu Romani pontificis* (1525), a reply to Luther's *Resolutio super propositione sua tercia decima de potestate papae* of 1519. The introduction shows how the universities of Köln and Louvain differed on this vital subject. The incidental statement that Johann Eck was a Dominican (p. 89, cf. p. 502) is erroneous. (3) *Errorum Martini Luther brevis confutatio per . . . Eustachium de Zichenis* (1521). The author, Eustachius vander Rivieren, named himself Van Zichem after his birthplace; he was a Dominican monk and professor of theology at Louvain (died 1538). The preface gathers valuable biographical notices from sources not easily accessible. (4) In 1523 the same author published *Sacramentorum brevis elucidatio*, chiefly against Luther and his more radical admirers. The three works remaining are by Jakob van Hoogstraten (died 1527), a Dominican who became a leading professor of theology and inquisitor at Köln, the prosecutor of the celebrated Reuchlin, and therefore a chief butt of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. Dr. Pijper tells of Hoogstraten's life, of the literary attacks he endured, of his career as an inquisitor, and finally discusses him as an author. This preface is entertaining, and also excellent from the bibliographical point of view. (5) *Dialogus de veneratione et invocatione sanctorum, contra perfidiam Lutheranam . . . Authore I. Philalethe*, 1524. (6) *De purgatorio* (1525) attempts to prove against Lutheran objections that purgatory exists and that a satisfaction of divine justice takes place there. (7) *Disputationes contra Lutheranos*

(1526). These deal chiefly with the doctrine of justification by works, and are directed mainly against two priests belonging to the Brethren of the Common Life at Amersfoort, who were handed over to the secular authorities as heretics in 1526. In them Dr. Pijper has discovered two forgotten "martyrs of the Reformation" (p. 539). Hoogstraten's treatise interests the editor because of its out-and-out Pelagianism and its clear doctrine of salvation by works; he contrasts it in certain ways with the far superior *Confutatio pontificia*, presented in 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg.

The previous volumes of the series are *Polemische Geschriften der Hervormingsgezinden* (ed. Pijper, 1903), a reprint of eleven tracts; and *Het Offer des Heeren* (ed. S. Cramer, 1904), containing hymns and the oldest collection of letters by Anabaptist martyrs. Subventions from learned societies in Holland assure the continuance of the publication, destined to be an indispensable tool of abiding value for students of the movements connected with the names of Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and of the Anabaptist leaders, as well as of the history of the Roman Church in the Netherlands.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists. By HENRY C. VEDDER, Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. [Heroes of the Reformation, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxiv, 333.)

"IF Luther had been crushed at Worms as Hus had been at Constance, we might now read as little of him as we do of Hübmaier", a man who in "learning, in character, in eloquence . . . was not less fitted for leadership than Luther or Zwingli" (p. 153). Even if one takes exception to this estimate, it is worth while to possess so careful a study of the only Anabaptist leader for whose biography fairly full material exists. The first complete life of Hübmaier in English, and the third in any language, the present work incorporates much that was valuable in Hoschek and in Loserth, and also rests on most painstaking reference to the writings of Hübmaier himself.

After a preliminary sketch of "The Anabaptists and the Reformation" the author follows the fortunes of Hübmaier, telling the little that is known of his promising university career while under the influence of Johann Eck at Freiburg and Ingolstadt, then outlining his picturesque activity as a popular preacher in Regensburg and in Waldshut, and detailing the various steps whereby he was led to embrace the Zwinglian position and at length to identify himself in 1525 with the Anabaptists. The author sides with those who maintain that Hübmaier revised and commented on the Twelve Articles of the insurgent peasants, but probably did not compose them. The nearly simultaneous discussion of infant baptism at Zürich Dr. Vedder ascribes not to the influence of

Thomas Münzer, as has commonly been done, but merely to a careful study of the Bible. In 1523 Zwingli had admitted that he found in Holy Writ no clear command to baptize infants; and only by sacrificing his original principle that no rite should be performed without plain warrant of Scripture had he conserved the traditional practice. Hübmaier was more thoroughgoing and rejected infant baptism, though there is no good reason to suppose that he ever followed certain Swiss Anabaptist leaders in giving up the practice of affusion in favor of immersion ("Excursus on the Act of Baptism among the Anabaptists", pp. 142-145).

After recanting his views at Zürich, Hübmaier, to whose sufferings on the rack his former friend Zwingli had been callous, was allowed to make his way unnoticed to a place of safety. Probably not later than July, 1526, he arrived at Nikolsburg in Moravia, where he enjoyed a little over a twelvemonth of notable success as a preacher and organizer, and published many tracts which Vedder reckons "among the best specimens of religious literature produced by the sixteenth century" (p. 157). He had also to oppose his fanatical brethren under Hans Hut and others, who advocated what may roughly be described as anarchy and Christian communism complicated with chiliastic notions. The establishment of the authority of Ferdinand of Austria in Moravia made it at length possible to arrest Hübmaier in the summer of 1527, probably on the charge of sedition; having recanted on all points save baptism and the Lord's Supper, he was burned at Vienna on March 10, 1528. After his death the Anabaptist communities in Moravia developed along lines which are of great sociological interest, and are ably set forth in the closing chapter of the book.

The appendixes are Hübmaier "On the Sword" and "A Forgotten Hymn." The metrical rendering of the latter mistranslates "*scharren noch puchen*" (*scharren und puchen*) (p. 317), which means to stamp and scrape with the feet as a sign of disapproval. As Anabaptist sources are at present almost inaccessible to one who does not read sixteenth-century German, it is sincerely to be hoped that the author will carry out his plan, expressed in the preface, of publishing all the important works of Hübmaier in English. The very useful bibliography includes a list of twenty-six productions of Hübmaier; one regrets, however, that the names of authors are printed without initials. The "Excursus on the Spelling of Hübmaier's Name" (pp. 66-68) gives twenty variants; the forms employed most frequently by their owner late in life are Huebmör or Hübör.

There are some things that we question in the book. In his treatment of character the author, though desirous of clearing the memory of Anabaptist leaders such as Ludwig Hätzer from charges he regards as slanderous, is careful to show that the behavior of Hübmaier when cornered and especially when under the shadow of the rack was "far from heroic" (p. 236). The unfavorable remarks about Hübmaier as

a Jew-baiter (p. 43) might, however, be tempered by alluding to the way in which "usury" was decried on all hands in the Middle Ages and well into modern times, the authority of the Old Testament and of the Church being backed up by a false theory of the nature of money. Against Luther as a controversialist the author employs the deadly parallel: to turn from *Wider Hans Wurst* or *Contra Henricum Regem* "to any writing of Hübmaier's, is like escaping from the mephitic odours of a slum into a garden of spices" (p. 158); though he admits that his hero "sometimes offends against a modern sense of propriety in speaking of and to his adversaries" (p. 217). Evidently no admirer of the Jesuits, Dr. Vedder designates their vigilant attitude toward heretics in Moravia as one of "persistent malignity" (p. 268). He shows similar sectarian bias in saying, "In an age of credulity and superstition he [Hübmaier] stood for the gospel proclaimed by the Apostles" (p. 271). The statement that, to remedy depopulation caused mainly by persecution, every man in Moravia was given "the extraordinary privilege of taking two wives" (pp. 269-270) should not pass unchallenged.

The numerous illustrations, gathered for the most part by the author in 1904 while visiting the scenes depicted, are not all upon the high level attained in some of the other volumes of the series. To be told that a picture is "from an old woodcut" does not help one to know even its proximate source, to say nothing of estimating its historical value. After what Denifle has written concerning idealized portraits of Luther, one becomes a bit skeptical about the accuracy of Houston's mezzotint of Zwingli (reproduced p. 138): how does that harmoniously aquiline profile agree with the portrait in the Zürich City Library (Samuel Simpson, *Life of Ulrich Zwingli*, New York, 1902, frontispiece; cf. the anonymous contemporary woodcut in Gualther's edition of Zwingli's works, Zürich, Froschauer, 1545)?

A serious hindrance to the enjoyment of the book is the manner in which extracts from the sources constantly block the flow of the narrative. If much of the material were relegated to foot-notes or appendixes, the reader would feel more directly the charm, the tragedy, and the great significance of the career to which Dr. Vedder has devoted so much sympathetic study.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

John Calvin, the Organiser of Reformed Protestantism, 1509-1564.

By WILLISTON WALKER. [*Heroes of the Reformation*, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xviii, 456.)

SINCE the publication of Dyer's *Life* in 1850, there has been no biography of Calvin of importance written in English. Since that time there have appeared the monumental fifty-nine volumes of Calvin's works by the Strasburg editors and a mass of other valuable docu-

mentary and critical material. Professor Walker's well-recognized qualifications have enabled him to make good use of his rare opportunity. A bibliographical note briefly characterizes the most important material with scholarly discrimination; and the book gives the clearest evidence of judicious use of the printed documents and the latest books and articles.

The most critical piece of work in the book is chapter iv., on Calvin's "Religious Development and Conversion." The author's tentative dating of the conversion (p. 96) as "late in 1532 or early in 1533" is likely to win acceptance, especially as his critical examination of the scanty evidence and many theories leads him to agree substantially with Kampschulte and Lefranc and to reject the more extreme dates advocated by recent writers. "Whether Calvin actually composed any part of Cop's Address is . . . at best doubtful. The weight of evidence certainly now inclines to the negative side" (p. 101). The treatment of these two questions and the good sense of the conclusions illustrate the author's combination of painstaking investigation and sound judgment. The discussions of the Institutes and Calvin's theology bring out the essentials in Calvin's teaching with clearness and happy avoidance of technicalities. To the sound conclusion that Calvin's fundamental thought was the sovereignty of God, the author adds (pp. 416-417) the needed caution: "it is an error to describe predestination as the 'central doctrine' of Calvinism, though it became so under his successors and interpreters." Professor Walker with true insight points out that "the chief peculiarity" of Calvin's memorial to the Genevan council on January 16, 1537, "is not . . . its regulation of private conduct,—that existed before his work was begun,—but this provision for an independent exercise of ecclesiastical discipline" (p. 190).

The latter half of the book will probably prove most interesting to the general reader. The origin and nature of Calvin's liturgy is made clear. In its stateliness and adaptability the churches of the continent, Great Britain, and America have a spiritual inheritance inadequately recognized and utilized. The story of the return from exile, the discussion of the "Ecclesiastical Constitution" of 1541, and the many struggles carried on by Calvin are all given with admirable brevity and clearness. "The Tragedy of Servetus" is told with moderation and fair-mindedness. The book concludes with three excellent chapters on Calvin's influence, theology, and character. Professor Walker has rendered a service to a wide circle of readers by calling attention to Calvin's contribution to civil liberty, not merely through his theories of civil and ecclesiastical government, but also through the actual discipline which "made every Calvinistic parish a school of government" (p. 407). The estimate of Calvin's character is, like the whole book, admirable in its candor and freedom from bias, and in its ability to see both sides of mooted questions.

Twenty full-page illustrations add to the interest of the volume. The

author "has chosen . . . to lay special weight on Calvin's training, spiritual development, and constructive work" (p. iii), and he therefore has not attempted to discuss some topics which one would be glad to see treated by so well-equipped a writer. There is no discussion of Calvin's influence on French language and literature; of the Ordinances of 1561 with their significant changes as to marriage laws and the choice of pastors; of Calvin's liberal teaching on Sunday, or of the effect on everyday life of his ideas of prayer and Providence; or of the actual working of the system and the every-day conditions of the "Puritan town" of Geneva in the last ten years of Calvin's control.

There are no errors of vital importance. The reviewer would dissent from a few conclusions, which must, however, remain largely matters of opinion. The author's statement (p. 192) regarding the memorial of January 16, 1537, that "the plan which Farel and Calvin had presented became the law of Geneva in its essential features," needs qualification. The language of the vote is dubious; but the previous and continued policy of the council (the law-making and law-executing body) substantiates the conclusion of Roget and Cornelius that the council had no intention in 1537 and 1538 of enacting into the actual law of Geneva the "independent exercise of ecclesiastical discipline" which, as Professor Walker has so clearly shown, was the essential feature in Calvin's plan. Professor Borgeaud has pointed out that "the title *Vénérable Compagnie* . . . appears as such only in the seventeenth century." The somewhat sweeping statement that the modern conception "of human admixture of error" in the Bible was "of course unknown" to Calvin will not stand before an examination of his Commentaries. Calvin's acknowledgment of the "manifest error" in Acts vii, 16 has been pointed out by Schaff. Calvin declared that it should be corrected; and it is interesting to find that the correction was made in a marginal note of the "Genevan Bible" of 1557. In verse 14 of the same chapter Calvin again speaks of other "errors of the writers who wrote the books".¹ The few slips in proof-reading are not troublesome, save a misuse of "that" for "what" (p. 37), several cases of *scholia* for *schola* (pp. 365-366), and two mistakes in the numbering of notes (pp. 40, 213). The amount to criticize is small; there is much to praise. To say that the book is the best biography written in English is not enough. No other equally brief life has so well assimilated the vast amount of material or summed up Calvin's character and career with so much insight; and no other life of Calvin preserves throughout so judicial a tone. It is a book whose scholarship will appeal to both the church historian and the general historical reader. It is likely to appeal to a somewhat wide circle, for it is trustworthy, brief, and interesting, and comes at an opportune time. The growing interest in Calvin's contribution to civil and intellectual freedom is likely to develop still more with the ap-

¹ AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 352.

² "Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum", *Opera*, vol. 48, pp. 138, 137.

proach of the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth, when the international significance, not so much of Calvin as of his work, is to be celebrated in 1909 at Geneva.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

The Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, with a History of the Events of his Time. By WILLIAM W. IRELAND. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1906. Pp. xv, 513.)

UP to the present year there have been four elaborate biographies of young Sir Henry Vane, the hero and martyr of the English Commonwealth beloved by Milton: two by Englishmen, George Sikes, Vane's contemporary and disciple (1662), and John Forster; two by Americans, C. W. Upham and James K. Hosmer. To those lives Mr. Ireland adds a fifth, an English book though with an American imprimatur. Mr. Ireland has had a wide experience in the British empire (during which he has seen some military service) and considerable practice in writing books, and is strongly in sympathy with the ideas of the English Commonwealth—a proper equipment for a historian of the Civil War in England and the biographer of one of the chief figures of the time. His presentment is clear, his research has been long-continued and comprehensive, his judgment of men and events is not rashly or ignorantly given.

While it is abundantly plain that Mr. Ireland has been to the sources, there are many documents not cited by him of which we think he might well have availed himself. Of the writings of John Cotton he apparently has no knowledge, yet these were the foundations of the Independency which set up the English Commonwealth. We do not observe that he makes more than cursory reference to the records of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the Darby House Committee, or the Council of State, the executive bodies which in succession managed affairs; yet Vane was a leading member in all of them, and his activity cannot well be understood without a study of them; they are easily accessible in the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane. Nothing indicates that Mr. Ireland has used with care the manuscript diaries of members of the Long Parliament, now in the British Museum, or many things contained in the Thomasson Tracts that make the period vivid. The important works of C. Harding Firth, and the *Clarke Papers*, which throw such light upon the opinions and action of the army, the rank and file of the Ironsides, we do not find referred to; nor indeed do we regard Mr. Ireland's consideration of the influence of those humble but sturdy soldiers in promoting republicanism, while their leaders hung back, as adequate. As to Cromwell, no doubt a character hard to understand, we do not think the documents bear out Mr. Ireland's conception that his noble early fire became quenched in selfishness and that he died an unworthy usurper and tyrant. While Mr. Ireland has not used some important sources, he appears also to be uninformed or unappreciative of the conclusions of recent

writers in his field, conclusions which it was certainly proper to notice. "Later histories", he says (p. vii), " . . . I have not read, or only looked at after my pages were composed." We believe it would have been to the advantage of his book if more attention had been paid to the work of fellow-workers. Mr. Ireland makes no reference to certain ideas of American students as to the English Commonwealth and the proper place of Vane in history.

American scholars believe that in a curious way a reaction was felt in Old England from New England, even though the colonies of Bradford and Winthrop were so distant and feeble. It was particularly from John Cotton, the great minister of Boston, that a powerful influence went back across the ocean. Owen, Goodwin, and Nye, the ministerial leaders of the Independents in England, professed to have gained their ideas from Cotton's "Keyes" and "Way of the Churches"; while of the secular leaders, Cromwell was Cotton's warm friend and correspondent, and Vane, as has been said, was "trained in Cotton's study" during the time when, scarcely beyond boyhood, he played a part in Massachusetts. Hugh Peters, too, and Roger Williams, men who had been shaped in the New England environment, were in Old England affairs factors of consequence. Independency was often at the time called "the New England way". If American students of the period are correct, momentous indeed was the influence that went back to the Old World from Massachusetts Bay; the English Commonwealth was a mighty and noble manifestation. It came prematurely and apparently failed, but only apparently, for, as John Richard Green has said, "For the last two hundred years England has been doing little more than carrying out in a slow and tentative way the scheme of political and religious reform which the army [the Independents] propounded at the close of the Civil War" (*Short History*, ed. 1875, p. 548).

Since popular government, long the possession of America, grows apace also in England, the line of separation between the two great English-speaking bodies tends to fade out, and the "Anglo-Saxon schism" may perhaps at last be healed—a consummation devoutly to be wished, of which Vane, perhaps more than any other historic figure, is the type and prophet. C. W. Upham declared, two generations ago, that the "name [of young Sir Henry Vane is] the most appropriate link to bind us to the land of our fathers" (*Life*, ed. 1835, p. 99). He possesses perhaps the unique distinction of having had an eminent political career both in America and in England; and his career in England became an effort to establish American ideas, Abraham Lincoln's government of, by, and for the people. For that he strove long after even Cromwell became discouraged in his republicanism, and for that at last he laid his head upon the block. In his leading position in the English Commonwealth, as a strenuous champion of liberty in Richard's Parliament, and in the chaos which immediately preceded the Restoration, Vane may well be described as an American Englishman.

These views as to the English Commonwealth, and this larger and more interesting significance of Vane, American writers have fully presented. Of these views Mr. Ireland has no knowledge—or, knowing them, is not impressed. They are worthy of notice, if only to be pronounced unsound and extravagant. While finding Mr. Ireland's book lacking in some ways, its good purpose, scholarship, and sound republican spirit lead the reviewer to commend it as throwing much light upon its hero and the age in which he moved.

William Pitt Graf von Chatham. Von ALBERT VON RUVILLE. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Three vols., pp. xii, 447; viii, 480; viii, 456.)

THIS is a book of unusual merit. Unfortunately, the author had no sooner published it than M. Mantoux discovered a mass of material for the history of England in the eighteenth century in the unpublished reports of parliamentary proceedings transmitted by the French ambassadors in London to the French government. These would undoubtedly have thrown much light on some of the episodes of Pitt's early parliamentary career. Similarly, the author would undoubtedly have found some shreds of information in the archives at Vienna, Dresden, and St. Petersburg, and might have added something by consulting the *Sbornik*.

These sources, however, could have yielded but little information which was not already at the writer's disposal and which he has given us in a book whose construction is a model. He has analyzed his subject carefully and has allotted to each part of it its proper space. He has in addition remarkable ability in presenting in a brief space the principal elements in a situation, an excellent example of which is afforded in his résumé of the political, military, and economic conditions in America before the Seven Years' War. Again, he has exercised admirable judgment and great critical acumen in treating his facts. In particular he possesses what most English writers lack, a proper appreciation of the importance of continental affairs in English history. As to matters military, which play such an enormous part in this period, he shows unusual information; and, while wasting no time over military details, he is able to explain the essential features of a campaign in such a manner that the veriest military tyro can grasp the situation.

In his judgment of Pitt the author is so far from being an advocate that he errs rather in being too severe. This is probably due in part to a healthy reaction against the usual uncritical panegyric which one finds in most English books on Pitt. Nevertheless, it is possible to go too far in reaction, and this von Ruville seems to have done. This is particularly the case when he attempts to explain the reasons for Pitt's acts and policies. He is constantly attributing to Pitt the meanest motives, as in regard to his attitude toward Walpole, which the author

contents was largely influenced by Pitt's expectations of a legacy from the Duchess of Marlborough. Similarly in regard to Pitt's attitude toward the statesmen who made the Treaty of Paris, von Ruville contends that Pitt was implacable because of another inheritance which he was expecting. These explanations are at the best but conjectures, and needless conjectures. In the case of Pitt's leaving office in 1762 the case is stronger, and it is likely, as von Ruville contends, that Pitt wished to avoid being responsible for a change of policy, which he saw was inevitable.

Even in matters which need no explanation on the basis of personal motives, von Ruville seems anxious to supply such a motive. Thus when Pitt advocates a partial reform of the parliamentary franchise, and one which would conserve many of the rotten boroughs, von Ruville argues that this was done because Pitt did not wish to ruin his children's opportunities for securing seats in Parliament. This is absurd. Pitt's suggestion was characteristically English, and resembles in many ways Cromwell's attempt at reform made a century earlier.

Von Ruville's conclusions as to Pitt's statesmanship are more nearly in accord with the traditional view. Pitt, he holds, was the greatest of English ministers. It must be admitted that the author gives the reader more reason for this view than any other of the biographers of the great Englishman. He shows clearly what the merits of Pitt were, and this is particularly the case in regard to Pitt's ability as a war minister. Probably for the first time, the reader understands why Pitt is to be credited with the victories of the Seven Years' War. Pitt's measures are detailed, his accuracy in judgment clearly demonstrated, and his keenness of intelligence and thorough knowledge of military affairs proved. But not everything is ascribed to Pitt. Von Ruville makes it clear that the conquests of Havana and of Manila were not due to his measures, as is generally asserted.

Pitt's statesmanship, says von Ruville, is noteworthy for its transition character. He was one who built upon old methods of government and old measures of policy, while at the same time attempting new measures and new policies which he dimly perceived must be the measures and the policies of the future. His successes and his failures sprang alike from this transitional character of his statesmanship. It is an acute and a true judgment, and explains why Pitt was not capable of ruling England after the Seven Years' War.

Von Ruville's attitude toward Newcastle and Bute must be noted and commended. He places both much higher than is usually done. He makes it clear that Newcastle was a man of considerable ability, good common sense, and ceaseless industry. Similarly he shows that Bute was by no means the insignificant politician that he is usually represented as being.

A number of minor criticisms may be offered. The author should have used at least Lecky and Moses Coit Tyler in his treatment of

American affairs. Again, he should have been more careful in his copying and in his proof-reading. A list of errata would include the following: "mine" for my, "Vandreuil" for Vaudreuil, "Fitsch" for Fitch, "stakes" for strikes, "Torysm", "an" for and, "£15,000" for £150,000, "Grag" for Gray, "engage" for enrage, "Jes" for Yes, "Bonawen" and "Boscaven" for Boscawen, "was" for what, "Gentleman Magazine", "breathing in" for breaking in, "Thankerville" for Tankerville. Note 2 on page 422, volume I., and note 3 on page 332, volume II., are full of misprints, and the latter is unintelligible. The translation of "all Tuesday" by *jeden Dienstag* completely changes the meaning of the original. There is no Berwickshire; the grandfather of Pitt looks very much like an interloper in spite of von Ruville's arguments to the contrary; the date of Pitt's baptism is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; finally the dreadful mixture of foreign words injected into the text is inexcusable.

Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique: Département du Loiret, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailiage d'Orléans pour les États Généraux de 1789. Publiés par CAMILLE BLOCH, Inspecteur Général des Bibliothèques et des Archives, Archiviste Honoraire du Département du Loiret. Tome I. (Orléans: Imprimerie Orléanaise. 1906. Pp. lxxvi, 800); *Département du Rhone, Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux.* Publiés par SÉBASTIEN CHARLÉTY, Professeur à l'Université de Lyon. Tome I. (Lyon: R. Schneider. 1906. Pp. xviii, 722.)

AN account has already appeared in this REVIEW (XI. 534-537) of the historical commission established by the French government three years ago for the publication of documentary material relating to the economic history of the French Revolution. This commission, which takes its place beside that originally established by Guizot—long so well-known for the many important volumes which have appeared under its auspices in the vast series of *Documents Inédits*—owes its existence first and foremost to the enlightened socialist, Jaurès, who properly urged that the political phases of the revolutionary movement had received far more attention than the perhaps more fundamental and essential economic changes, which are still the subject of the most bitter differences of opinion. The commission is made up of well-known scholars under the chairmanship of Jaurès himself—Aulard, Brette, Bloch, Caron, Esmein, Gide, Glasson, Lavis, Levasseur, Sagnac, Sée, Seignobos, and others, most of whom are distinguished for their researches in the field in question. The first great undertaking decided upon was the publication of the local cahiers and, second, of the inventories and other material having to do with the assumption and

disposal by the state of the property of the clergy and of the émigrés. And it is the first volume of each of these two remarkable series which have now come to hand and demand our attention.

It is noteworthy that the two volumes are neither of them printed at the National Printing Office at Paris, but each in the region with which it has to do. Moreover, while externally they exhibit a close family resemblance, they differ in type and even in the size of the page, and are not given a number as members in a definite series. These are all indications of the decentralizing tendencies of the commission, which, in view of the now highly satisfactory organization of historical research throughout France, has probably wisely apportioned the labor connected with their vast undertakings among local committees, for which they have prepared careful directions. It is to be hoped, however, that the volumes will be numbered and listed in such a way that librarians and students of the Revolution may be able to satisfy themselves at any moment how far a particular set has progressed. The *format*, large octavo with a page somewhat shorter than that of this journal, is a convenient one.

A great part of the cahiers of the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, that is, the final redactions prepared for the deputies to take with them to Versailles, were, it will be recollected, published a good many years ago by the editors of the *Archives Parlementaires*. But their work was carelessly done, and the new commission headed by M. Jaurès wisely determined to reprint the cahiers included in this and a number of scattered collections along with the great mass of those which were as yet buried in the local archives. The magnitude of the enterprise may be judged from the fact that the cahiers of the single *bailliage* of Orléans (although by no means all are preserved and a number may be omitted by reason of their practical identity with others) will fill two stout octavo volumes. M. Bloch's first volume, which includes the parish cahiers of the rural districts and of the towns of the *bailliage* other than Orléans, is to be followed by a second devoted to the grievances of the gilds and other corporations and the cahiers of the secondary *bailliages* (of which the primary cahiers, it may be observed, are not to be found).

In seventy pages of introduction the editor discusses the important question, how far were the rural cahiers copied from one another or from models, and, where models were used, what were they? He shows that there was much imitation and that where several assemblies were presided over in turn by the same official he not unnaturally submitted to each new parish the cahier adopted in the last, which might or might not be seriously modified. Yet it would be quite preposterous, as he urges, to assume that there was not a general and genuine expression of popular opinion in these lists of grievances, even if their formulation in one parish was adopted verbatim by another. The second part of the editor's introduction attempts to give a picture of the economic conditions in the *bailliage* of Orléans in the year 1789. He

takes up the rural districts and the urban guilds in turn. The texts of the cahiers themselves are preceded by succinct accounts of the situation, size, and activities of the parish or town and of the amount of the tithe and taille. Here and there the editor adds a brief and valuable explanatory note. Of the impression made by the parish cahiers themselves there is unfortunately no opportunity to speak here, for we must turn to the other and rather more complicated volume of M. Charl  y.

The extent of the possessions of the church in 1789 and the results of their confiscation and subsequent sale by the nation are matters of almost contemporary interest, since they are so often alluded to in current discussions. Hitherto there has been no way of reaching well-grounded conclusions on the subject; but the volume in hand serves at least to illustrate in a single district the kind of material that is still available even if it is inadequate to form the basis of general conclusions. The editor has found it impossible to do more than summarize the inventories and entries of the sales. He does not attempt to give the documents themselves in extenso, for this would involve the useless repetition of legal formulas. "Il ne pouvait   tre question que de faire un choix dans la masse tr  s abondante de ces documents. La r  gle suivie a   t   de donner seulement, et sous la forme la plus br  ve, les documents qui font connaitre l'  tat des biens nationalis  s et les op  rations de la vente." It is to be regretted that one so well qualified to point out the bearing of the arid lists which make up his volume should have contented himself with a very brief introduction, in which he does little more than suggest one reason why the property usually brought much more than its estimated value, and secondly that he finds no indication of surprise or indignation on the part of the clergy during the process of nationalization. The conclusions to be drawn from the material he declares to be too numerous and too obvious to justify even a simple enumeration, especially as regards the most important question of all, the social and economic effects of the transfer of such a mass of property. He hints, however, that we are soon to have a doctor's dissertation upon this point.

Part I. (pp. 1-174) is devoted to the inventories of ecclesiastical property by institutions, based mainly upon the reports made by the clergy, and secondly to the inventories of the *biens nationaux* by communes. Part II. relates to the sales: (1) to the real estate (pp. 177-519) and (2) to the personal property (pp. 520-561). The volume closes with an appendix of cognate documents, including statements of the questions submitted by the local authorities to the committee of the National Assembly, a list of the old measures alluded to in the inventories; a table of the fluctuations in the paper currency from January 1, 1791, to its suppression; and finally a list of the indemnities granted to the former   migr  s in the department of the Rhone by the law of 1825. Extensive indexes are also furnished of names of places, of the former owners of the property, and of those into whose hands it fell.

In spite of Professor Charl  ty's confidence in the obvious implications of the documents he analyzes, only a specially trained observer is likely to extract a great deal from his volume, the character of which is, of course, entirely different from the clear and explicit cahiers. Yet one even slightly tintured with curiosity in regard to the actual situation of the church at the opening of the Revolution will discover much of interest in the first chapter, which enumerates the ecclesiastical corporations—the numerous chapters, the secular and regular communities of men and those of the women, with a tolerably full account of their sources of income and of their numbers. For, as is well known, even the driest document or mere statistical table becomes more eloquent to him that can see than the glowing pages of the most fascinating historian.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Memoirs of the Count de Cartrie: a Record of the Extraordinary Events in the Life of a French Royalist during the War in La Vend  e and of his Flight to Southampton where he Followed the Humble Occupation of Gardener. With an Introduction by FR  D  RIC MASSON, Appendixes and Notes by PIERRE AM  D  E PICHOT and Other Hands. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1906. Pp. lxxxii, 249.)

THESE memoirs of an unknown cannot be dismissed with Louis XVI.'s impatient "Encore un m  moire!" Though not himself famous, Cartrie was famously related, for his sisters Mesdames Sapinaud and Bulkeley are well known in Vendean annals. While the memoirs may add little to the available stock of knowledge, they do present an unsurpassed picture of the Vend  e and of provincial France during the Terror.

Toussaint-Ambroise Talour de la Cartrie de La Villeni  re was born January 26, 1743, of a family of the judicial nobility in Anjou. At the age of eleven he entered the army, and soon joined the Regiment de Berri on service in Canada and surrendered with it at Montreal in 1760. He returned to France on parole, secured his discharge from the army, married his cousin, Anne-Michelle de l'  toile, and settled on one of the ancestral estates, Cartrie, a few miles from Angers. Here he followed the quiet life of a country gentleman, winning the devoted admiration of his dependents and neighbors and bringing up a family of three sons and three daughters. From this quiet existence he was driven by the events of 1793 to espouse the cause of the Vendean royalists. After the defeat at Cholet, he watched over the dying moments of his nephew, the brave and generous Bonchamp. Then, with several members of his family, he followed the fortunes of the Vendean host in the march to Granville; in the return to Angers, where he was active in the futile assault upon the town; in the march to Le Mans; and after the disaster of December 12, 1793, joined in the hopeless retreat to Ancenis. The failure to effect the crossing of the Loire

and the consequent dispersion of the Vendean army compelled the Talour family to separate for safety. Cartrie and one of his sons passed the winter secreted in the forest adjoining his estate and supported by his faithful adherents, but on February 27 they set out to reach the eastern frontier. Though it seems incredible that the journey could have been successfully accomplished, the son found safety by enlisting at Thionville, and the father ultimately escaped across the border on April 27, 1794. The penniless émigré found helpful friends and so made his way to England, where he joined the corps of émigrés who made the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon. Again he escaped, and after five years spent in poverty near Southampton, he was seeking permission from the First Consul to rejoin his family on his estate when the narrative closes. It is known that he did return and that he failed to obtain a pension at the Restoration. He is last heard of at Le Mans on August 30, 1824.

The memoirs are published from an English translation of the lost French original made by an unknown hand about 1824. The history of the manuscript is also a mystery. It is first reported in the possession of Isaac Latimer, editor of the *Western Daily Mercury*, whose daughter sold it to Mr. Iredale, the Torquay bookseller. Mr. Lane acquired it from him in October, 1904, and, after preparing the narrative for publication, deposited the manuscript in the British Museum. M. Pichot, the editor of the *Revue Britannique*, took an enthusiastic interest in the editing of the narrative and has prepared a French translation. M. Masson's introduction sets forth in a stimulating fashion some novel views of the Revolution. The book also contains a fascinating account of M. Pichot's work as editor, the translator's original preface, some valuable notes, a score of admirably chosen illustrations, a detailed table of contents, and a good index. Cartrie's narrative is thrilling; M. Pichot's editing almost perfect; and Mr. Lane's book-making very attractive.

. GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century. By Dr. FREDRIK NIELSEN, Bishop of Aalborg, and formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Copenhagen. Translated under the direction of ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. (London: John Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1906. Two vols., pp. xiii, 378; 481.)

THERE was great need of a history of the papacy in the nineteenth century. Church historians are too apt to think of the Council of Trent as the end of all things, and hardly realize that the twenty-five years that followed the election of Pius IX. are among the most momentous in the whole history of the papacy. For this, if for no other reason, the work of the Bishop of Aalborg¹ justifies its translation into English.

¹ Since translated to Aarhus.

In defiance of their title the two volumes now published set forth the history of the papacy from about 1640 to 1878. The treatment is episodic and not altogether complete, as, for instance, in its omission to deal with Americanism and with secularization in Germany after the treaty of Lunéville. Beginning with Jansenism the author leads us through the abolition of the Jesuits, Liguori, Febronianism, and Josephism to the great struggle of the papacy against Napoleon, and closes his first volume with the reaction of 1815. The second volume brings us rapidly to the pontificate of Pius IX., and then deals at considerable length with the Revolution of 1848-1849, with the proclamation of the dogma of the immaculate conception, with the bull *Quanta Cura*, and with the Vatican Council.

On the whole the value of the book is not difficult to sum up. It is not a work of great erudition, and it is not the work of a mind strong either in the critical or in the philosophical qualities. But, as against this, the Bishop of Aalborg has a very temperate, sympathetic outlook which is an inestimable advantage when dealing with theological questions, and he has apparently been in close personal touch with German thought of the *Kulturkampf* period, which lends weight to his statements, apart from the question of authorities, for the last part of his second volume. The first of these qualities is conspicuous in his statement of the question of the immaculate conception, which it would be hard to find fault with; the importance he attributes to Perrone's little-known tract on latent tradition may be specially commended, as this was unquestionably one of the most important theological essays of the century.

The weakness of the book is to be found, as just stated, in its narrowness of treatment and in its lack of precision of detail. To take the latter point first. In the account given of the struggle about Jansenism at the French court, much is made of the attitude of Mme. de Pompadour and, in support, extracts are given from her letters (I. 32). The Bishop of Aalborg should, however, have known that these letters are forgeries. Their author was probably Barbé-Marbois, and, in any event, the internal evidence should have shown him their worthlessness at a glance. The whole of the account, running through several chapters, of Napoleon's relations with the papacy is very weak on the political side. Thus there is not one word to indicate that, in all his dealings with Pius VI. before the treaty of Tolentino, Bonaparte was frequently acting in flagrant opposition to the policy of the Directoire. Again, the resignation of the imperial crown by Francis II. is made to antedate the pope's decision to crown Napoleon (I. 269); and a distortion of history which is nearly as bad occurs in volume I., p. 120, where we are told that "the reduction of the Convents by Joseph . . . saved Austria from a revolution like the French Revolution", a statement all the more amazing when one recalls the course of the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands under that emperor. Even worse is

the absolutely fantastic account of the treaty of the Holy Alliance at I. 364; the Turk was not mentioned in the treaty, nor were the Barbary States, nor English commerce; and if the pope would not sign the treaty, his objections, like those of the sultan, were of a dogmatic nature. Coming to a later period, the Bishop of Aalborg shows only a slight acquaintance with *Risorgimento* literature, as when he omits Leopardi, the greatest of them all, from the poets who sang of the regeneration of Italy. Rossi was chosen to negotiate with Gregory XVI. on the Jesuit question (II. 90), not because of his knowledge of economics, but because he was a great canonist. The whole portrait of Cardinal Gizzi as Secretary of State (II. 121) is wasted labor because it omits the most decisive detail—that he was eighty-nine years of age. More important than this is the totally inadequate treatment of the very important allocution of April 29, 1848; all the significance is taken out of this by omitting to refer to the outside—especially German—pressure that was part cause of the allocution, and to the fact that by this pronouncement Pius broke away from the Italianism into which he had drifted to regain universalism, the only logical position for a pope, as Germany and the Jesuits took care to remind him. The Duke d'Harcourt was not privy to the flight to Gaeta; he was on the contrary duped by it (II. 104). In the Vatican Council period the author relies on ampler knowledge, though even here he is at times led away by his authorities, as when he states (II. 321) that "without Odo Russell's support the diplomatic astuteness of Manning would scarcely have been in a position to ward off the fatal diplomatic intervention which hovered steadily over the heads of the Council". This correction of details might be much extended, but space forbids adding more than this, that the lack of precision is due partly to deficient criticism, partly to inadequate sources. The authorities quoted are never more recent than 1896 or 1897, which excludes Debidour, who published in 1898; while of the others many are hopelessly antiquated, as, for example, Rennenkampff, who printed in 1813, on the excommunication of Napoleon by Pius.

And lastly it must be said that the book sins most of all by its lack of breadth and of historical proportion. Is it not for the historian of the church to inquire into the reasons why the Council of the Vatican tamely submitted to a dictation which the Council of Trent would not have tolerated? to trace the interaction between the growth of the doctrine of the papal infallibility and the development of nineteenth-century scientific thought? to take, in other words, the deeper causes that underlay the victories of obscurantism from 1848 to 1870, and to make some attempt to set them forth in their due relation to the evolution of European thought?

R. M. JOHNSTON.

- Deutsche Geschichte von der Auflösung des alten bis zur Errichtung des neuen Kaiserreiches, (1806-1871).* Von H. v. ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, Professor of History at the University of Graz. Dritter Band: *Die Lösung der deutschen Frage und das Kaisertum der Hohenzollern, 1849-1871.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Pp. x, 504.)
- La Fondation de l'Empire Allemand, 1852-1871.* Par ERNEST DENIS, Professeur d'Histoire Contemporaine à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1906. Pp. viii, 528.)

THE first of these books is the concluding volume of a work to which the author has given a decade of labor, and which has already been recognized as the most important effort at general treatment in this field since Sybel. The author, for some time back the chief editor of the reorganized "Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte" (in which this work appears), may be regarded as the leading Austrian representative of the school of Sybel; and those who look to his pages for any considerable departure from the orthodox Prussian points of view will be disappointed. Austrian nationality and feeling are to be presumed in the alumnus and teacher of the University of Graz, and are indeed evident; but it is "Das Herz Deutsch-Oesterreichs, das deutsche Herz" of which Hamerling sings that guides his pen—the German feeling that looks over the border with bitter regrets and could, we suspect, be brought with no great difficulty to sacrifice Magyar-Slav association to the blotting out of that border. Nor does the author take any particular pains to conceal or moderate his political feelings; in his preface he tells us that

der Darsteller, der darauf ausgehen würde, objektiv zu erzählen, würde es niemandem recht machen und alle langweilen. Wir sind insgesamt mit so vielen intimen Fäden an die nächste Vergangenheit gebunden, dass wir bei der Betrachtung der jüngsten Geschehnisse unser Gefühl nicht gänzlich zum Schweigen bringen können . . . Es gibt keine Geschichte der Gegenwart . . . Indem ich in diesem dritten Bande an die Ereignisse von 1866 und 1870 herantrat, erkannte ich mit Bestimmtheit, dass hier die Gewinnung des historischen Standpunktes nur zum Teile gelingen kann.

This frank statement would be ill-requited by an undue insistence on the numerous instances in which the author's pen has betrayed his predilections, and the reviewer feels more inclined to point out that the book is to be taken much more seriously than these words might lead one to suppose. If it is not a "definitive" history of the period (which its author disclaims any hope of producing), it is in the main a full and judicious treatment of the political development, guided by the most approved methods and based on thorough study. The proportioning indeed is not always satisfactory, but the facts are well marshalled, the emphasis good, the language clear and effective; we doubt if there can

be found anywhere more lucid statements of the political and diplomatic situations or of the military operations. These are great merits; but there are also serious defects.

Apart from the confessed and almost unavoidable defect in objectivity, many students will find the book fundamentally unsatisfactory because of the limited point of view and range of interest represented. The narrative is practically a purely political and military one and, even when taken in connection with the earlier volumes, is marked by a neglect of non-political aspects and of mass-elements and developments in general that betrays a close adherence to methods now somewhat discredited. Of this of course we were warned in Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's preface to his first volume; but the intervening years have only increased the objections to this manner of presenting history. Even when the author deals with the Zollverein (in his second volume as in this), he does so mainly from the diplomatic point of view. This volume gives no attention to economic development; practically none is given to literature or the press, to religion or art. Educational conditions are not mentioned, and there seems to be an entire unconsciousness of the claims to investigation or presentation of public spirit or opinion even from the purely political point of view. If the book mentions Lassalle, the reviewer has not noticed it. It is clear that Zwiedineck-Südenhorst is interested only in the crises, the moments of the acceleration or explosion of historical forces, and only in the individuals who take leadership at such moments; interested in them as individuals, as standing on their own feet and through individual power controlling or modifying events. It is in accord with this line of treatment that so little space (practically only pp. 158-166) is given to the comparatively uneventful years 1851-1859; it is clear however that even from the personal and political point of view this is inadequate. That all this indicates a determined adherence to the point of view of the preface of ten years ago is shown in the declaration (p. 371) that

Die Zeit vom 4. bis 26. Juli [1866] ist reicher an diplomatischen Verwickelungen und Szenenwechseln als irgend eine Epoche der Geschichte Europas und sie ist vor allem dadurch bemerkenswert geworden, dass ihre Ereignisse fast ausschliesslich in den Charakteren der handelnden Personen ihre Begründung finden, dass Individualitäten und nicht Kollektivkräfte dabei ausschlaggebend geworden sind.

Historical students who find themselves involved in the complexities and obscurities of mass-factors can only envy the capacity at this day of proceeding upon such comfortable convictions.

The defects of this work will appear the more strongly when it is compared with the recent book by Denis on precisely the same period. The volumes naturally suggest comparison with respect to methods and points of view (especially as the element of nationality enters), and it will perhaps be not amiss for the reviewer to devote himself mainly to these aspects. M. Denis is also an academic historian and a prolific

writer of established standing, and in his preface he too makes confessions. His object is stated to be "donner un tableau général de la vie de l'Allemagne de 1851 à 1871, en étudier les divers côtés, politique, littéraire, économique, et indiquer ainsi les conditions qui ont préparé et déterminé la formation de l'Unité germanique". He might be thinking of Zwiedineck-Südenhorst when he protests against the writers who "exagèrent l'action des héros sur l'évolution du monde", and declares "que les accidents ne prennent d'importance que s'ils sont la conclusion et la sanction d'un long développement antérieur, et que les héros n'apparaissent et n'exercent d'action réelle que si les conditions générales les préparent et les soutiennent". The power of a Bismarck "ne s'explique que parce qu'il est la vivante synthèse de désirs infinis et de lointaines aspirations". In regard to political development he will try "de montrer, au milieu des incidents diplomatiques de portée secondaire, les causes lointaines et profondes qui expliquent l'attitude des cabinets et les déconvenues de leur politique". All this seems neither very unfamiliar nor very shocking, and we are rather surprised when M. Denis proceeds to say, "Je ne me dissimule pas combien cette conception de l'histoire s'éloigne de l'histoire dite scientifique qui est aujourd'hui en faveur", and announces that he will "indiquer nettement cette divergence" by suppressing all his notes. There would seem to be here something of inconsequence, and a writer of less standing would perhaps be exposed to some suspicion. But though the careful reader will frequently regret the absence of notes and references (in one instance, p. 317, a very important and definite promise of territorial compensation to France in 1866 is attributed to Bismarck without precise date or authority), and will be constantly irritated by obscurity and lack of precision in quotation, he will not fail to recognize the work of the serious student and to see that the author has a wide acquaintance with the best material. M. Denis also disclaims full objectivity, though not so strongly as Zwiedineck-Südenhorst; on the whole his narrative seems less marred by his prejudices.

As he fulfils his promise of presenting strongly the mass-factors, M. Denis's book forms an admirable complement to the other; how this is so, even in Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's own field, will be seen by comparing the treatment of military matters. The general European situations are given much more attention by Denis, though on the whole he keeps more closely to his subject than does the Austrian (who, for example, gives too much space to Austro-Italian warfare). Though emphasizing collective aspects, Denis by no means neglects the individual; indeed the great personalities of the time loom out of his animated pages more strongly than from those of the companion work. This is due largely to the degree in which he indulges his unusual talent for characterization, lavishing it at times on individuals of comparatively little importance. This is coupled often with a yielding to the tendencies of the natural gossip and raconteur, and is set off by a

gift of phrase and epigram that is not always sufficiently under control. One can understand why M. Denis is one of the most popular of French academic lecturers, and is led to surmise that the printed page has not always sufficiently felt the repentances of the proof-reading stage. One of the least agreeable manifestations of these characteristics is the Gallic sneer that frequently seems irrepressible; as when at the end of a passage of generous appreciation with respect to the National Association of 1859, he adds, "gymnastes, tireurs, orphéonistes, savants, d'un bout à l'autre du territoire, se grisaient de bière et d'éloquence" (p. 230), or speaks of King William in 1866 as still in need "de quelques mois pour rassurer sa conscience et pour mettre Jéhovah de son côté" (p. 322).

An instructive standpoint for the comparison of these books is with respect to their attitude toward the victorious Prussian. Both writers are strongly appreciative, surprisingly generous in their concessions; but while the language of the Frenchman is frequently the more unreserved, the feeling of the Deutsch-Oesterreicher is unquestionably the more sincere. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's Austrian spirit is betrayed in his intense bitterness against those (as Schwarzenberg and Beust) whom he regards as responsible for the mismanagement of Austrian interests in the building up of the new Germany; in the humiliated regret with which he acknowledges that Austria deserved defeat; in the exultation of his narrative of the Austrian defeats of Italy in 1866; throughout his whole narrative of the Prussian advance, however, he vies with Sybel and Treitschke in unfaltering justification and approval, and hardly lets us detect that his point of view is German rather than Prussian (see his denunciation of Hannoverian politics, pp. 159 and 330; also his rhapsody over the sacred union of hearts between Bismarck and King William, p. 243). He rarely controverts Sybel or questions the finality of the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*. Part of the explanation of this is doubtless to be found in the sympathy with Prussian internal polity of the born conservative and aristocrat (see his frequent denunciations of both Prussian and Austrian liberalism, as pp. 224, 237, 268), and in the present conditions of Austrian politics. Denis, on the other hand, while making every concession to Prussian astuteness and efficiency, and at times using extravagant language (as when he speaks, p. 297, of the "sublime esthétique" of the Moltke mobilization of 1870), frequently turns on the Teutonic conqueror with a bitter gibe or disingenuously plucks away his laurels by excessive and undignified condemnation of those with whom he had to do (as when, p. 302, after acknowledging the mastery of Bismarck in the Schleswig-Holstein matter, he points out his good luck, especially in that Napoleon was "un illuminé, Gortchakov un fat, les ministres anglais des poltrons et Rechberg un sot"). One suspects further that what is real in the Frenchman's admiration of Prussia is largely a real sympathy with the materially successful, a genuine acceptance of the lessons as to worldly efficiency that France

had been taught; of the criticisms of Moltke's Bohemian campaign he remarks, "Il est vain ensuite et puéril de s'inscrire en faux contre le succès" (p. 338).

We must refrain from following these writers into any of the many disputed episodes of these critical years. But it is difficult to refrain from comparing them with regard to that culminating and much-disputed event, the outbreak of war between France and Prussia. And the net result of the comparison is perhaps to show how near together have come the more enlightened minds. After stating clearly the conflicting national views, Zwiedineck-Südenhorst declares that "kann man doch mit voller Bestimmtheit aussprechen, dass weder die volkstümliche französische, noch die volkstümliche deutsche Anschauung richtig ist. Jede von ihnen leidet an innerer Unwahrheit" (p. 431). While there was a French court party desirous of war, the emperor remained convinced of the Prussian military superiority; while Bismarck had at first welcomed and worked for the Hohenzollern candidacy as likely to improve the Prussian position, he did not aim to bring on war thus with France, did not expect it to be thus brought on, and was not the leading spirit in the last phase of it; the sensitiveness of the French and the weakness of the emperor produced the war-situation, and when in the situation a final controlling opportunity fell to Bismarck, "er hat den Krieg gemacht . . . ; er hat aus den Falten der Toga, in die sich die preussische Regierung nach den Emser Vorgängen hüllen konnte, die Kriegsfalte fallen lassen" (p. 445), publishing the news from Ems in such a form as in view of the national feeling in both countries would be sure to precipitate the war. Denis on his part acknowledges to the full the mistakes of the French government, but denies that Napoleon in the years 1867-1870 was steadily trying to form a war-coalition against Prussia. "En dernière analyse", he says (p. 458), "si Bismarck rechercha la rupture, il y fut en quelque sorte contraint par le gouvernement français qui s'obstinait à se mettre en travers de sa route, tandis que l'Empereur qui redoutait la guerre, la rendit inévitable en se refusant à accepter les conditions sans lesquelles une entente durable était impossible." Bismarck, believing the war inevitable, deliberately brought it about through the Hohenzollern candidacy (which however he did not regard as making it certain), and it would have required great coolness and good sense on the part of the French government to keep the French people "de se jeter tête baissée dans le piège qui lui était tendu" (p. 459). If Bismarck had had his way, the matter would have been so managed by stealing a march on France that if war resulted Prussia would have had Spain as an ally; on the failure of this it is the mismanagement of the French government that brings the affair to such a pass as to make it again the best of occasions for the war, and Bismarck then again seizes upon the situation and purposely makes peace impossible through the brutal ultimatum form that he gives the Ems telegram.

It will appear from this that it would be a very delicate matter indeed to discriminate between the degrees of responsibility attached by the two writers to Bismarck. The most direct and serious disagreement between them is with regard to the factor of public feeling in France and Germany. Zwiedineck-Südenhorst declares that the whole French people must bear the responsibility, no serious effort having been made in any quarter to prevent the war; while Denis maintains that the German historians who say that French public feeling wanted war deceive themselves "volontairement ou non". With regard to German feeling, "die laute Zustimmung zur That von Ems" (p. 447) is to the Austrian a holy emotion, which he is proud to reflect that the Deutsch-Oesterreicher shared; to Denis the German outcry was due largely to the production by the university teaching of a youth that "n'a qu'un credo: la conviction de la supériorité de la vertu et de la science germaniques; qu'une religion: la force; qu'un besoin: la domination" (p. 471).

Neither of these books can be said to add much to our knowledge of the period, and it is not to be expected that they should. The careful reader will not be always in agreement with either, but will acknowledge both to be good summaries, useful especially for the general reader and in showing the student the present state of our information in this field. Neither claims to be presenting a definitive history, and both seem in consequence to feel more or less of irresponsibility as to the expression of personal views. Denis is on the whole quite as trustworthy as Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, and is much more brilliant and suggestive; there are more gaps, however, in his narrative, and he does not follow the political development as carefully. Unhappily neither volume is provided with an index.

VICTOR COFFIN.

A History of Modern England. By HERBERT PAUL. In five volumes. Volume V. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. vi, 405.)

THE fifth and last volume of Mr. Paul's *History of Modern England* begins with June 8, 1885, "a memorable day in English history . . . from [which] all subsequent events in this History take in some degree their colour." It was, in fact, the day on which Mr. Gladstone announced to the queen his defeat in the momentous general election of that year. The ensuing narrative concludes with Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's "shut[ting] up his box with a snap" (p. 268), resigning his office, and thus forcing the general election of 1895, which, like that of a decade before, brought defeat to the Liberal party. The preceding volume concerned itself with Imperialism and Ireland. The present volume is dominated by the course of the Irish question in English politics by which it first disrupted and then overthrew the Liberal party. It is, in brief, the tragedy of Home Rule, and it ends in doubt if not in despair. The only relief comes in the suggestions which abound, that

the final solution was not found in 1895, nor the Liberal cause forever lost. Coming events cast their shadows over many pages, and it is much to be hoped that Mr. Paul may at no distant time write the story of the rehabilitation of Liberalism in the years from 1895 to 1906, and not leave us and the party at its overthrow, as he insists on doing.

The qualities of the earlier volumes naturally characterize the present performance, though the rapidity which marked the earlier work at times descends here almost to hurry. More than ever is it evident that Mr. Paul is a journalist. His work, clever and useful as it is, has no claim to be judged by the standards of de la Gorce or Rhodes. Whatever it gains in vividness, direct and striking statement, and that evanescent quality known as brilliance, by contrast with them it loses in the surer if less dazzling results of greater pains and patience. This is not saying that it is not excellent of its kind. But its kind is not that of de la Gorce and Rhodes. This is particularly apparent in two directions. The first is that Mr. Paul lives so strongly in the present that its influence tinges his narrative in many places, as for instance in the account of the Oxford meeting of the Conservative Association and its tariff reform resolution of 1887 (pp. 112-114). The second is the often-noted habit of judging individuals frankly and unashamed. It is his manifest intention to be fair, and in the main he is so. But he writes largely from the standpoint of a Gladstonian Liberal, and he is at times somewhat severe on Lord Salisbury and in particular on Mr. Chamberlain. Of the latter, his highest encomium is that he was "an adept in the arts of the caucus and the lobby" (pp. 63-64), while his opinion of Lord Salisbury (p. 115) is somewhat less favorable in certain directions than Bismarck's classic characterization. With respect to men outside the sphere of British politics, Bismarck's name offers a further illustration of the fact noted before, that in the case of matters and men apart from the direct current of English affairs there is apparent a certain superficiality of judgment. In the present instance, the statement of the position and activities of Germany and her chancellor in the partition of Africa (pp. 121-123, 131) is, at least, inadequate.

In the way of bibliography, Mr. Paul has been fortunate in having Mr. Churchill's life of his father to use. But this book, with Morley's *Gladstone*, O'Brien's *Parnell*, Fitzmaurice's *Granville*, Clayden's *England under the Coalition*, Lyall's *Dufferin*, and the *Times*, are literally the only sources quoted in the foot-notes of his main narrative, and most of these appear but once. Morley's *Gladstone*, of course, remains the mainstay of the book. It would be as absurd to imagine that these were all the works consulted by Mr. Paul as to judge his book by its foot-notes or bibliography; but these matters, with others in the present volume, seem to betray increasing haste or weariness, which the cleverness cannot wholly conceal. In this connection the proportions of the volume are interesting. The period from 1885 to 1890 receives 182 pages, that from 1890 to 1895 ninety-two. The rest of the book is made up,

first, of a brief chapter on "The New Unionism"; second, one on "The Triumph of Ritualism"; third, eight pages of "Conclusion"; fourth, an index to the five volumes. The weakest part of the whole work is the conclusion, and while the chapters on Unionism and Ritualism have a certain interest and importance, the whole group seems rather designed to make up, with the index, the necessary four hundred odd pages than for any more useful purpose.

The present volume, whose events coincide more or less accurately with an equally strenuous period in our own history, naturally suggests many parallels between American and English politics, and nowhere more than in a comparison of campaign amenities. Mr. Paul rather understates than overstates the zeal of the lady who compared Mr. Gladstone to Judas. It was, she said, flattery to compare the disestablisher of the Irish church to Judas. One on this side of the water is not impressed by Mr. Paul's comparison of the violence of the Home Rule campaign with the "academic calmness" of the bimetallism controversy. But in "Home Rule, Rome Rule", we come into instant touch with our similarly effective alliteration of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Though we have probably never had a statesman whose eye was permanently injured like Mr. Gladstone's by the playful practice of using candidates for targets after the English fashion, we have, on the other hand, equaled the famous unparliamentary performance here recorded, which took place on the floor of the Commons at the end of July, 1892.

Finally, it would be unfair to conclude a review of this work without a further reference to Mr. Paul's cleverness. It is not history, but it is amusing, and in it lies perhaps the only method of lighting up the drearier stretches of a century which has at times a tendency to become parliamentary and prosy, commonplace and unromantic. There may be another means than the injection of Mr. Bernard Shaw's methods to attract the average reader to the contemplation of essentially good and useful but essentially dull reforms, but it has not been discovered. We may not be profoundly illuminated by the description of M. Waddington (p. 238) as a man "who had been at Rugby and Cambridge, but was nevertheless a [profound] scholar", but we are tempted to read on. The serious-minded might take exception to the statement concerning the result of the 1892 general election (p. 233), that "One result of not letting Ireland govern herself was that she governed England"; but it expresses a certain amount of shrewd truth, as much perhaps as an epigram can, and whets the appetite for more, beyond mountains of blue-books and miles of statistics. The statement (p. 259) regarding the retirement of the Liberal whip, Mr. Marjoribanks, immediately after that of Mr. Gladstone, that "the crook disappeared with the shepherd", is not perhaps so felicitous, save to the exceptionally light-minded. Entertainment is not, obviously, the chief duty of the historian, but it is not inadmissible to attract men by such means to the pursuit of serious matters for their own enlightenment and the good of the state. And we

have to thank Mr. Paul for a book which, if not profound, has at least the merits of putting great matters clearly, attractively, and simply, of being at once instructive and entertaining.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Philippine Islands. By JOHN FOREMAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906. Pp. xxii, 668.)

PROBABLY no other writer on the Philippines has been so often quoted in the United States since 1898 as John Foreman. Certainly no other has so often been made sponsor for garbled versions of Philippine history and half-truths or downright inaccuracies regarding Philippines and Filipinos.

For a number of years, off and on, Mr. Foreman lived in and travelled about the Philippines in behalf of British manufacturers of machinery for tropical agriculture. Thus he naturally gained expert information about Philippine resources and some general information about the people and their government. Before bringing out his treatise, first in Hong-Kong, then in London, in 1889-1890, he apparently "read up" at random in Philippine history, relying chiefly upon Friar Concepción's tedious and not always reliable chronicles for the early history and on miscellaneous fragmentary writings for the rest—his sources are rarely indicated. With a tendency to launch suppositions as facts where data were wanting, a lack of sympathy with the Spanish viewpoint, ignorance of Spanish history and colonial administration, and prejudice against the friars in the Philippines, the book he produced was a jumble of facts and fancies, of information and misinformation. This as to its historical pretensions; the chapters on agriculture, etc., and on the author's experiences, though by no means devoid of inaccuracies, were more valuable.

Except for a translation of Jagor in 1875, no treatise on the Philippines had appeared in English since Bowring's of 1859. On the strength of the reputation earned by his book, Foreman was summoned to give information and advice to the American peace commission at Paris in 1898—advice which reads very strangely if paralleled with his contributions to periodicals in 1900 and thereafter. While discussion of the Philippine question was at its height in 1899, another edition of Foreman's book of 1890 appeared, with some new chapters giving a very fragmentary and incorrect account of the Tagalog rebellion of 1896-1898. To this account he has in the 1906 edition, under review, made various additions, with inaccuracies as numerous and as glaring as his original errors, which, moreover, for the most part remain uncorrected. There follow some two hundred new pages devoted to a review of the events of American occupation, 1898-1905, and a description of American government, in military and civil phases, and its workings.

Before taking up these new portions of the book, something should be

said, even at this late date, of Foreman's version of Philippine history under the Spanish régime. No real revision of the chapters taken from the previous edition has been made. Practically all the errors of commission and grave sins of omission still stand. Moreover, the author has given us merely a disconnected array of data with no logical correlation. He has had access to none of the contemporary sources for early Spanish-Philippine history, and, strangely for a "Philippine authority", has disregarded entirely the material for the history of the Spanish régime made available since 1898, notably the Blair and Robertson series. Perhaps the best exhibition of his utter lack of preparation is his fourth chapter. For one thing, a writer who passes sweeping judgments on Spain should know more about Spain's colonial organization and its history than does Mr. Foreman. He gives a disjointed and incomplete account of the quarrels between the Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but neither here nor in his later fragmentary discussion of the religious orders does he touch the really vital questions underlying such conflicts, above all, the episcopal visitation of friar-parishes and the secularization of the parishes. These are matters fundamental to any comprehensive grasp of Philippine history in either the earlier or the closing period of Spanish rule. There is, for example, not even a mention of Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina and his attempt to secularize the parishes about 1775; the few friar-sources from which Foreman drew chose to ignore or distort this important episode. Foreman's churlish treatment of Anda, one of the great figures of Spanish history in the Philippines, doubtless has this same origin; moreover, his anti-Spanish bias comes out most strongly in his sadly garbled version of the British occupation of Manila and Anda's resistance. Other sections especially imperfect and incomplete are those about the Filipino revolts from the seventeenth century onward, the Chinese in the Philippines, Spain's relations with the Moros, education under the old régime, and "ethnology"—save the mark; there is no more arrant nonsense in the book than the ascribing of a Japanese origin to Igorots and Tagalogs. The chapters (xiii.-xv.) on trade and commerce, revenue and fiscal matters, Spanish administration, etc., contain much useful information not readily available elsewhere in the English language; but they also contain much misinformation, and worst of all are the vital omissions. The Philippine budget of 1888 and other data as to the central and local governments were published in the 1890 edition, and no later information is here given, though changes of many sorts were made before 1898. Like all other writers who have discussed recent Philippine budgets, Foreman does not show that the figures published are only for the central government, and net, while the actual tax-burden was always from thirty-five to fifty per cent. greater.

As to the somewhat revised story of 1896-1898, its account of the "Treaty of Biak-na-bató", which has been most often quoted in support of erroneous statements in the United States, has received some addi-

tions, but its fundamental errors remain. There was no "treaty", though Aguinaldo may have believed so. It is very strange that Mr. Foreman has never seen General Primo de Rivera's *Memoria*, nor other Spanish accounts published since 1898. While in the Philippines in 1904, Mr. Foreman seems to have consulted Pedro Paterno, the "mediator" at Biak-na-bató, and to have taken him very seriously (inserting a ridiculous biography of him on pages 411-413). We are now for the first time given to understand that Mr. Foreman was an intimate of Rizal; still, he gives us an account of Rizal's career that is minus most of the significant data. There is a blunder in almost every line of the account of the siege and capture of Manila; no hint appears to have reached this author that it was virtually surrendered. Just one other illustration of his inaccuracy: he has (p. 471) Admiral Cámara's fleet going to the Philippines in November, 1898, three months after the suspension of hostilities, and in consequence of the threatened rupture between the peace negotiators at Paris!

There ought to be a place for a good review of the American occupation of the Philippines; but Mr. Foreman's new chapters certainly do not fill this gap. Like the rest of the book, the new part has scarcely a page free from important errors (not to mention vital omissions). The author has blithely gone about his task without sifting the mass of data already published, or even reading more than a few of the commoner documents, chosen apparently at random. Instead, he has relied upon miscellaneous information gathered from certain Filipinos in Europe and from Filipino and other residents of Manila, Iloilo, and Sebú during his brief visit in 1904. His informants were often badly chosen (as in the case cited above), much of what he rehearses is mere gossip, part is malicious misinformation, and everywhere one notes lacunae, often of a most startling sort. Just a few of the errors and omissions are noted, and they fittingly characterize the work: No real study is made of the organization and workings of the Malolos government, and such important matters as the contest over religious freedom gets a mere allusion (p. 469), or more commonly no mention at all; the account of Luna's assassination (pp. 500-501) has been furnished by persons ignorant of the facts or interested in distorting them; such an important episode as the "involving campaign" of November, 1899, the flight of Aguinaldo, and the end of the "Filipino Republic" is passed over entirely (!); no mention is made of the provisional civil government (1899-1901) of Negros, which accepted American sovereignty; General J. F. Bell's campaign in Batangas in 1902 is not mentioned; the author has no conception of how peace was brought about in most provinces in 1901—he dates it and the sedition act in 1902, confuses the reports of the two Philippine Commissions, and nowhere describes comprehensively the fundamental legislation of 1901 upon which the present government rests; nowhere, for example, does he tell what are the qualifications for the ballot; he does go into details about the "Bates Treaty" with the

Sultan of Sulu, but he failed to consult the text, and some of his details are wrong; he says nothing of the Pope's Philippine bull of 1902 in his review of the religious question under American government (the best discussion of all he has made under this period, 1898-1905). He has, it should be said, toned down his worst exaggerations and attacks on American rule in his contributions to British reviews in 1900 and 1904, for which he was called to account by Bishop Brent; in some respects, indeed, he is now fairer than any of the other British critics of America in the Philippines. But we are here concerned only with Foreman as a Philippine historian, and as such it is hard to say a good word for him.

The bad arrangement and lack of revision involves much duplication, which the index but poorly remedies. The orthography is sometimes freakish, and Spanish terms are sometimes mistranslated. The statistical tables are very inaccurate in places; the chronological table also, as well as incomplete. The accompanying map is reproduced from a poor and out-of-date Spanish map.

JAMES A. LEROY.

Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsgebräuche in Amerika. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig, vorgelegt von GEORG FRIEDERICI. (Braunschweig: Druck von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn. 1906. Pp. 172.)

THIS is one of the most important ethnologic monographs that has appeared in a long time. The author is a young officer in the German army and former attaché of the legation in Washington who, after having already published several shorter Indian studies, presents this as his doctor's thesis for a degree at Leipzig.

The word "scalp" he derives from an old German word akin in form and meaning to "shell". The earliest, and almost the only, notice of the custom in the Old World is that given by Herodotus in connection with the Skythians. The earliest definite notice in America is by Cartier, who in 1535, on the St. Lawrence, was shown five scalps dried and stretched upon hoops. In the same region in 1603 Champlain witnessed a scalp-dance in which fresh scalps were carried by the women as they danced. Other pioneer discoverers found the custom in Florida and Virginia.

Contrary to the general impression, our author claims, and proves by authorities and deduction, that the practice of scalping was originally confined to a comparatively limited area in the eastern United States and Canada, extending from Newfoundland to the Gulf and lower Mississippi, and roughly equivalent to the territory held by the Iroquoian and Muskogean tribes and their immediate neighbors. It did not exist in southern New England, Long Island, or New Jersey, or anywhere beyond the St. Lawrence divide, Lake Erie, and the lower Mississippi until after the coming of the whites. Even in the great plains it is of comparatively recent extension, while along the whole

Pacific coast, in the Canadian northwest and Arctic region, and everywhere below the Mexican border, it is still unknown except sporadically and by special introduction. Its rapid extension within the settlement period he ascribes to the encouragement given by the colonial governments in offering scalp premiums and to the opportunity afforded by the introduction of firearms and steel knives. The earlier trophy was the head, for which the more portable scalp was substituted, a part for the whole, as the warriors became accustomed to more distant raidings under the instigation and leadership of their white allies. In 1636 the Puritans paid for Pequot heads, but in King Philip's War, forty years later, we hear of scalping, and from that period the scalp market steadily rose until in 1722 the price was a hundred pounds apiece in Massachusetts. French Canada and Louisiana, colonial Carolina and Pennsylvania, as well as New England, the northern Mexican states in 1835-1845, and even Idaho forty years ago, all paid definite prices for scalps of men, women, and children.

A chapter is devoted to other trophies of similar gruesome character, ears, hands, bones, the skull temples of the Aztecs, the smoked heads of the Amazon, and the horrible human drums of the Incas. The trophy was most elaborated in the warmer regions where leisure was most abundant.

The thirty-three pages of classified bibliography might almost cover the whole Indian subject, and the accompanying map shows clearly the area of each method noted, in both its original and its secondary extension.

JAMES MOONEY.

The Constitutional History of New York from the Beginning of the Colonial Period to the Year 1905, showing the Origin, Development, and Judicial Construction of the Constitution. By CHARLES Z. LINCOLN. In five volumes. (Rochester, N. Y.: The Lawyers' Co-operative Publishing Company. 1906. Pp. xxx, 756; xvii, 725; xviii, 757; xxvi, 800; 551.)

A BOOK on this subject was greatly needed; and the author's example should be followed by citizens of other commonwealths. That a knowledge of the history of the constitution of his own state is indispensable to every lawyer and statesman who works on broad lines is easy of comprehension. No provision of a statute or of a fundamental law can be construed without a consideration of the conditions that preceded the same, the circumstances that brought it into existence, and the result that it was enacted to accomplish; of the old law, the mischief, and the remedy. No new remedy can be intelligently applied without a knowledge of the history of the evil and of the previous attempts to cure it. The value of such studies to students of sociology and of the history of institutions is now beginning to be appreciated. The great need of a collection of the constitutional precedents in the

states to the successful administration of our national government is not yet generally understood. Yet many questions that have been decided at the state capitals must again arise at Washington; and an opinion thereupon by a state court or an unbroken line of state legislative or executive precedents will frequently be more logical and in closer harmony with the spirit of the Constitution, than a decision when it first arises in a high condition of party spirit at Washington. But many such precedents have never been published, or are reported only in the newspapers of the day; Congressional and state libraries have not done their duty in collecting them; and the searcher for them must dive blindly into a mass of biographies, state histories, annuals, files of newspapers, official documents, and manuscript records with too often no clue to aid him. Until the constitutional history of all the states is written, the Constitution of the Union cannot be adequately understood.

The writer has advantages rare in a historian. He has studied his subject for his own practical use, and he has himself played a part in some of the events that he describes. He was a member of the last constitutional convention. He practised law for twenty years under the previous constitution. For six years he was chairman of the commission appointed to revise the state codes and statutes, and the official adviser upon constitutional questions of three successive governors, Morton, Black, and Roosevelt; and has therefore been enabled to enrich the book by valuable new matter concerning the recall of bills by the legislative houses after their passage, the action of the state executive in the approval and the disapproval of bills, the exercise of the active veto and the pocket veto. His practical experience, however, has not, as too often happens, blunted his zeal and capacity for research into matters which most men of affairs consider of importance only to the antiquarian. The colonial history of the subject is well told and has been thoroughly investigated. Many unprinted manuscripts, including Governor Jay's correspondence, the records of the executive council of the colony, and a number of other documents in the State Library and the rooms occupied by the state officers, have been examined by him. The commission and instructions given Governor Tryon by George III., a copy of the latter having been procured from England, are printed for the first time; and so are the original and the revised draft of the constitution of 1777, the first adopted in the state.

The author has thus produced an interesting and valuable work. The narrative is clear and, even when it describes the party conflicts in which he was actively engaged, is apparently impartial. Expressions of his own opinion on questions of law and conduct are rare and usually sound. There are few accessible authorities which have not been examined and digested.

The work is in five volumes. Although long, it contains little matter that might usefully have been omitted. The first volume, after an introduction summarizing the whole subject, sets forth in full a translation

of Magna Carta, the colonial Charter of Liberties and Privileges, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, and the four state constitutions with their amendments up to 1904. These are followed by a detailed constitutional history of the colony and a description of the state constitutions of 1777 and 1821. Volume II. describes the convention and constitution of 1846, the convention of 1867, the commissions of 1872 and 1890, and the amendments from 1822 to 1894; the third volume, the convention and constitution of 1894 with the subsequent amendments, including those adopted in 1905. These three volumes contain also much valuable information as to legislation and bills affecting cognate subjects. But they cite very few decisions of the courts. These are described in volume IV., which is devoted to the constitution as now in force, including the amendments of 1905, with notes of the decisions and commentaries upon certain provisions. The fifth and last consists of tables of statutes which the courts have held to be constitutional, and of such as courts have held to be repugnant to the constitution, separately arranged, chronologically and by topics; a table of the cases cited; an index of persons; and a general index.

In a review of a work for which the profession and scholars are so much indebted, it seems ungracious to dwell upon its few defects. But the following suggestions may perhaps aid in the preparation of the next edition. The absence of cross-references to earlier and later pages imposes much needless labor. Except in the case of law reports and session laws, there are hardly any citations of the original authorities, not even of the pages of the convention reports, from which quotations are made. This faulty practice has increased of late among small historians. It always tends to cast a reflection upon the accuracy of an author, and to impair the weight of his book as an authority. The translation of Magna Carta, the Federal Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, and some of the speeches at the convention of 1894 are superfluous. There is no reason why more space should be given to that convention than to the more important one which framed the constitution of 1846. There is no explanation of the reasons for the refusal by the people to ratify the constitution proposed in 1867. It would have been beneficial to insert references to the constitutions of other states from which some provisions were copied in New York; and to those that have copied many parts of the New York constitution.

It is surprising that, although there is a short account of the codification of the state laws, and a reference to the subsequent statutory revision, the early *Revised Statutes* of 1830 are only mentioned as an incident in the life of Henry Wheaton, with no description nor even a reference to the important changes made by them in the law of real estate and trusts; that David Dudley Field, the father of American codification, is not named; and that the fusion of law and equity, first made by him in New York and copied from his bills almost everywhere that the common law prevails, is not described.

The author expresses his belief that it would be well if the legislature were empowered to require the opinion of the court of appeals upon the validity of pending bills. And he considers that opinions thus obtained would be binding in later litigation (I. 747), a very doubtful proposition. The experience of other states does not recommend such a constitutional provision. And such opinions, where necessarily the courts are without the aid of argument by counsel interested upon both sides of the question, are rarely as sound as those made in the usual course of litigation. The opinions of the supreme courts of South Dakota and Colorado (*Re Constitutional Provision*, 3 S. D. 548, 54 N. W. Rep. 650; *Re Chapter 6 Session Laws of 1890*, 8 S. D. 274, 66 N. W. 310; *In re Irrigation Resolution*, 9 Col. 620, 21 Pac. Rep. 478) may be upon this point profitably consulted. In 1872 Governor Hoffman asked the chief judge and judges of the court of appeals to express their opinion on the constitutionality of a bill then before him. Chief Judge Church and his associates promptly replied with an opinion worthy of Jack Bunsby, stating that they all agreed that "serious questions might arise upon the bill in its present form" as to such points. The bill was thereupon vetoed by the governor (*Public Papers of John T. Hoffman, 1869-1872*, pp. 336-339). It does not seem that the court strengthened its hold upon the public confidence by giving this extra-judicial opinion. In 1890, when Governor Hill suggested to the Republican legislature a "joint submission of the constitutional questions involved" (in controversy over a certain bill) "to the consideration of the Court of Appeals" (*Public Papers of David B. Hill, 1890*, pp. 75, 79); the two houses did not accept this suggestion, and the bill was vetoed.

Although some of the complaints against the old Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Correction of Errors are quoted, there is no reference to any of its decisions that were plainly based upon political affiliations (*Franklin v. Osgood*, 14 Johnson 327; *Woodworth v. Bank of America*, 19 Johnson 391; Hammond's *Political History*, I. 492, 547): Judge Potter's attachment against a member of the assembly and the subsequent proceedings of that house are fully described. There is no mention, however, of the injunction issued by the late Jacob A. Clute, when County Judge of Albany, at the suit of John McCarthy, forbidding the clerk of the senate from performing certain acts relative to the roll. The reports of the judiciary committee of the senate upon the case contain interesting material concerning the power of the lieutenant-governor as president of the senate, the authority of that house to punish for contempt, and the freedom of the senate from interference by the courts (*Sen. Doc. 1894*, Nos. 71, 72). There is no account of the litigation by the state to recover the money misappropriated by the Tweed Ring from the treasury of the city and county of New York (*People v. Ingersoll*, 58 N. Y. 1; *People v. Fields*, 58 N. Y. 491; *People v. Tweed*, 63 N. Y. 202). The descriptions of the impeachments and proceedings for the removal of judges and other public officers contain

no adequate abstract of the trials nor even of the charges made. The history of the law authorizing actions for injuries causing death would have been better had it contained a citation of the English decisions holding that no such action could be maintained at common law, with an abstract of the technical reasoning upon which they were supported. The notes upon the section of the constitution disqualifying members of the legislature from election to the position of United States senator fail to cite the case of Lyman Trumbull, where the Senate of the United States held that a law of the state of Illinois, which disqualified certain persons from eligibility to that house, should not be followed (*Senate Election Cases, 1789-1903*, 58 Cong., Spec. Sess., Sen. Doc. 11, p. 232).

No reference is made to the action of the legislature in 1799 in reference to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, when it was resolved by each house "that they deemed it a duty explicitly to declare their incompetency as a branch of the legislature of this State, to supervise the acts of the general government."

The decisions upon the power of the legislature over local officers are not analyzed nor explained sufficiently to make the book of much use to a person interested upon this question, which is constantly arising. There is no reference to an article upon this point in the *Albany Law Journal* for 1894 (vol. 50, pp. 349-359); nor, so far as the present writer can discover, to any article in any periodical upon any subject. And there are many upon points affecting the New York constitution. The controversy over the Metropolitan Police act, giving the governor power to appoint the police in New York City and some adjoining counties, is not mentioned; nor the fact that the decision which by a divided court upheld that law (*People ex rel. Wood v. Draper*, 15 N. Y. 532) has been severely criticized (*e. g.*, *Bolton v. Alberson*, 65 N. Y. 50, 54).

There is no description of the causes and author of the amendments to Article III., sec. 18, subdivision 15, recommended by the convention of 1867 and the commission of 1872, adopted in 1874; which forbids the construction of a street railroad without the consent of local authorities and that of one-half the frontagers, or, in case of the refusal of the latter, the consent of the Appellate Division, formerly the General Term, of the Supreme Court. There is no account of the legislation, and a very inadequate citation of the decisions upon this important section which affects so many million dollars of investments.

The collection of authorities on what constitutes a private or local bill is insufficient. It omits *Matter of Church*, 92 N. Y. 1, and *People ex rel. N. Y. Electric Lines Co. v. Squire*, 107 N. Y. 593, in which the court of appeals nullified the constitutional inhibition of passing local bills in certain cases; although those decisions are cited upon other points.

The author should not perhaps be criticized for his exercise of the usual law-book writer's license in citing in his notes *obiter dicta* as decisions. Attention should however be called to the erroneous state-

ment twice repeated (IV. 35, 695), that the court of appeals has held that the legislature cannot compel a municipality to pay laborers whom it employs the rate of wages prevailing in the locality. The case cited, *People ex rel. Rodgers v. Coler* (166 N. Y. 1), merely holds that the legislature cannot compel such payment by contractors for public work. The language, in the opinion of Judge O'Brien, upon which the author relies, was not essential to the decision. And that such payment by a city can be compelled by statute was affirmed by a majority of that court in the later case of *Ryan v. New York* (177 N. Y. 71).

There is no reference to the importance of the novel doctrine laid down in *re Jacobs* (98 N. Y. 98), and since followed; nor any discussions of the decisions, which are merely noted. In fact the treatment of the decisions of the courts seems perfunctory rather than philosophical. This is the least satisfactory part of the book, but notwithstanding contains much that will be of use to the practitioner.

Most of these, however, are minor blemishes, which can easily be corrected. The book is indispensable to all constitutional lawyers, legislators, and statesmen in New York. It will be interesting and useful to every lawyer and man in public life in every part of the United States and to all students of constitutional history and sociology throughout the world. It will be the standard authority upon the subject for at least a generation.

ROGER FOSTER.

The Story of Old Fort Johnson. By W. MAX REID. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xii, 240.)

THE most famous historic house in the Mohawk Valley to-day is probably old Fort Johnson, situated a few miles west of the site of Amsterdam. Not only has this old colonial "mansion" with its surrounding hills and valleys a local interest, but, through the prominence and significant influence of the original owner and his family, the history of the building appeals to a wide circle of readers and students. Persons interested in the preservation and proper care of the relics of our past will rejoice that this historic building has been placed in the hands of the Montgomery County Historical Society. For about a half-century the house was in the possession of the Akin family, but in 1905, in order to settle the family estate, the property had to be sold. Through the munificence of Major-general J. Watts de Peyster, a grandnephew of Lady Johnson, the wife of Sir John, the building was presented to the society. It will become the museum of the society and will house, among other objects, the interesting Richmond collection of Indian relics.

It is unfortunate that better advantage has not been taken of the opportunity to write a good local history on the subject. *The Story of Old Fort Johnson* is an interesting, rambling tale; it is a mixture of history, fiction, ethnology, and gossip. One does not expect scientific

history from the author of *The Mohawk Valley*, and therefore this "companion book to *The Mohawk Valley*" is not a disappointment. The book is apparently not constructed upon any particular plan; although the title suggests an account of the history of an old frontier homestead, the author wanders far afield in many of the chapters—in one chapter as far west as Detroit. The topics treated in the volume are thrown together in a bewildering fashion, and the task of the reviewer, therefore, in following out the instructions of the REVIEW to give a brief outline of the contents of the book is difficult.

The opening chapter gives a very graphic description of the parting between young William Johnson and his Irish sweetheart. We see young William "striding along a country highway leading to the port town of Drogheda"; we see "the drooping form of a comely girl leaning on a stile constructed in a break in the hawthorne hedge which formed a border to the road he was travelling"; we hear the affectionate parting kisses. Fiction swamps history in the account but it is interesting reading. The succeeding three chapters deal with the life of Johnson and the history of the events with which he was connected. Chapter five is an odd combination of remarks on the character of Judas Iscariot and scrappy information about John Johnson. For several successive chapters we now make strenuous efforts to follow the thread of Revolutionary history in the Mohawk Valley. Chapter seven contains the journal of one William Colbraith, a soldier of Colonel Gansevoort's regiment stationed in Fort Schuyler during the siege. One entire chapter is given to a verbatim quotation of the will of Sir William. The concluding chapter of the volume contains an account of a summer ramble of the author and a couple of friends to Dadanasara.

C. H. RAMMELKAMP.

Alexander Hamilton: an Essay on American Union. By FREDERICK SCOTT OLIVER. (London: A. Constable and Company; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xiii, 502.)

IN this book we have an attempt to write an essay on American political life at a time of its most important crisis the central figure and consideration of which shall be the career of Alexander Hamilton. The result is that we get neither a sketch of Hamilton's activity in a properly digested narrative nor a systematic discussion of the American Union in the days of its infancy. The plan is somewhat disjointed; and no more unifying fact appears than a rather inflexible admiration for the subject of the book. It is natural for an Englishman who writes about the controversy between the French and British factions of American society in the days of Hamilton to have his sympathy enlisted for the British party. It is also natural for him to admire Hamilton. But he ought to have enough discrimination to see the point of view of the other side and to recognize that his own favorite had some shortcomings. Neither of these things has Mr. Oliver done. Not only are the Democrats

anathematized, but even the Federalists who did not support Hamilton's peculiar plans are put without the domain of his approval.

As to the Democratic party, it is enough to say that it is declared that "It had its origin in the intrigues of which Horatio Gates was the hero" (p. 270). This point is supported by several arguments from John C. Hamilton's *History*. Little credit is given to the matters of financial and administrative opinion on which the early Republicans differed so radically from the followers of Hamilton.

Proceeding from the Conway Cabal, the beginning of the States' Rights party, the author comes to the influence of Jefferson. He says, "Jefferson accordingly found a States Rights party ready made when, outraged by the rivalry of Hamilton and offended by the rejection of his own advice in the matter of the National Bank, he determined to undertake the organization of an opposition to the government of which he was a member." It will hardly meet the approval of American students of history, it would not have met the approval of Hamilton himself, to attribute Jefferson's actions to motives of personal spite. Mr. Oliver seems not to know that with the First Congress there came a new alignment of parties, that the Federalists of 1790 were not the same as those of 1787-1789, that antifederalism in its proper sense disappeared with the disposition of the amendments of the Constitution, and that the theory of states' rights was but a small factor in political life from 1790 to the days of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. A Republican of 1792 would probably have said that the "paramount issue" was opposition to the moneyed classes; in 1794 he would have said that it was our honorable obligations to France; and in 1795 the shameless surrender to Great Britain involved in the Jay Treaty. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Jay Treaty, which was so bad in its details that even Hamilton was disgusted at it, is passed over by Mr. Oliver in three paragraphs which together contain but forty-two lines, in which the creation of the mission, its departure, its reception in England, its return to America, the adoption of the treaty, and its reception by the people are all treated. In no way do we have a statement of the contents of that instrument.

Another illustration of the author's method is to be seen in his treatment of John Adams's relations with Hamilton. Strangely enough it is Adams's quarrel with Hamilton, and not, as usually depicted, Hamilton's attack on Adams. In the matter of the appointment of Hamilton as a major-general the author shuts his eyes resolutely to his hero's unusual scheming for the first position and attacks Adams for thus making "the first of a series of great blunders . . . during his term of office under the influence of uncontrollable rage" (p. 394). Adams's second blunder is pronounced his undignified procedure in making peace with France in 1799. "It is beyond doubt", says the author, "that he caught at peace in order to prevent Hamilton from obtaining credit" (p. 395). The third mistake of Adams is thus described: "Adams, seeing everything red, and

unable to tolerate the respect entertained for Washington and Hamilton by M'Henry, Pickering, and Wolcott, dismissed these gentlemen from his cabinet on the very eve of the presidential election" (p. 396). Hamilton's relations with Miranda are not discussed, although we are assured that he had no "ambitions of a Napoleonic career". The discussion of the pamphlet which Hamilton issued in 1800 against Adams is presented in such a confused manner that it is impossible to say whether the author justifies or condemns the action of his subject in the matter (p. 402). We are undoubtedly told that it was a blunder, but we are also told that in doing it Hamilton was justified by the action of Adams toward him, and that his own action was not due to "any desire to wipe out old scores" (p. 402). And yet the author must have known when he wrote that Hamilton on May 10, 1800, said of Adams that he would never again be responsible for Adams's actions, "even though the consequences should be the election of Jefferson".

The statements pointed out are but typical of the spirit in which the book is written. It is a good echo of John C. Hamilton's large work and a worthy companion of Percy Greg's *History of the United States*.

What has been said is not to be understood as meaning that the book does not contain many acceptable statements of facts in Hamilton's life. The style is usually good, although it is not always very clear. There is no lack of striking phrases and characterizations. But in every important matter which has aroused controversy there is a singular lack of the critical spirit. The foot-notes indicate a narrow range of investigation and too close a following of the pro-Hamiltonian sources of information.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Election of Senators. By GEORGE H. HAYNES, Ph.D. [American Public Problems, edited by RALPH CURTIS RINGWALT.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 295.)

THIS volume, the second in a series entitled "American Public Problems", is a veritable mine of information in regard to the origin and practical workings of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the election of Federal senators. It contains also a complete résumé of the movement of recent years for the popular control over the choice of senators, together with a comprehensive and impartial presentation of the arguments on both sides of this practical question. The timeliness of this discussion is apparent in view of the fact that within the past fifteen years thirty-one states—more than the two-thirds required by the Constitution—have made formal application to Congress for the submission of an amendment to secure the election of senators by the direct vote of the people. Moreover an Interstate Convention has been called by the Iowa Legislature to meet at Des Moines, December 5, 1906, for the sole purpose of furthering this same object. At least twenty-eight states have signified their intention to participate in its deliberations. Its conclusions will be a matter of public record before the publication of this review.

The author is thoroughly impressed with the importance of his subject, owing to the position which the Senate has secured in our system as "the dominant branch of Congress, the controlling influence in the government". "Whether the Senate be regarded as the sheet anchor of the republic in the troubled seas of democracy, or as the stronghold of corporate interests—as the country's only safeguard, or as its chief menace—the question becomes one of paramount importance: how do men come to their membership in this overpowering body?" To the answer of this question Dr. Haynes devotes the first portion of his volume. After presenting the considerations which led "the fathers" to place the election in the control of the state legislatures, and giving an account of the act of 1866 for the regulation of senatorial elections, he reviews the unsatisfactory results of the system, the most obvious of which has been the serious deadlocks in at least one-half of the states within the past fifteen years.

"The personnel" of the Senate during five recent Congresses is subjected to a searching analysis. With the assistance of five "close observers" Dr. Haynes attempts an interesting classification of the senators. As a result of this examination only seventeen fall within the class notable for their "statesmanship", while "one senator out of every three owes his election to his personal wealth, to his being the candidate satisfactory to . . . the 'System,' or to his expertness in political manipulation". These conclusions simply confirm the current belief that there has been a general decline during the last half-century in the ability, fidelity, integrity, and independence of the members of the Upper House. Owing to the dissatisfaction with both the method of election and the resulting choice of men, the past two decades have witnessed a significant movement for the popular control of senatorial elections. Chapters v. and vi. show that this movement found expression in two ways, either through "a loose construction of the present law, or in accordance with a constitutional amendment" (p. viii). The first method, that of consulting the people in advance of the election by the legislature, has been adopted so fully that in almost one-third of the states it amounts to an unwritten amendment, as the election of senators has in effect ceased to be indirect. This has been accomplished by several methods, through the party convention nominating the candidate, by the direct primary system, and by ballot at the regular state elections. The rapid extension of the primary system to other states would make it possible for this system to become general.

The inherent weakness of this method of control both in theory and in the light of experience has strengthened the demand for a Constitutional amendment. Five times between 1893 and 1902 has such a proposition received the approval of the House of Representatives, only to encounter the seemingly insurmountable objection of the Senate. In the face of this obstruction there has been, since 1899, a significant movement on the part of the state legislatures to demand the calling

of a national constitutional convention to prepare the amendment; no less than twenty states having made application to Congress. If, as a result of the Interstate Convention at Des Moines previously referred to, the necessary two-thirds majority of the state legislatures shall be secured—as now seems probable—what will follow? Will the Senate still attempt to block the way, or will it permit recourse to the hitherto untried method of proposing amendments? Will it raise technical objections of procedure? For example, what are the time limits within which the application of two-thirds of the states must be received to make the calling of the convention obligatory? This is not discussed by Dr. Haynes, but it was under consideration by the Senate Committee on Elections in 1902. Some of the members held that the memorials must be passed during the life of the Congress to which they were addressed. By others it was urged that the applications needed only to be reasonably contemporaneous. The uncertainty of this point as well as other questions of interpretation that have arisen in the past suggests the desirability of regulating by law the whole matter of procedure under the provisions of Article V.

What are the advantages of the proposed change? After a full and sympathetic marshalling of the arguments for and against, the author attempts to forecast the probable effectiveness of popular election. He believes that it would improve the character of the Senate, although this belief does not amount to a conviction; "it is best," he warns us (p. 267), "not to entertain too optimistic anticipations." "The lowering of the tone in the Senate" cannot "be attributed solely to the method of election . . . but to general influences which have lowered and commercialized American politics" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, he believes that "the decisive advantages of the change . . . would be found in its effects . . . upon the individual States" (pp. 268-269).

This work may be commended as a scholarly, impartial, and rational discussion of a great national problem.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States From the Revolutionary War to 1861. By FRANK GEORGE FRANKLIN, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science in the University of the Pacific. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1906. Pp. ix, 308.)

SINCE 1861 there have been about a dozen laws passed on the subject of naturalization, beginning with the act of July 17, 1862, which permitted the naturalization of honorably discharged soldiers after a residence in the United States of one year, and ending with the momentous act of June 29, 1906, which for the first time put supervision of naturalization in the hands of the federal government. Mr. Franklin's book was written before this act was passed, but it ought to have been brought up to date. The interesting chapter on "Expatriation", for

example, would have been rendered complete by the addition of a few pages giving the history of the important law of July 17, 1868, which declared expatriation to be the natural right of all men; so would the chapters on "Native Americanism" and "The Know-Nothing Period" have been more satisfying if they had included a brief account of the "A. P. A." movement. This is a legislative history of naturalization in the United States; and an account of the legislation of the several states from their independence to the time of the passing of the first federal naturalization law might appropriately have found a place in it. There were such laws in Delaware, Maryland, New York, South Carolina, and Virginia, the Virginia law of 1783 being the parent law of our naturalization system.

These remarks are prompted by an appreciation of the value of Mr. Franklin's book, and a regret that it does not cover completely a subject which it covers so well partially. There is no other book, however, which covers the subject at all.

The first chapter deals with the Revolutionary period, and shows the oath of allegiance, and of express renunciation of allegiance to George the Third, required by the Continental Congress in 1776 of all military and civil officers of the government. During this period frequent efforts were made to detach foreigners serving in the British army by offering them land and American citizenship; and a considerable number availed themselves of the opportunity and settled permanently in the United States. After the war a remarkable suggestion was made, that subjects of Great Britain should have the same rights as Americans in America and Americans the same rights as Englishmen in Great Britain. John Adams reported that the proposition was going to be made, and Lord Loughborough certainly made it in 1794. It was brought up again in 1817 by John Quincy Adams, and of recent years by Professor Dicey in a lecture at All Souls College, when the Olney arbitration treaty was under discussion. Passing to the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Mr. Franklin traces the debate on the subject of naturalization, and then treats the acts of Congress from 1790 to 1824, the latter being the law which was in effect until September 27 of the present year.

The chapter on "Expatriation" shows that Jefferson claimed the right as a natural one from the beginning, but that efforts to secure legislation on the subject which were made from time to time were all unavailing. It may be added that to this day there is no law saying how an American citizen may accomplish expatriation. Chapters on "The Beginnings of Native Americanism", "The Period of Aggressive Native Americanism", and "The Know-Nothing Period" close what is a valuable historical study which will surely pass into general use.

There are several notable omissions in the bibliography given by Mr. Franklin. Hunt's work, *The American Passport*, is in the list, but it contains little of importance to a work like this, whereas Wharton's

Digest of the International Law of the United States contains much and Moore's *International Arbitrations* still more, and these works are not cited. Prentiss Webster's works on *Citizenship* and *Naturalization* are here, but Alexander P. Morse's *Treatise on Citizenship and Naturalization* (Boston, 1881) and Van Dyne's *Citizenship of the United States* (Rochester, 1904) are not, and they are works of far greater weight than Webster's. There is no mention of the great report on naturalization and allegiance made by the British Commission of 1868. It can be found, among other places, in *Opinions of the Principal Officers of the Executive Departments and Other Papers relating to Expatriation, Naturalization, and Change of Allegiance* (Government Printing Office, 1873), and in the same volume are the notable letters of President Grant's Cabinet officers, which are also omitted from this bibliography. It ought to include also Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's treatise on *Nationality*, which was written because of the British Commission's report.

GAILLARD HUNT.

The Purchase of Florida: its History and Diplomacy. By HUBERT BRUCE FULLER, A.M., LL.M. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1906. Pp. 399.)

THIS is a disappointing book. For the most part, the story of the complicated transactions that led up to the Florida Treaty is entirely familiar, but it is to be found only in scattered chapters of the history of the first forty years of our national life. A complete, coherent, and continuous narrative of the events on both sides of the Atlantic which resulted on the one hand in the surrender by Spain of her most cherished colonial policy, and on the other in rounding out the territory of the United States and extending it to the Pacific, would be a most interesting and useful work. It might be much more; but so much at least the student who takes up this handsome and portly volume has a reasonable right to expect. He will not, however, discover in its pages much that is new, nor will he find what is old rearranged in a particularly attractive form.

Mr. Fuller has failed to give us a clear account of the unusually intricate transactions with which his book must deal, and this failure is chiefly owing to his sins of omission. There is so much to set down, and the sources of information are so numerous, that the most practised skill would be needed to marshal all the relevant facts. Mr. Fuller has left large and fatal gaps in his narrative, and the result is disastrous.

As an example of his method, the case of the Texas boundary may be mentioned. The final negotiations between Adams and de Onís were almost solely concerned with this subject. For months they contended over the question whether the Rio Grande, the Colorado, the Sabine, or some more easterly line should be adopted as the western boundary of the United States. For months they went over the well-

worn history of La Salle and the facts of the successive Spanish *entradas*. When they had agreed upon the line of the Sabine, the one criticism on the treaty in the United States was based on the supposed surrender of Texas. Clay's attack rested upon no other ground than the assertion that Texas was a part of the Louisiana purchase; that Congress alone had authority to alienate territory; and that Texas had been alienated without adequate consideration. Without an understanding of the nature of the claim asserted by the American government to the ownership of Texas, it is not possible to comprehend what it was that Adams and de Onís spent so much time in discussing, or what was the point of Clay's criticism; and yet Mr. Fuller gives no hint of the real nature of that controversy.

Even more serious is the very imperfect manner in which contemporary events in Europe and South America are treated. Surely the most essential feature of any history of the Florida purchase must be an inquiry into the motives which induced the Spanish government in 1795, in 1800, and finally in 1819 to surrender her claims to sovereignty over the greater part of the present territory of the United States. These motives can be understood only by examining her relations to the contending parties in the European wars from 1793 to 1815, the reactionary policies which prevailed during the period immediately after the abdication of Napoleon, and the internal dissensions which so profoundly affected Spanish history after 1808. Nor can the influence of the varying fortunes of the South American and Mexican revolutions be lost sight of. But Mr. Fuller has not thought it worth while to trace in detail the close connection between affairs in Europe and the protracted negotiations for the treaty. He hardly glances at the very important share of Hyde de Neuville and Poletica in framing the final agreement and securing its ratification, and he gives no explanation of the reasons why France and Russia were so much concerned in the result. He refers to no original sources except American archives, letters, diaries, and newspapers. His bibliography does not even mention any work on European history.

The book begins with an account of the early relations of Spain and the United States in which so important an event as the capture of Pensacola by Galvez is not even mentioned. The closing of the Mississippi, its opening by the treaty of 1795, and the purchase of Louisiana are next dealt with. The author is very severe on the American government for concluding the purchase in the face of the Spanish protests; but his strictures fail to carry conviction when we recall that he omits to state all the facts. For example, he quotes Casa d'Yrujo as protesting that France had agreed not to alienate Louisiana; but he fails to note that this promise was made in July, 1802, or nearly two years after the cession of October, 1800. The breach of such a promise might well give rise to just complaints by Spain against France; but neither in law nor in morals did it require the United States to repudiate the bargain it had made with the latter power.

The discussions as to West Florida, the events of the War of 1812, and Jackson's exploits in 1818 are fully treated. Here the author is more at home, and these chapters are distinctly the best in the book, although there is a marked want of sympathy with the prejudices of the Americans of that day. Their dislike for the Spaniards was not due merely to the Mississippi incident. It was a tradition inherited since the time of Elizabeth from their English ancestors, and it was fostered by the accounts of the inhuman cruelty with which the South American wars were carried on. Jackson's hatred of "the Dons" was no personal peculiarity. It was the embodiment of a very wide-spread popular feeling, of which the impartial historian must take note.

The tedious negotiations during Monroe's presidency are then narrated at length, and the book ends with some very damaging reflections upon the conduct of the public men of the United States. There is no discrimination as to parties. Fisher Ames and Hamilton are condemned equally with Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Livingston, Pinckney, and Jackson. The author spares no epithets. The Florida Act of 1811 was "a bold defiance of the law of nations and individuals" (p. 326); the seizure of Amelia Island was a gross artifice, a shallow deception, "a proceeding particularly disgraceful" (p. 327). The recognition of the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies was an act of "singular bad faith" (p. 329). The spoliation claims against Spain are harshly criticized; but no reference is made to the singularly careful inquiry into their validity and amount, made by the commission under the eleventh article of the Florida Treaty, where the awards were largely in excess of the \$5,000,000 stipulated to be paid.

The book has an ample index and two maps. The first of these exhibits the line proposed in 1782 as the western boundary of the United States; the second traces Jackson's line of march in Florida. If the latter map had been on a larger scale and had not extended so far north as to take in Milwaukee and Poughkeepsie, nor so far west as the Rocky Mountains, it would have been more convenient.

In an appendix are printed the full text of the treaties of 1795 and 1819, the instructions to Monroe of July 29, 1803, in regard to a cession of the Floridas, and Adams's instructions of November 28, 1818, defending Jackson's proceedings in Florida. Why these well-known and very accessible documents should have been reprinted here is not explained by anything in the preface or the body of the book.

Mexico: its Social Evolution. By a Board of Editors, under the Directorship of JUSTO SIERRA. Translated into English by G. SENTIÑÓN. (Mexico City: J. Ballezá y Compañía, Sucesor. 1900, 1904. Two folio volumes in three. Pp. 415, iv; 417-778, i; 444.)

THE above is the title of the English edition, brought out in translation the past year, of a work whose original is in Spanish, but which has

also been published in its completed form in French as well as in English. The original publication in Spanish was by installments, and though bearing date of 1900, its last *entrega* was not finished and its bound volumes did not appear till 1905. The work was designed to commemorate, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the progress achieved by Mexico in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and its collaborators are men of politics or science who have been actively identified with this social and governmental progress, under the direction of Don Justo Sierra, formerly an under-secretary, now a minister of the Diaz cabinet, as head of the new Department of Education and Fine Arts.

The subtitle sets forth the ambitious and comprehensive character of the work: "Synthesis of the political history, administration, military organisation and economical state of the Mexican Confederation, its advancements in the intellectual sphere, its territorial structure, growth of its population, means of communication both national and international, its achievements in the fields of industry, agriculture, mining, commerce, etc., etc." This implies a survey in each of these lines reaching back over the colonial period, and, so far as data are afforded, into the prehistoric period. As in all such works of collaboration, considerable duplication is unavoidable, but each subject is thus treated from its own point of view.

Practically all this work is historical in its scope, even where science, education, literature, trade and commerce, agriculture, etc., are treated, because of the method adopted of making a historical survey under each heading. The first volume of Tomo I., however, is largely occupied with what is called the "Political History" of Mexico. The section upon "Aboriginal Civilisations" is naturally more a scientific survey than political history proper. The colonial period and wars of independence are treated under one heading, and "The Republic" is a subject-heading whereunder the periods are treated as follows: (a) Anarchy, 1825-1848, (b) The Reform, 1848-1867. These classifications of recent Mexican history are necessarily somewhat arbitrary, and, as will occur to one noting the dates, the events prior to, during, and since the French intervention are naturally interpreted from the viewpoint of Mexican Liberalism. However, it is noteworthy that the day of rancorous partizan spirit has in large degree passed in Mexico, and the progressive Liberal historian of to-day is, if not ideally impartial in his interpretation of his country's history, at any rate not spiteful in his characterization of persons or measures of the old-time "opposition".

Finally, "The Present Era" is reviewed, in its political history, at the very end of the work, thus completing this survey to 1900. Necessarily, however, the other portions of the work (the army, science, education, literature, municipal organization and government, penal and charitable institutions, fundamental law and procedure, agriculture, mining, industry, trade, communications and public works, and finances) deal very largely with the accomplishments of the Diaz régime. And if

the pen is eulogistic, as comparisons are drawn with the colonial régime or more still with the revolutionary days, who can fairly object? These other volumes have much material of value upon the social and economic life of Mexico for the student of that country's history.

The volumes are magnificently produced, with a profusion of half-tones and many full-page color-plates, printed excellently, bound splendidly, and are really *de luxe* in every way.

War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, 1861-1865. By WILLIAM B. WEEDEN. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxv, 389.)

THIS volume, by the author of *The Economic and Social History of New England*, presents in rather suggestive fashion an account of "the interplay of the National Union and the State commonwealths, which were principalities in the Civil War" (p. ix). The book is evidently the result of extended and long-continued reading. The author has made much use of the *Official Records* published by the federal government, has consulted the manuscript archives of the state of Massachusetts on many points, and in at least one instance (for Governor Seymour's inaugural message, 1863) he has gone to the original New York archives. He writes not merely as a student of the times which he describes, but as a participant, having served in various posts of artillery command during the early years of the war; and at several points in the narrative (pp. 111, 175, 346) casual mention is made of matters which came within his personal observation and experience.

The scope of the work may best be indicated by a summary of its contents. The opening chapter is entitled "The Genesis of the Union", and deals largely with the varying manifestations of Union and States' Rights sentiments called forth by the slavery question preceding the war. Subsequent chapters deal with "The Executive Crisis" precipitated by the election of Lincoln; the personalities and problems of the "Administration" in the early stages of the armed conflict; "State Support" in the four states named, including the formulation and conversion "from social means to political ends" of "the passionate vehemence of the sympathizing sex" in the Sanitary Commission (p. 126); "Federal and State Interference", which comprises the New York attempts to control the appointment of general officers, together with a long account of the friction between General Butler and Governor Andrew over rival state and federal enlistments in Massachusetts; the "Party Estrangement" following the military miscarriages, Emancipation Proclamation, arbitrary arrests, and corruption in the departments; "The People under Compulsion", dealing with the draft; a chapter on "Government", which continues the subject dealt with in chapter III.; and a final chapter entitled "The Union Vindicated and Developed."

The narrative is never perfunctory, and at times it rises into bril-

liancy; though it must be confessed that a striving for epigram and fine writing, together with defective organization of material, are among the faults of the book. As a business man Mr. Weeden finds it difficult to deal patiently with the short-sighted and unbusinesslike policies which characterized the early stages of the war, and frequent use is made of such terms as "official astigmatism", "bureaucratic obscurantism", "bureau miasma". In particular, the federal administration is censured severely for not accepting all the troops offered by the loyal governors in 1861 and 1862. Even Lincoln is not spared; for while justice is done to his "wise and far-seeing action" in the use of his "reserved prerogatives" (which, with frequent insistence, are derived from the office of king), of his general executive action the author says (p. 68): "He could not execute in the largest sense by care that 'foresees, provides, administers' affairs. Great as his motive might be, his interference in the bureaus became petty and pernicious. Any woman weeping in the White House could get an order pardoning a sentinel for sleeping on post. But that order would cost hundreds or thousands of lives." And again (p. 144): "If Abraham Lincoln had had something more of the same Napoleonic power of action [as Governor Morton, of Indiana], it would have been a great boon to the American executive."

For the work accomplished by Governors Andrew of Massachusetts, Curtin of Pennsylvania, Morgan of New York, and Morton of Indiana he has in the main only words of praise; the governors of the great commonwealths he styles "the only war-ministers the country had or could have, until the pressure of affairs developed Stanton" (p. 74). In his characterization of Morgan (p. 222) we have an excellent comparison of the abilities of the four men: Morgan "perhaps . . . was the best plain executive officer of the four . . . He could not govern, in the sense that Morton and Andrew could forelay state action, or Curtin could carry a whole people through his innate energy. But no one better directed the legitimate forces of the State by official prerogative than did Morgan." On the other hand, the author's contempt and condemnation are outspoken for "Copperheads" and the "dawdling Northern Democrats who vainly tried to build a new party out of their country's agony". Equally trenchant is his criticism of Northern radicals like Wendell Phillips, whom he styles (p. 149) "a political imbecile of the worst sort", who "lived in a sublimated, vitriolic atmosphere that common patriots could not breathe and assimilate".

Many of Mr. Weeden's characterizations and criticisms are shrewd and to the point, showing real insight into the problems of that troublous time and independence of thought in his estimates of men and measures. His judgments, however, are usually impressionistic, and not based on ordered evidence and argument; and where they differ from those, say, of Mr. Rhodes (as in his estimate of the course of the administration with reference to Vallandigham), they fail to carry conviction. The work, in short, is not of monographic character, but is rather a series of

somewhat discursive essays dealing pleasantly and instructively with the subjects of which it treats, while still leaving open the field for a more scientific study of the subject.

The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876. By PAUL LELAND HAWORTH, Lecturer in History, Columbia University. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 365.)

MR. HAWORTH'S study of the disputed election of 1876 possesses nearly every virtue desirable in a historical work, with one exception. It is based upon an investigation of every possible printed or manuscript source, which, as the author says, may be deemed exhaustive; for, although other sources of information exist, there is little likelihood of their being divulged, since "those actors who could tell the truth . . . will never do so" (p. x). This mass of material has been subjected to an analysis whose minute caution and systematic verification of statements are visible on every page. The author uses foot-notes skilfully, so as to avoid cumbering the page with bulky references while substantiating every important assertion. The conviction is impressed upon the reader that Mr. Haworth, in the search for facts, has come as close to the truth of this exceedingly complicated affair as it is possible for one to attain by historical methods.

Another merit lies in the compact handling of material. In spite of the enormous bulk of his evidence, Mr. Haworth manages to compress every essential fact into 343 pages, leaving out details, yet including many interesting, significant, and amusing brief quotations. The style, too, is admirably clear and graphic. There are few books devoted to a single line of complicated and rather sordid politics which read as entertainingly, largely because of the lucidity and ease of presentation.

Mr. Haworth, in short, has produced what ought to be an authoritative account of the great contested election; yet in view of one peculiar feature of the book it may be doubted whether it can be regarded as final. The monograph is pervaded from cover to cover with a strong bias in favor of the Republican party and against the Democratic. The facts are not concealed or altered, the errors or questionable proceedings of Republicans are not ignored, and every opinion of the author is provided with some recognition of a possible alternative conclusion; but, from start to finish of the long, complicated, and malodorous story, it is perfectly obvious that in Mr. Haworth's eyes the Republican party was uniformly right and the Democratic party uniformly wrong.

The interpretation of the case, according to Mr. Haworth, may be easily summed up: the returning boards were partizan and shameless, but their decisions were within their legal powers and were equitably correct; the contentions of the Democrats against the validity of electoral votes were groundless; the Electoral Commission decided correctly both in law and in equity; the Republican contest to secure the count-

ing of the doubtful votes for Hayes was not a "plot"; the Democratic leaders, including Mr. Tilden, are proved by the "Cipher dispatches" to have attempted bribery; the bargain by which Hayes ceased to support the carpet-bag governments in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, after securing their electoral votes, was proper and did not involve any real inconsistency.

The foregoing conclusions might of course be reached by a rigidly impartial judge through the weighing of evidence, but unfortunately it is the absence of impartiality which stands out prominently in Mr. Haworth's language and temper. They seem worthier indeed of 1866 than of 1906. All his praise is reserved for Republican leaders, all his sarcasm for their opponents. Tilden is mentioned only with a sneer. The speech of Jeremiah S. Black before the Electoral Commission is termed (p. 264) "a bitter invective, hardly to have been expected from the man who, in the greatest crisis of our history, had rendered to a weak President one of the . . . most unfortunate opinions ever given by a public officer." The Southern motive for attacking and terrifying negroes is said (pp. 82-83) to be the fact that "as the negro was now 'the nation's ward,' he was a convenient object on which the unthinking could vent their impotent hatred for the North". Mr. Haworth fairly gloats over the humiliation of South Carolina, even styling the carpet-bag abominations in that state "poetic justice" (p. 123), and picturing with evident satisfaction the situation of South Carolinians obliged to listen to "the strains of a song relating to a certain Brown late of Osawatomie" (p. 122).

Wherever Mr. Haworth admits any Republican error, he almost invariably offsets it by an allusion to an equivalent Democratic misdemeanor. The Florida returning board, for instance, "did its work in an unpardonably partisan manner, though in so doing . . . it merely followed examples recently set by the Democratic majority in the national House of Representatives" (p. 67). Further, while admitting that all the returning boards altered returns to secure Republican majorities, Mr. Haworth considers that this was merely a recognition of the fact that in equity the states were Republican, owing to the existence of negro intimidation. "Had there been a fair and free election . . . there can be little if any doubt that the result . . . would have been favorable to Hayes" (p. 340). In short, the monograph is thoroughly scientific in method and sound in its criticism of fact, but is equally unscientific in spirit and temper. The style occasionally descends perilously near flippancy and vulgarity at the expense of Southern Democrats. What prevents this partizanship from damaging the work is the author's admirable clearness and comprehensiveness of research and his recognition that, for all his preferences, there were two sides to each question. Mr. Haworth's decisions are those of an "eight to seven" Republican, every time, but the evidence is fully given.

MINOR NOTICES

Sociological Papers. Volume II., 1905. By Francis Galton, P. Geddes, M. E. Sadler, E. Westermarck, H. Höffding, J. H. Bridges, and J. S. Stuart-Glennie. (Published for the Sociological Society, London, Macmillan and Company, 1906, pp. xiii, 312.) This volume comprises the papers read before the English Sociological Society, and the discussions thereon, during its meetings from October, 1904, to June, 1905. The Sociological Society takes all knowledge as its field, and the seven papers in this volume naturally cover a variety of subjects. The paper by Dr. J. H. Bridges on "Some Guiding Principles in the Philosophy of History" is of interest to historical students. Dr. Bridges argues (p. 203) "that there is room for a new speciality in the study of history, which is to bring the specialities together, and range them, so far as this can be done, in a continuance sequence." Every student of the philosophy of history must have some theory as the basis of his philosophy, and Dr. Bridges finds the unity of history in the gradual disappearance of the theocratic or religious elements of government. This position is very properly criticized as being too narrow; in the discussion of the paper Mr. G. M. Trevelyan asserts that if any agreement could be reached upon a philosophy of history, it would have to be much more all-embracing than the consideration of a single set of phenomena like the alleged decline of the theocratic element in government. The discussion of this subject is stimulating.

Mr. J. S. Stuart-Glennie upholds a curious theory by which he maintains that similar historical events recur every five hundred years; by means of this theory he confidently and definitely predicts future occurrences. Throughout the papers in this volume one is impressed with the predominant influence of Comte among the sociologists. Some of the papers are couched in such language as to render their meaning very obscure; it may almost be said that the sociologists have developed a complete technical terminology before they have defined the proper scope of their science.

Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, at its second annual meeting held at Baltimore, Md., December 26 to 29, 1905. (Lancaster, Pa., Wickersham Press, 1906, pp. 232.) Most of the subjects discussed in this volume are of present political interest; the papers upon negro suffrage in the South and upon municipal ownership of natural monopolies are of great value to one who takes an interest in problems of the present day. The only paper of a definitely historical character is that of Miss Mary L. Hinsdale entitled "The Cabinet and Congress: an Historical Inquiry"; this paper contains a careful discussion of the relations between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, and of the attempts to give Cabinet members seats in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Professor Schaper's report on instruction in political science is of

great interest to teachers both of political science and of history. From the results of examinations given in a number of representative universities Professor Schaper shows conclusively that the average college student is grossly ignorant of the essential features of the American government. Students ignorant of the principles of American government are incapable of getting proper results from college work in American history. Every teacher of historical subjects will agree with Professor Schaper's conclusion (p. 227) that "every candidate for a college degree [should] be required to have attained a certain proficiency in American Government and American History." During the last ten years the colleges and universities have made much progress in the scientific instruction in political science, but little has yet been done in the secondary schools. It is almost a platitude to say that students should be taught the duties of American citizenship, but few realize how little is being done in this direction.

De l'Esprit du Gouvernement Démocratique: Essai de Science Politique. Par Adolphe Prins. (Bruxelles, Misch et Thron, 1905, pp. ix, 294.) This is the second volume of the *Études Sociales* of the Institut de Sociologie (Institut Solvay) of Brussels. M. Prins is a pronounced critic of modern democratic institutions; he rejects the theoretical principles of Rousseau, upon which he finds modern democracy to be based. Rousseau's fundamental idea was that of the sovereignty of the people, and he found the popular will to be expressed by the vote of a numerical majority. Universal suffrage has been the one remedy which liberal statesmen have sought to apply to all political ills. In the opinion of the author universal suffrage and government by a majority have proved to be failures. The majority does not represent all the interests of society, and the tyranny of numbers must be prevented by checks and balances in the organized government. To him a government is democratic only when it represents the numerous social groups of which the state is composed; representation of interests must be substituted for the representation of members. He finds much of good in the estates, orders, and guilds of medieval states and cities; his ideal is the solidarity of interests which Gneist thought to be the essential feature of the English government before the reform measures of the nineteenth century. The state is only a series of groups or associations, each of which has its passions and its opinions; society is not homogeneous, and universal suffrage does not secure unity of opinion. There is no stability in national political life because the permanent interests of the various social groups are not represented therein.

As a remedy for existing evils our author proposes a greater decentralization of local government, and representation in national parliaments based upon relative worth and education of the various social classes. He speaks approvingly of the three-class electoral system of Prussia, and of proportional representation, but his programme would require a much more extensive reform of representative institutions.

The principle of the political equality of individuals has failed in practice and must be abandoned altogether. For Belgium he proposes the division of the country into (1) agricultural districts, (2) small cities, and (3) large cities. Within each of these areas the several classes should choose separate representatives. In the agricultural communities, for example, the proprietors should form one electoral college, the laborers another, each choosing a representative.

The proposal is an ingenious one, but many students of political science will not agree that modern democracy has proved a failure. Few will concede that democratic institutions have failed in the United States. The instability of parliamentary government on the continent of Europe may well be attributed to the brief experience of the people in popular government. M. Prins, when he compares the success of England with the failure of continental countries, fails to see that the comparison is hardly a fair one. Although one may dissent from the author's general thesis, it must be said that he has written a thoughtful and instructive criticism of modern political conditions.

Notes on the History and Political Institutions of the Old World. By Edward Preissig, Ph.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. ix, 719.) This book grew out of a set of student's notes, compiled for an examination, and professes to offer in a single volume an epitome of the two subjects named in the title. Student's notes are likely not to be of great value except to the person who has taken them. Dr. Preissig's book bears marks of its origin in the lack of proportion with which it is constructed, and in the omission of many important subjects. In such a work it would be difficult to justify the omission of any reference to the revolutions of 1848 in the Austrian dominions, and to the Austro-Hungarian government. Practically no mention is made of what is perhaps the most important development of European history in the nineteenth century—the gradual dismemberment of Turkey in Europe.

Dr. Preissig's volume is professedly based upon secondary works in English, and makes no pretense to originality. The compiler sometimes contributes additional bits of information, as, for instance, the statement that the French army invaded Germany in 1870 (p. 616). Threshing as it does over fields already covered by many excellent works, such a book as this should find its justification in clearness of presentation, yet in this respect it can hardly be called a success. Though it contains much information, which is usually accurate, it will not supply the place of the works from which it is compiled, and will be of little use to the student or to the advanced scholar to whom its preface refers. The language is often so confused as to be almost unintelligible, and many errors appear which should have been detected in a careful reading of the manuscript or of the proof.

The Silver Age of the Greek World. By John Pentland Mahaffy, Sometime Professor of Ancient History in the University of Dublin.

(Chicago, The University of Chicago Press; London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1906, pp. vii, 482.) The preface begins as follows: "This book is intended to replace my *Greek World under Roman Sway*, now out of print, in a maturer and better form, and with much new material superadded." Chapter III., "Hellenism in Upper Egypt", pp. 40-58, is entirely new, and is based on the remarkable finds of papyri at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayyum during the last fifteen years, in the publication of which Professor Mahaffy took such an honorable part, and with which the names of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt are so gratefully associated by scholars. Other new pages are 142-143, based on Theodore Reinach's monograph, *Mithradates Eupator*; 288-294, based on or due to the Oxyrhynchus papyri and Bevan's *House of Seleucus*; and 401-402, based on or called forth by Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. Otherwise the book is much the same as in its earlier form (1890). A few sentences have been inserted at p. 70, attempting, unsuccessfully, to defend the assignment of the Pseudo-Callisthenic *Life of Alexander* to a period immediately following the death of Alexander. A brief note has been added here, or suppressed there; a sentence added to the text here, or removed from it there; a phrase or single word changed here and there. Pompeii, for instance, is now "gay and charming" (p. 248), instead of "gay and lively", where the earlier epithet seems, on the whole, better. Heberdey's name has been added (p. 266) to the list of explorers of Asia Minor, etc., etc.

But the general character of the book remains the same in 1906 as it was in 1890. We were grateful for it then, and we are grateful for it now, in spite of its journalistic tone, its parade of independence, its bold raps at great fames and the consensus of scholarly opinion, and its persistence, increased if anything, in drawing the deadly modern parallel. "Parallels in our own day and the British Empire start up unbidden, however angrily the pedant may threaten us, however loftily he may warn us against illustrating a remote age of civilisation by the clear analogies of modern life." Still, one does tire of having ancient Egypt illustrated by modern Ireland, and one refuses to believe that "the curiosity of Roman tourists, who were both wealthy and ignorant, and who crowded into Greece and Asia Minor, gave the same peculiar scope to enterprising cicerones that the influx of Americans to Europe has given in our day". We were not asked to believe this in the earlier edition.

However, one can pardon much after enjoying such a chapter as "The Hellenism of Cicero and His Friends", or such pictures of Greece under the early emperors as are drawn for us with the aid of Dio Chrysostomus. And, after all, it is the only book of its kind. Nowhere else can one get a connected survey of what the Greeks were doing and thinking and saying under the dominance of that empire whose social life has been depicted in such a scholarly and yet fascinating manner by Professor Dill. And when we contrast the paucity of evidence at

the command of Professor Mahaffy with the overflowing wealth of that with which Professor Dill operates, our debt to the Hellenist seems all the greater.

B. PERRIN.

Le Fonti ed I Tempi dello Incendio Neroniano. Per Attilio Profumo. (Rome, Forzani e C., 1905, pp. x, 748.) In this ponderous volume the author discusses the sources of our knowledge of the great fire of 64 A. D., the persecution of the Christians, and everything in the circumstances of the period that might have any possible bearing upon that disaster. The results at which he believes that he has arrived are briefly these: The sources fall into four classes, *fonti derivate indirette*, Eusebius, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius; *fonti derivate prossime*, Dio Cassius; *fonti derivate prossimiori*, Suetonius and Tacitus; and *fonti prime*, Fabius Rusticus, Cluvius Rufus, and the elder Pliny. The authority of the last two is paramount, and their evidence, as well as that of the others except Tacitus, points definitely to Nero as the culprit. His reason for setting fire to the city was that he might have an opportunity to rebuild a large part of it and to carry out his idea of developing the Rome of the Republic into a new Neropolis. The fire occurred in July, 64, and during the few months following the popular outcry against the emperor as the author of the disaster became so vigorous that he felt it necessary to divert the attention of the populace. This he did by arousing such feeling, "abolendo rumori", as resulted in the persecution of 65. That the Christians had nothing to do with the fire itself is shown by the fact that at no time were any legal proceedings instituted against them on that ground. The court version was that the fire was accidental, and this is the alternative explanation offered by Tacitus in his famous narrative. While all other allusions in Tacitus show that he shared the universal belief in Nero's guilt, he felt obliged to admit the official version as a possibility on account of his intimacy with Nerva and the court of Trajan.

The author's method is exhaustive and minute in the extreme, embracing lengthy discussions of many topics by no means germane to the subject, but there is some good work in the book, and the evidence in support of his various theses has been unquestionably marshalled as never before. In the nature of the case, however, certainty will never be reached, for men will never agree entirely in their estimate of the value of Tacitus's statements.

The style is prolix and involved, and the page is disfigured by innumerable parentheses, quotation-marks, points of exclamation and interrogation, italics, and heavy-faced type. The book would be infinitely more useful and valuable if it were one-quarter of its present size.

S. B. P.

An Introduction to the English Historians. By Charles A. Beard, Ph.D., Lecturer in History and Political Science, Columbia University.

(New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. xi, 669.) In this book Mr. Beard tries to solve a problem very real to teachers of large history classes—the twofold problem of introducing each member of the class “to a number of great authorities on special periods and topics” at the same time, and of securing a critical examination of the material in the class-room. His work differs from the well-known source-books in that it consists of excerpts from the secondary sources only: *e. g.*, Maitland, Freeman, and Stubbs. Thirty-six authors are represented and a larger number of works. The difficulty of making a wise selection from abundant materials is recognized and fairly met. Each chapter is prefaced by a brief explanatory statement concerning the citation, which is divided into sections with topical headings. These form a brief, clear analysis. It must be a dull or negligent student who, with these aids, cannot see the bearing of the passage on the topics under discussion. A short bibliographical note concludes each chapter, and an index at the end of the volume gives easy access to the material. When the treatment of the subject by a well-known authority is specially open to criticism, the fact is stated and comparison with other writers recommended; for example, Professor Freeman’s treatment of the Anglo-Saxon royal council, or Witan, as compared with Mr. Chadwick’s in his *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*; or Dr. McKechnie’s careful commentary on the true nature of Magna Carta, and the mass of tradition which grew up about it from re-reading the charter “in the light of the interests of succeeding ages”. Probably no one will criticize the author for devoting half his space to the last three centuries. The present tendency seems to be to emphasize modern history. A glance at the table of contents suggests an interesting book, which is confirmed by a more careful examination. For example, part III., “Mediaeval Institutions”, deals with “The Growth of an English Manor” (Maitland), “The Mediaeval Gilds” (Ashley), “Town Life in the Middle Ages” (Green), “The Church in the Middle Ages” (Stubbs), and “John Wycliffe and the Church” (Trevelyan).

A collection of this kind is open to two serious objections: (1) the subject-matter is in a sense “predigested”, and the student fails to get the discipline which comes from finding the material and analyzing it for himself; (2) the personality of the authors becomes blurred. The book seems to be the work of one man, not of thirty-six. There is a value in handling the original work, a temptation to go beyond the immediate assignment and to become intimate with the author. This is not likely to result from reading a collection of excerpts. To meet this danger, Mr. Beard would require the student to supplement the readings by independent critical work in the library. This plan, if faithfully adhered to, will almost certainly give the students, as a class, a deeper insight into history than they would secure otherwise.

C. T. WYCKOFF.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome II., 1461-1477 (Volumes 5-7). (Geneva, H. Kündig, 1906, pp. ix, 571.) This bulky volume suggests the amount of business transacted by the Genevan councils. The records of six years cover 480 printed quarto pages. In 1474, presumably a fairly typical year, over two meetings a week were held by the councils—and in only one was the secretary obliged to record “multa fuerunt dicta, sed nichil conclusum est.” The municipal housekeeping is like that recorded in the first volume.¹ Certain items throw interesting side-lights on Genevan life: the sturdy maintenance of their liberties against duke and bishop; the order of 1461 “that every one should have a sword behind the door in front of his house or in the workshop of his house”; the attempted regulation of vice through a queen of the vicious; careful auditing of treasurer's accounts, and shrewd bargaining over relief from feudal obligations; an amusing case of a packed caucus where there was “much cavilling” because “more than twelve appeared who were not invited”, with the natural result that in the subsequent annual election the primary assembly broke the slate.

But in these years the councils' records take a wider range. Through dealings with Savoy, Louis XI., Charles the Bold, and the Swiss, Geneva was drawn into vexatious and costly trials; yet through them she added to her thrifty and independent characteristics a needed breadth of interest and experience in the larger interests of Europe.

The volume is prepared with the care and accuracy to be expected from its editors, Louis Dufour-Vernes, the Genevan archivist, and Victor Van Berchem. The improvements which they have introduced into the second volume should be continued and possibly extended—an appendix (with an inedited letter of Charles the Bold), lists of Genevan officers, foot-notes which are models of brevity and usefulness, and a greater fullness and subdivision of the index.

HERBERT D. FOSTER.

Nonciatures de France: Nonciatures de Clément VII. Publiées par l'Abbé J. Fraikin, Ancien Chapelain de St.-Louis-des-Français. Tome I. Depuis la Bataille de Pavie jusqu'au Rappel d'Acciaiuoli, 25 février 1525—juin 1527. (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. lxxxvii, 451.) This is one of the volumes in the series called “Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France”, managed by a committee of which Professor Imbart de la Tour is president, and of which Count Boulay de la Meurthe, Professor E. Chatelain, Abbé Ulysse Chevalier, M. Noël Valois, and other well-known scholars are members. Its publications are to lie principally but not solely in the sixteenth century. The preceding issues were: *Mémoires des Evêques de France sur la Conduite à tenir à l'égard des Réformés* (1698), ed. Jean Lemoine, and *Ambassades en Angleterre de Jean du Bellay*, I. 1527-1529, ed. V. L. Bourrilly and P. de Vaissière. The committee proposes, as one considerable section of its work, to

¹ See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 546.

print the despatches of the papal nuncios in France, from the time of Clement VII. to that of Gregory XIII. Thus it will do for France a work parallel to that which is being done for Germany by the joint efforts of the Prussian and Austrian Historical Institutes in Rome and the Görres-Gesellschaft, and to that which was begun for Spain by Hinojosa. Pieper's articles of a dozen years ago, together with those, more specifically relating to France, which Abbé Pierre Richard has within the last two years published in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, have made clear the earlier history of the institution of nuncios. The correspondence of those of Paris is not complete till we reach the year 1570 and the establishment of the office of the papal secretary of state; but in Clement VII.'s time the institution is well established though not potent. The French committee intends to print the letters and despatches of the nuncios, but not, as a rule, the enclosures. The present volume contains 225 letters and despatches, and also a certain number of papal bulls and royal letters-patent. While it embraces some portions of the correspondence of Capino da Capo and of the cardinal-legate Giovanni Salviati, it is mainly made up of that of Roberto Acciaiuoli, derived mostly from volume I. of the "Nunziatura di Francia" in the Vatican archives and from a volume in those of Florence. Thorough search elsewhere has brought some additional gleanings. Of the letters printed, a good number are already printed in Desjardins's *Relations entre la France et la Toscane*, because Acciaiuoli was also a Florentine ambassador; and much of the information is in Marino Sanuto. Yet there are additional facts relating to the French court and to the changing relations between France and England. The editing seems to answer the highest requirements of scholarship. An excellent introduction traces clearly the papal diplomacy from the battle of Pavia to the check of the league of Cognac.

The True Story of Robert Browne, (1550?-1633), Father of Congregationalism; Including various Points hitherto unknown or misunderstood, with some Account of the Development of his Religious Views, and an extended and improved List of his Writings. By Champlin Burrage, M.A., Research Fellow of Newton Theological Institution. (Oxford, University Press; London, H. Frowde, 1906, pp. viii, 75.) Mr. Champlin Burrage, son of Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage, the well-known Baptist historian, has devoted himself for a number of years to investigation in England of the sources of Congregationalism, and especially to the life and writings of Robert Browne. His efforts have been crowned with marked success. Three unpublished manuscripts of Browne of decided importance are the trophies of his search, one of which was printed, in 1904, as *A New Years Gift* (London). By reason of the new light which these discoveries throw upon Browne's history and views, and by further investigation of the tangled story, he has been able to correct and supplement not merely the work of older biographers, of whom the late Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter was the

chief, but in some particulars that of so recent and deserving a student as the Rev. F. Ives Cater of Oundle (*Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, II. 151-159, 235-246). The whole monograph is painstaking and workmanlike; but a chief feature of general interest will be found in its exhibition from Browne's own writings of his gradual change of opinion from rigid Separatism, through increasing conformity, to a position which made his own acceptance of ordination in the Church of England on September 30, 1591, a not unnatural step, however inconsistent with his earlier beliefs. This fuller knowledge of the phases of Browne's mental development enables Mr. Burrage to combat successfully the theory advocated by Dr. Dexter that his later history is to be explained on the supposition of the breakdown of an overwrought mind. Whether Mr. Burrage leaves Browne a character more worthy of respect may be questioned; but his picture is undoubtedly more accurate, and the nature of the man he portrays more consistent, than that delineated by earlier and less instructed biographers. The little volume is one to be welcomed by all students of the beginnings of Separatism and of Congregationalism.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652-1654. Edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner and C. T. Atkinson. Vol. III. (London, the Society, 1906, pp. xviii, 452.) In this third volume, long delayed by Dr. Gardiner's death, there are almost exactly three hundred documents, divided into two sections: part VII., Tromp's Voyage to the Isle of Ré, and part VIII., The Reorganisation of the Fleet. Dr. Gardiner, we are informed, had selected and arranged the papers, had written the introduction to part VII., and had made a certain number of footnotes to both parts. The rest of the editing is due to Mr. Atkinson of Exeter College, Oxford, who will edit the remainder of the series. It is plain that there will be two or three more volumes, so that we are likely to have a greater fullness of information respecting this war than respecting almost any other naval war of former days. The present volume, like its predecessors, presents many Dutch documents (translated) from the archives of the Hague, chiefly resolutions of the States General and correspondence of that body and the admiralties with Tromp; orders of the Council of State, letters of Blake, and other documents from the Public Record Office and the British Museum; and extracts from pamphlets and newsletters. In part VII. the chief interest centres around the battle off Dungeness. The difficulties of Tromp's double task, to convoy the merchant fleet to the Isle of Ré and also to seek out and destroy the enemy, the inferior state of preparation of Blake's fleet, the causes and responsibility for this, the nature of Tromp's strategy, are clearly manifested. "It is needless to say that no word occurs in these papers relating to the fabulous broom which Tromp is supposed to have hoisted at his masthead." The longest pieces in this part are the respective journals of Rear-Admiral Florissen, Vice-

Admiral Evertsen, and Commodore Ruyter. It is a striking defect in the editing that while volume and page are minutely given for every document from the English archives, "Archives of the Hague", without more, is deemed a sufficiently definite designation for the Dutch pieces. Part VIII. is confined to English pieces. As the victory of the English fleet at the Kentish Knock was followed by much searching of heart and cleaning of house among the Dutch admiralities, so Blake's defeat at Dungeness led at once to vigorous efforts to increase the fleet, reform the organization of the navy, and improve the condition of the seamen. The details can here be followed. The first two volumes were reviewed in this journal seven years ago (V. 162, 792).

Noterelle Varesine. By F. Della Chiesa. (Varese, Bagaini, Codara and Co., 1906, pp. 193.) Della Chiesa's volume will pass neglected by those who estimate the value of historical works exclusively by their bulk, and the quantity of their foot-notes and bibliographical references. But it is from such volumes as this, written with noble simplicity by patriots in whom the sacred fire of sacrifice still burns, that we are able to-day to understand the force and sway of those patriotic ideals which freed and united Italy in the century just passed, and the heroism and self-abnegation which have made of her a great nation. The motives which induce revolutions are invariably complex, the sordid intermingled with the heroic and the sublime; but it may be stated without fear of contradiction, that in the revolutions which made modern Italy, the ideal had a vastly preponderating influence, and was sustained by a fervor of sacrifice such as history has seldom had occasion to record. Commercial advantages and personal ambition occupied a secondary place in the struggle for Italian independence and unity; and the personal narratives of patriots and veterans, when simply and dispassionately written, have an incalculable value as records of historical forces less material and more evanescent than the vulgar influences with which the historian has more commonly to deal. Della Chiesa's *Noterelle Varesine*, like Abba's *Noterelle d'uno dei Mille* and Settembrini's *Ricordanze*, gives one a truer conception of the spirit of the Italian *Risorgimento* than libraries of statistics, or of diplomatic correspondence, or of parliamentary discussions, essential as these are.

The volume relates principally to revolutionary sentiment and action in Varese, Della Chiesa's native city, in 1848, in the unhappy years that followed, and in the stirring days of 1859 and 1860; to Garibaldian action at Luino and Morazzone in August, 1848; and to the writer's own experiences as a lad of sixteen or seventeen in the Garibaldian campaigns of 1866 and 1867. The chapters of personal narrative upon these last mentioned campaigns give characteristic pictures of Garibaldian enrollments as well as of active service in the field. At Mentana Della Chiesa was made prisoner; afterward he was confined in Castel S. Angelo, in S. Michele, and in a *bagno* at Civitavecchia. Not less moving are his descriptions of the fervid days of March, 1848, at Varese,

based upon the testimony of participants in those events, and his recollections of childhood in the same city in the glorious days of 1859. Varese is close to the Swiss border of Lombardy, and as a border city it offered peculiar advantages to the conspirator, and was strongly garrisoned by the Austrian forces. The sketches of the meetings of café clubs, of home colloquies behind barred doors, of children's martial games, of conspirators' grim practical jokes, and of mothers' acts of Spartan sacrifice, are glimpses of the life not only of Varese, but that was lived in a hundred Lombard and Venetian cities as well, in days when hatred of foreign domination and the sense of nascent Italian nationality colored every act of public and private life. In few volumes upon the *Risorgimento* are these pictures so vividly drawn. They constitute an important contribution to history.

H. NELSON GAY.

Memories and Thoughts. Men—Books—Cities—Art. By Frederic Harrison. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. ix, 409.) This volume is a collection of articles which appeared during the past twenty-four years in various American and English periodicals of the better class. By the author the book is described as "a chapter from certain *Memoirs* that [he] intends to retain in manuscript *penes se*". The articles are occasional in origin, and in character they are miscellaneous, varying in topic from discussions of card-playing and tobacco to appreciations of Tennyson and Renan on the occasion of their deaths. A section of twenty-three pages is devoted by Mr. Harrison to his impressions of America in 1901, and another of twenty pages to his memoirs from 1837 to 1896. The articles, forty-four in number, are necessarily brief. One of the longer paints an ideal future of London, and another treats of Paris's past.

The part of the volume which approaches most nearly the province of the historian was written, as was most of the book, since 1895. This part may be divided roughly into two sections, the one discussing the makers of history and the other its writers. Of the former sort are the author's proposal in 1897 to celebrate the millenary of King Alfred in 1901, three articles on Oliver Cromwell, and single articles on Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin; while the historians who fall within the author's survey are Gibbon, Carlyle, and Motley. The occasion on which Mr. Harrison set forth his views on historical writing, under the title of "Scientific History", was the appearance of Herbert Paul's *Life of Froude*. The volume in general is critical in its nature; it offers little definite information to professional historians. To them indeed the book is not addressed.

La Inquisición de México. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra, Tomo V.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1906, pp. ii, 287.) The fifth volume of this valuable series contains twenty-six documents devoted to the history of

the Inquisition of Mexico, that curious anachronism on American soil, which persisted up to the second decade of the nineteenth century. Among these documents now made available to students possibly the most interesting is the record of a discussion in the Spanish Cortes which extended from December 8, 1812, to February 5, 1813, as to the abolition of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, in which the reasons for its establishment and the steps taken to found it are treated. This discussion further developed the idea that the system of the Inquisition is incompatible with that of the Constitution. Document no. iv. contains brief statements of fifty-five persons tried by the Mexican Inquisition in 1572; no. vi. is a similar list of trials from 1597 to 1601, and no. xv. is a list of those condemned in 1647.

The present volume adds considerably to the printed documents concerning the Inquisition in Mexico and worthily follows the useful volume published by Luis González Obregón in 1895. In spite of the destruction of many manuscripts there is still a vast amount of material relating to the Mexican Inquisition which requires to be digested or at least published in abstract before its history can be fully set forth. The present volume is a useful contribution to that end.

The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States; Florida, 1562-1574. By Woodbury Lowery. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, pp. xxi, 500.) The late Mr. Woodbury Lowery was peculiarly fortunate in the subject for the second volume of his history of the Spanish settlements in the United States, a work broken off just as he approached the portion where his exceptional opportunities and careful preparation promised results of the utmost interest. How rich the field is which still awaits thorough investigation, and how far the ideas now current may have to be modified, is clearly suggested by the amount of detail new to English readers in Mr. Lowery's account of the familiar episode of the massacre of Laudonnière's Florida settlement and the bloody revenge of the Frenchmen. Although the major part of the material used by him was printed in 1893, it appears not to have been utilized by the more recent American writers who have touched on the subject. The *Dos Relaciones de la Florida* edited by D. Genaro García in 1902 are equally entitled to rank as new material, at least to students in this country. The unpublished manuscripts to which he has had access consist chiefly of the public and private reports of the Spanish agents at the other European courts.

If Mr. Lowery's point of view is at times somewhat clearly from the Spanish side, he might very properly have claimed that this was necessary in order to leave with the modern English reader a correct impression of the causes and the results of the misfortunes which overtook French and Spanish alike. For many well-known reasons, the writers and readers of history, outside of Spain, have for three hundred years been imbued with a deeply-rooted hatred toward everything that

emanated from the Peninsula. For a long while there were excellent political reasons why this feeling should have been fostered, but it has persisted in the popular mind long since there ceased to be any proper justification for it. This fact made Mr. Lowery's task particularly difficult, and the success with which he accomplished it adds much to the keen regret that it must remain only half done.

G. P. W.

The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain (1604-1616) Narrated by Himself. Translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne. Together with the Voyage of 1603, reprinted from *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Edward Gaylord Bourne, Professor of History in Yale University. Two volumes. (New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1906, pp. xl, 254; ix, 229.) Champlain wrote five works: (1) the *Brief Discours* relating to his voyages of 1599-1601 to the West Indies and New Spain; (2) the *Sauvages*, or voyage of 1603 to New France, printed in 1604, of which Purchas printed an English version; (3) the *Voyages* of 1613, including the *Quatriesme Voyage* which, though it has a separate title, is bound up with the *Voyages*; (4) the *Voyages et Descouvertures* of 1619, reissued in 1620 and in 1627; and finally (5) *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale*, published in 1632. This last, which furnishes the main contents of Professor Bourne's latest contribution to the "Trail Makers" series, begins with a brief and not very accurate account of French colonial endeavors before Champlain's time, describes succinctly his voyage of 1603, presents in a somewhat abridged and differing form the material of his books of 1613 and 1619, continues the narrative to 1631, with a record mostly occupied with local French happenings at Quebec, and adds a treatise on navigation. Of this final work of the great explorer and colonizer, Professor Bourne prints the first half, extending to 1616, when Champlain's career as an explorer came virtually to an end. The editor rejects as lacking foundation the notion that the work published in 1632 was subjected to a revision unfriendly to the Recollects and over-friendly to the Jesuits. After the portion of this work reproduced by him he reprints Purchas's version of the *Sauvages*, though by date it might as properly precede. The translation is readable, the introduction excellent, and the notes, though not numerous, frequently offer original and valuable suggestions. Champlain's map of New France of 1632 and some of his plates are reproduced, but with indifferent success.

The Records of the Virginia Company of London; The Court Book, from the Manuscript in the Library of Congress. Edited, with an Introduction and Bibliography, by Susan Myra Kingsbury, A.M., Ph.D., Instructor in Simmons College. Preface by Herbert Levi Osgood, A.M., Ph.D., Professor in Columbia University. Two volumes. (Wash-

ington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. 636, 611.)¹ Many efforts have been made, through a period of nearly fifty years, to secure the publication of these priceless records of our first colonizing company. We have had only the inaccurate quotations of Neill and the insufficient extracts printed some years ago by the Virginia Historical Society. But all those who have taken part in former efforts to publish ought to rejoice that they failed, since the delay has resulted in bringing out, in the fulness of time, a much better edition than would have been produced earlier. In respect to externals, the two volumes now before us are worthy of their occasion, stately and elegant. To Miss Kingsbury's scholarly introduction, issued separately in a small number of copies some months ago, we offered our tribute of praise in the October number (p. 174). This introduction is now reprinted, save the list of authorities. On p. 209 (not p. 215, as the table of contents indicates) begins the Court Book itself, extending from April 28, 1619, to June 7, 1624, and filling the remainder of the first volume and the whole of the second. A third volume, containing records additional to those of the court books, seems to be indicated in the introduction; it is to be hoped that it will be executed. The present volumes have, as illustrations, facsimiles of the handwriting of Nicholas Ferrar, Edward Collingwood, and the various copyists, and are preceded by a preface in which Professor Osgood sets forth the value and importance of the records.

All possible pains seem to have been taken to insure a correct text. In the various questions which must arise as to how a correct text is to be presented, the tendency of the decisions has been toward the Chinese side of the questions, so to speak. The symbols for "the" and "and" have been used instead of the words; the contractions for *par*, *per*, *prae*, *pri*, *pro*, and even *es*, have been represented by special types. It seems probable that those for whom the table explaining these contractions was devised would be advantaged by an explanation of those involved in "Xofer" and "Xp̃er". Though these records could profitably be accompanied by numberless notes, and cry aloud for a large number, which it is to be hoped are later to be supplied, at present there are but a few foot-notes, all belonging to one of two classes, those which are strictly textual, and those which identify documents mentioned in the text. In a table of symbols (I. 120) it looks odd to print "P.=Imperial Library, Paris"; nor are the archives of the Society of Jesus at Rome.

Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Su Virreinato en la Nueva España, Sus Contiendas con los PP. Jesuitas, Sus Partidarios en Puebla, Sus Apariciones, Sus Escritos Escogidos, Etc., Etc. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García and

¹The Library of Congress announces that the whole edition (1,500 copies) will be placed on sale, no free distribution whatever being intended; copies may be bought from the Superintendent of Documents, at the Government Printing Office.—ED.

Carlos Pereyra, Tomo VII.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1906, pp. viii, 295.) Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, as Fiscal of the Indies, Protector of the Natives, *Visitador General* of New Spain, Viceroy, judge of the *residencias* of three viceroys, Bishop of Puebla, and Archbishop of Mexico, played so prominent a part in a troubled and important period of the history of New Spain that students will welcome any addition to the sources of our knowledge of the man and his times. Of the eleven documents in Señor García's collection, three (nos. I., VIII., and X.), occupying nearly a third of the volume, have hitherto been unpublished, and are, therefore, an accession to the printed literature of the subject. Two other documents (nos. III. and IX.), though hitherto extant in printed form, have been extremely rare, and belong practically in the class with the foregoing. For these five documents, even students having access to large collections of Spanish-Americana will be glad to turn to Señor García's volume. The three documents hitherto unprinted are: "Informe del Ilmo. Sr. D. Juan de Palafox, Obispo de Puebla, al Exmo. Sr. Conde de Salvatierra, Virrey de la Nueva España, 1642"; "Autos hechos sobre el alboroto acaecido en la ciudad de Puebla con motivo de haberse recibido las remisoriales de Su Santidad para las diligencias previas á la beatificación del Ilmo. Sr. D. Juan de Palafox, 1729"; and "Actas del Concilio Provincial Mexicano IV, celebrado en el año de 1771, en las cuales consta haberse resuelto pedir á Su Santidad Clemente XIII la promoción de la causa del Exmo. Ilmo., y V. Sr. D. Juan de Palafox, y asimismo la extinción de la Compañía de Jesus, 1771." The contents of the last two of these three documents are indicated by the titles, and it will be seen that they bear rather upon Palafox's reputation long after his death than upon his acts and his times. The first is a report, such as was customarily made by retiring viceroys, by Palafox to his successor Salvatierra, on the condition of New Spain, embodying suggestions for the improvement of the government. It is an excellent summary of the state of the country, and, taken with no. XI., Palafox's "De la Naturaleza del Indio", admirably reflects the dominant interests of the period.

The remaining documents are reprints of sources that may be had in most large collections on Spanish-America, and consequently will be useful mainly to students who have not access to such libraries, or to persons who wish illustrative sources on the period in convenient form. And these classes of students, the ones to whom the book as a whole will most appeal, are the very ones who will most regret its chief shortcoming—the lack of adequate editorial helps. It is to be hoped that in subsequent volumes Señor García will give his readers the benefit of more of these helps, which both his knowledge and his facilities so well enable him to supply. Viewed as a collection of illustrative materials on the period, the selection of matter has been well made, although one misses documents bearing directly on the altercations between the viceroy, Escalona, and Palafox, such, for instance, as might have been taken from *El Venerable Señor*. HERBERT E. BOLTON.

Baptist Councils in America. A Historical Study of their Origin and the Principles of their Development. By William Henry Allison, B.D. (Chicago, Press of George C. Hazlitt and Company, 1906, pp. 115.) In this work the author traces the principle of fellowship among Baptist churches in England and America from its beginning in the seventeenth century to the formation, in 1896, of the Permanent Council of Baptist Churches of the City of New York. A council in the Baptist polity is technically an organized body convened at the call of a local church and composed of representatives of the churches to which the call is issued, for the purpose of advising the convening church in regard to such matters as are stated in the call. The appearance of these councils in the Baptist denomination in the eighteenth century is presented in this study as a reflection of the democratic ideas of that time; and the author discusses closely the status of these councils then and since and their functions, still purely advisory, in such matters as the organization and dissolution of churches, the ordination and deposition of ministers, and the preservation of inter-congregational harmony. The work is furnished with a bibliography of its subject; it is based on a careful investigation of historical collections chiefly in New England.

A Tour of Four Great Rivers: the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware, in 1769; being the Journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey. Edited with a Short History of the Pioneer Settlements, by Francis W. Halsey. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. lxxiii, 102.) On the third of May, 1769, less than six months after the establishment of the Fort Stanwix Property Line, Richard Smith, a younger brother of the historian of New Jersey, left Burlington to superintend, for himself and associates, the survey of a tract of 69,000 acres lying in the southern part of what is now Otsego County, New York. His route lay across New Jersey and up the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers as far as Scramlin's (?Canajoharie). Proceeding thence to the Susquehanna via Cherry Valley and Otsego Lake, he left that river at Oghwaga, gained the Delaware at Cookoose (Deposit), and followed it to Burlington. The journey, which he estimated at 676 miles in all, was completed the tenth of June. From a copy of the careful journal which Smith kept throughout his trip, Mr. Francis W. Halsey printed some extracts in his *Old New York Frontier* (1901), and now, having compared it with the original manuscript, he has edited the entire diary, in a generously "limited" edition of 780 copies, as *A Tour of Four Great Rivers*. Richard Smith was an agreeable person as well as a useful diarist. He noted carefully the character of the soil and the timber, the size of the sawmills, the extension of settlement, the sources of supply of provisions, the prices of land and of goods, the opportunities for roads, and hundreds of other prosaic details which might throw light upon the actual and prospective value of his lands. And he gave a description no less exact of "the only Rattle Snake [he] ever saw alive", and recorded his pleasure at discovering the nests of the redbird, and of

"the Swamp Robin who delights in Solitude, avoiding the Haunts of Mankind, and whose chearful and sprightly Note in the dreary Wilderness often enlivens the weary Traveller". The journal is well indexed and seems to be printed, in general, with praiseworthy accuracy; but Smith, who doubtless knew his Horace, never wrote (p. 49) "Credat Indæns Apella non Ego". The "short history of the pioneer settlements" which forms three-fourths of the editor's introduction serves well enough as a pretext for a score of good half-tone views, but is too slight to deserve more serious consideration. The foot-notes, though perhaps adequate for the popular reader, will be found to explain the point which the student already understands more frequently than that as to which he needs enlightenment; and they are uniformly destitute of page references to the numerous books which they mention.

C. H. H.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772. Edited by John Pendleton Kennedy. (Richmond, 1906, pp. xxxv, 333.) Like its predecessor, reviewed in this journal last year (XI. 420), this volume appears in sumptuous form. The preceding volume covered the last years of this venerable assembly, beginning with the year 1773. The present, also divided by calendar years, covers three sessions. The first, an adjourned session of the assembly of 1769, began May 21 and ended June 28, 1770. The second, a session of the same assembly after prorogation, lasted from July 11 to July 20, 1771. Then came a dissolution, and a new assembly, which began a session on February 10 and continued it till April 11, 1772. The editor's introduction, which makes no distinction between adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution, and is not free from misprints, gives February 12 as the date of beginning of this session, and states that it adjourned on April 11, whereas the text shows plainly that it was prorogued. In the plan of issue, the next volume will run backward into the interesting years immediately preceding 1770. The text of the present volume is, of course, like that of almost any legislative journal, impossible to summarize. It is handsomely printed, with almost no annotation. It would be a convenience if dates appeared in the running headlines of the pages. Since the lists of burgesses are not a part of the journals, and therefore are open to question (*e. g.*, the journal itself shows, pp. 252, 289, that Henry Blagrove's membership for Lunenburg is not completely stated in the list) the sources from which the list is compiled should be stated.

Mr. Kennedy's introduction is mainly occupied with the questions of boundary which arose in the House of Burgesses during these years, and especially with documents on the Indian boundary and the grant to the Ohio Company. A map illustrating these matters is prefixed.

Volume II. of the *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (1906, pp. vi, 604), recently issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, was prepared by the late Mr. B. F.

Stevens, seen through the press by his successor Mr. Henry J. Brown, and printed in Dublin. (It may be mentioned that British government publications are now to be obtained through Messrs. Wyman and Sons, Limited, of Fetter Lane, and not as heretofore through Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode.) Like its predecessor, the volume is occupied with a calendar of papers relating to the American war of independence preserved by Maurice Morgann, secretary to Sir Guy Carleton. These headquarters papers are rich in correspondence of Howe, Clinton, and Carleton with their subordinates, especially upon matters of army business. Through the correspondence of Col. Roger Morris, "Inspector of the Claims of Refugees", and of the board which succeeded to his functions, and through that of the leaders of Tory military organizations, such as Colonel Benjamin Thompson, the Loyalists figure largely in the collection. The present volume extends from August, 1779, to June, 1782. It includes many interesting papers on the Penobscot expedition, the sieges of Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, and Pensacola, and the operations of Cornwallis and his subordinates. There is an excellent index.

The Canadian War of 1812. By C. P. Lucas, C.B. (Oxford, Henry Frowde, 1906, pp. v, 269.) This book is intended to be one of several dealing with Canadian history, and is made up from the *Annual Register*, James's *Naval and Military Occurrences*, Brannan's *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States during the Wars with Great Britain in the Years 1812 to 1815*, and the *Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier*, edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Lieutenant-colonel E. Cruikshank. If to these are added several histories of Canada and *Reports on Canadian Archives*, all the sources of material are stated, and they are neither extensive nor new. Six of John Melish's excellent, but not inaccessible, maps are well reproduced, and there are two other small new maps.

The purpose of the book is to set out a perfectly fair account of the military operations of the War of 1812, and this is done in a simple and straightforward way, stress being laid especially upon the agency of Canadian troops and commanders. Throughout there breathes a strong feeling of colonial patriotism and of kinship between Americans and Canadians.

The American plan of capturing Canada failed ignominiously, and largely because of the loyal attitude of the Canadians themselves; and the effect of the book is to impress upon us the fact that Canada as much as England was our foe. It would be of no profit to trace the progress of the war as it is given in this book, but especial attention may be called to the last chapter, which is so judicious and discriminating as to inspire the wish that there were more chapters like it.

It gives a brief narrative of the negotiating of the treaty of Ghent, and does not belittle that much-discussed agreement. It left the two countries where they had been before the war, but it left them at peace.

"The treaty", says Lucas (pp. 254-255), "was beyond question a triumph for American diplomacy. They had received back far more than they gave; they had successfully withstood nearly all the British claims. Though consenting to a provision on the subject of the Indians, they had eliminated from it nearly all its sting and force; and, unaided by the battle of New Orleans which was yet to come, they had brought their country unscathed out of a most dangerous position in which it had been placed by a policy which had aimed at conquest and had ended in failure."

Mr. Lucas says that in Great Britain the war has never been considered as of consequence. It brought little credit and apparently no result. Great Britain entered into it unwillingly and was glad to get out of it, and to forget it, especially because her navy had lost in reputation. The war brought no great exploits and no great military commanders on either side; but from the standpoint of colonial history it was fruitful of important issues, for it was a successful struggle on the part of Canada to save her country, and it showed that colonial patriotism had not left the British Empire when the United States left it. It brought the races together, and was the national war of Canada. It determined definitely that Great Britain should keep her place in North America.

Volumes XXVIII. and XXIX. of *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906, pp. 380, 424) deal in considerable measure with Oregon and furnish exceedingly valuable material for the early history of the far northwest. The longer of the two narratives is "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory", by Thomas J. Farnham. The reprint is made from the London edition of 1843. Farnham was a young Vermont lawyer, who had moved to Illinois in search of health and variety. An enterprising and venturesome body, he was stirred to interest and excitement by the tales of the fair Oregon country which were told by a travelling missionary, Jason Lee. This was in the autumn of 1838; and under Farnham's leadership a small band of adventurers, assuming as a motto "Oregon or the Grave", started out the next year on the long trip to the coast. Of course there were dissensions, disappointments, and hardships, but Farnham, who at least lacked neither enthusiasm nor courage, found his way to Oregon, saw the country in some degree, and became acquainted there with the missionaries and their work. The story of adventure is told with very unusual literary skill and, while one is tempted on account of the very eloquence of the narrative and the ease with which the writer masters dramatic language to distrust some of his conclusions and reflections, the tale will have permanent interest for the reader and value for the student of Western history. Farnham was instrumental in preparing and in forwarding to Congress, early in 1840, a petition from some seventy Americans on the coast, asking for a territorial government and "the civil institutions of

the American Republic". Perhaps Farnham had something to do with "saving" Oregon.

The latter portion of the second volume is taken up with the letters of Father Pierre Jean de Smet, a Jesuit missionary, who was engaged in the pious work of his order in Oregon—"Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46", reprinted from the edition of 1847. The narrative naturally has to do with missionary enterprise among the Indian tribes, and with accounts of Indian customs, but it also treats of general frontier conditions in part and tells of adventures.

These volumes, as is usual in the series, are well edited. The reviewer suspects—only suspects because he has not been able to compare the reprint with the original edition—that there are a few errors in proof-reading; but these would not be worth mentioning were it not for the high standard already set for the workmanship of the series. Should not "seat" (XXVIII. 13) be zeal? "Fiesta" (*ibid.*, 14) certainly is meant for siesta. Is not "pipes" (XXIX. 390) printed for pikes?

México durante su Guerra con los Estados Unidos. By José Fernando Ramírez. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra, Tomo III.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1905, pp. viii, 322.) The title of this volume is somewhat misleading. The book is in no sense an account of the military operations of the war between Mexico and the United States. Nearly one-half of it is a chronicle in diary form of the events late in 1845 and early in 1846 surrounding the downfall of the Herrera government and the Paredes revolution. The other half, with the exception of one letter to Santa Anna (postdated one year) and another from that Mexican leader in which he testifies to the patriotism and virtue of Ramírez, consists of letters written by Ramírez to a friend during the period from August, 1846, to October, 1847. Ramírez never played a sufficiently prominent part in Mexican public life (he was a subordinate official in the department of foreign relations during the war) to give his memoirs positive value as an original source of information. His diaries and letters, now first printed, have little to do with warfare, for he was a *rara avis* in Mexican society, having no taste or capacity for a military career. The editor of the volume states that Ramírez "saw in wars merely superficial and passing events; he scorned them by seeking in more profound studies the explanation of our [Mexico's] disasters". The pessimistic comments of Ramírez upon Mexican politics and life can hardly be termed profound, for they frequently descend to the level of gossip. He is a usually temperate but not wholly original critic of his contemporaries. He bewailed the weakness of Mexico, to which her traditional misgovernment and corrupt leaders had reduced her. When Slidell arrived as minister from the United States, prior to the Paredes revolution. Ramírez realized the hopelessness of any effort by Mexico to defend her territory. With the final defeat of Santa Anna he admitted that, sad as

Mexico's punishment had been, it was deserved. Santa Anna was then "infamous and accursed". As in the earlier volumes of this series, the typography leaves much to be desired.

JESSE S. REEVES.

Americana. Reiseindrücke, Betrachtungen, Geschichtliche Gesamtansicht. Von Karl Lamprecht. (Freiburg i. B., Hermann Heyfelder, 1906, pp. 147.) Professor Lamprecht explains that, while his journey in America at the time of the St. Louis congresses was accompanied with abundant note-taking, he had at the time no intention of writing a book of travels; but, having contributed some of his impressions to a German newspaper after his return, he found himself so much attacked and misunderstood by German Americans that he was drawn on into the printing of this small book. The justification of such a procedure lies in the results, which in this case, it must be said, are of very unequal value in the three divisions of the book. The author takes great pains to distinguish these three sections. The first embraces impressions of travel which are strictly contemporaneous, derived from a note-book in which he daily recorded only those things which he saw with his own eyes, and which accordingly he treats with somewhat the respect which we accord to an original historical source. Often these notes are interesting; but it is because they cast light on the most interesting personality among German historians, and show him broadening from week to week into a better appreciation of what he was seeing. It is not because they have any value of their own. A judicious historical scholar *may* feel warranted in confiding to his note-book, while his field of observation is still confined to the Americans on board his steamship, that American society lacks such and such qualities that mark the highest civilization, or that the rude designs of the American coinage, now first inspected, are characteristic of our status; he may conclude before reaching Montreal, by observations from the window of the train proceeding via Albany and Plattsburg, that all the advantages of soil lie on the side of Canada as compared with the United States. But will he print these hastily formed conclusions in a book? Part second consists of conclusions into which information obtained from others enters more largely, and which were written down at a later and better-informed stage of the author's progress. Here are many acute observations, on such topics as American piety, the proneness to quantitative estimates, military heroes, the universities—observations which show not only keen sight, but an extremely wide range of interests and the habit of considering all things from the standpoint of the history of civilization. But the best section is the third, in which, from this particular point of view, the author attempts to estimate the significance of the main phenomena of American civilization at its present state of development. Here also we may occasionally find striking conclusions advanced with confidence upon the basis of insufficient reading. But there is something inspiring in the breadth,

and in the main the justness, of vision with which the gifted author sets forth the essential problems of the history of American civilization, appreciates their vast importance to the future and in universal history, and suggests their solution. Many an American historical student, indifferent to art, music, literature, and the drama, unmindful of the instruction which might be derived from the history of other "new" countries and colonial populations, might find his horizon profitably widened by reading the last fifty pages of this little book.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Second Series, Vol. XIX. (Boston, 1906, pp. xviii, 583.) The most interesting documents in the volume are the letters of Edmund Pendleton, the extracts from the journals of Dr. John Pierce, and the European letters of Mrs. John Thornton Kirkland. The most interesting articles are those of Professor Franklin B. Dexter on Abraham Bishop, Professor Dunning's on Andrew Johnson, and Mr. Charles Francis Adams's long review of Mr. Rhodes's fifth volume. Nearly a fifth of the volume is devoted to the commemoration of former members of the Society. One such contribution rises far above the conventional level of such "tributes" and sketches, Mr. John T. Morse's biographical memoir of the late Colonel Henry Lee, a skilled biographer's treatment of an extremely vivacious personality.

The above volume inevitably falls into comparison with the eighth volume of the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1906, pp. xix, 465), which covers the transactions of the Society in 1902-1904. The Colonial Society is at a disadvantage in having a more restricted field, being likely to confine itself in the main to the period before the Revolution, while the Massachusetts Historical Society now has or should have its richest field in the period since that event. The younger society has no such store of materials in its own possession to draw upon, nor has it the literary traditions of the elder. It is not yet under the temptation to devote too much space to the commemoration of deceased members. On the whole, the best of the contents of the recent volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* is marked by a wider range of historical insight and a weightier exhibit of thought and experience; yet if we speak of the average contents, the volumes of the younger society are more interesting and show more energy and a disposition to deal with a greater variety of topics. Both volumes are made up with care, handsomely printed and well indexed. The latest volume of the Colonial Society presents 58 pages of index to 405 of text. Its most important articles are those of Mr. John Noble on the Vice-Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay and of Mr. Andrew M. Davis on the Confiscation Laws of the revolutionary period. The most interesting documents are letters of James Martineau, James Russell Lowell, and Nathaniel Walker Appleton, the latter exhibiting Cam-

bridge and other Massachusetts affairs in the years 1773-1784. The Society draws, to its advantage, a considerable part of its lesser documents from the former District of Maine. Mr. Albert Matthews continues to illustrate the history of American expressions and their use from his exhaustless storehouse of quotations—in the present volume the locutions “statehouse”, “Joyce Junior”, “red man”, “Palatine”, and “park”.

Historic Towns of the Connecticut River Valley. By George S. Roberts. (Schenectady, Robson and Adees, 1906, pp. vii, 494.) The towns are taken up one by one, in an order extending from the mouth of the river northward. There is, however, little other order; repetitions are frequent, and in the selection of information to be included or excluded no clear purpose appears beyond that of furnishing entertaining reading-matter. There are good pictures.

With the assumption of the office of Archivist of the Dominion of Canada by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty a new era in the history of the Canadian archives began. This will not be contested by any one who has read the preface to the *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1904* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1905, pp. xlv, 395, 357). In the first place, an important administrative change has taken place, consequent upon an investigation by a commission appointed in 1898. An Order in Council of 1903, based on their report, fused the two offices of Archivist and Keeper of Records (the former hitherto under the Secretary of Agriculture, the latter under the Secretary of State), and placed under the new officer's control not only the copies from Europe and other papers collected by the industry of the late Dr. Brymner, but also all the older portions of the papers preserved in the various departments of the Dominion Government. A large and suitable archive-building has been erected, and provision has been made for bringing into it not only the historical material now in Ottawa but also much else that is in provincial repositories. Dr. Doughty's first report, besides giving a comprehensive survey of these transactions, outlines a plan of campaign on which the continuance of transcription in Europe may progress. The plans hitherto followed having led to much duplication, the printing of calendars in advance of the receipt of transcripts will be suspended, in the conviction that better calendars can be made after the materials obtained from Europe have been, for any given period, combined with those preserved in the Dominion. As a preliminary to a general guide to the materials for Canadian history, the archivist prints in this report an extensive account of the archives of Canada prepared in 1787. The volume also contains the full text of the instructions to the governors, 1763-1787, some papers relating to the war of 1775-1776, and a summary of documents in Paris, prepared by the late M. Édouard Richard, supplementary to his report printed in 1900, and provided with a welcome index. The *Report concerning*

Canadian Archives for the year 1905 is to consist of three volumes, of which two, the former of nearly 1,300 pages, the latter of a thousand, have already appeared. The first contains a report on the archives of the Maritime Provinces, many papers from the Illinois settlements and the collections of the Chicago Historical Society, the instructions to the governors of Lower Canada from 1791 to 1839, letters of Vaudreuil, Lévis, and Dumas in 1760, a further summary of Parisian documents, mostly orders of the king and despatches, 1742-1784, with an elaborate index, and a genealogy of the families of La Beauce, P.Q. The second volume, except for a minute census of Isle Royale, taken by the Sieur de la Roque in 1752, is wholly devoted to genealogical material, for the Isle d'Orléans and Acadia, though the latter is accompanied with many documents which have a bearing on the expulsion of the Acadians. Genealogy, it is well known, is an object of passionate interest in French Canada, which may possibly justify so large an expenditure of government print in this field.

In 1903 the Province of Ontario established a Bureau of Archives and appointed Mr. Alexander Fraser to the office of Provincial Archivist. His first report, the *First Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly (Toronto, King's Printer, 1904, pp. 72), is a brief preliminary statement in which Mr. Fraser sets forth in an intelligent and workmanlike manner the probable duties and programme of such an establishment, calling special attention to the need of bringing together into one repository all papers and documents of historical interest, not in current use, from all the departments of the provincial government; to the need of extensive collection, either into the provincial archives or into local places of deposit, of municipal, school, and church records, correspondence, and other documentary material; and to that of copying, calendaring, and printing the more important records of the history of Ontario in all periods. Many interesting suggestions as to the process of collecting are given. Then follows a summary description, proceeding from one office to another but not yet covering all departments, of the historical records preserved by governmental bodies, and a body of selections from correspondence of the department upon questions respecting the nature and utility of its work; lastly, to encourage collections in local history, suggestions as to compiling the history of a township are presented, and are illustrated by a collection of materials respecting the county of Durham.

Mr. Fraser's *Second Report* (1904) (Toronto, King's Printer, 1905, pp. 1436) contains the evidence in detail, with the official reports based thereon, presented to the British Commissioners in Canada and London by United Empire Loyalists in support of their claims for compensation from the British Government at the close of the Revolutionary War. The manuscript volumes containing the evidence taken

in Canada were presented by the family of one of the commissioners, Colonel Dundas, to the Smithsonian Institution, and these volumes are now in the Library of Congress at Washington. A transcript of them, without the commissioners' pungent notes and references, is in the Public Record Office, London. The book is provided with a general index, but the reader feels the want of a table of contents, for there is serious difficulty in finding one's way.

The *Third Report* (1906, pp. 600) gives a verbatim copy of the minutes of the Land Board of the District of Hesse, or Western Ontario, and of some of the Land Board of Nassau or Niagara, the rest not having been yet recovered. When the United Empire Loyalists passed over to Canada at the close of the War of Independence, Ontario was still unsurveyed, and in order to settle the Loyalists surveyors were appointed to lay out lands and boards to grant certificates of location. This was the first settlement of Ontario except in the case of a few families who had made homes for themselves on the Detroit River and held allodially under the treaty of 1763. Therefore the proceedings of the early Land Boards down to 1792 are of great value and are an important addition to the printed archives of the Province. These minutes are accompanied by lists of early settlers, correspondence between the surveyors and the Land Boards and the Governor General's Council; original maps and plans prepared by the first surveyors, of great interest; and the official regulations under which the crown lands were granted. The volume is elaborately indexed, and while its make-up shows all the typographical and mechanical drawbacks incident on blue-book style and form, yet it will prove a useful work of reference to the student of Canadian history.

TEXT-BOOKS

General History for Colleges and High Schools. By PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS. Revised Edition. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1906. Pp. xv, 779.)

THIS is the first revised edition of a book which has been used in high-schools and colleges for many years. The work has been in part rewritten, and although much new matter has been added, its bulk remains about the same as before. The account of recent events, which now appears for the first time, is accurate and well-proportioned. Many new maps have been added, and the old maps have been worked over and improved. The selected lists of books given at the end of each chapter add very much to the usefulness of this work as an elementary text-book; in some cases, however, so many references have been given in the bibliographical notes as to bewilder somewhat the high-school teacher or student.

Outlines of Ancient History for the Use of High Schools and Academies. By WILLIAM C. MOREY. (New York: American Book Company. 1906. Pp. 550.)

THE teachers of the secondary schools are somewhat bewildered by the multiplicity of text-books covering some one of the fields of work laid down by the Committee of Seven. The books are shot out by the publishers like the pneumatic-tube cash-carriers of our department stores; and the teacher takes up first one and then another, and is sorely puzzled to find a *raison d'être* for the publication of each new text. He queries if the author has presented the subject-matter in a different way from preceding texts, if he has made any attempt to add or eliminate facts hitherto absent from or found in former books, or if he has changed the emphasis placed on certain portions of the material. To all of these questions the answer is no. Each book is scarcely more than a reproduction of its predecessors.

The book under consideration is no exception to this rule. In general it shows most of the qualities now demanded in a text for secondary schools. It is accurate and impartial; it shows sufficient acquaintance on the part of the author with the results of the most recent investigations; the language used is simple; the illustrations picture men or things as they were and include views of ruins and good restorations; the maps relate to the text and places mentioned therein are to be found on them; pedagogical apparatus, in the form of "synopses for review", "references for reading", a classified bibliography, and an excellent index, is put in its appropriate place at the close of chapters, or at the end of the book. There are some minute defects. The author might have profited by some earlier criticisms in this REVIEW passed upon his *Outlines of Greek History*: some antiquated illustrations have been put in; on a few maps there are many names of places not mentioned in the text, and these will only serve to confuse the student; teachers will miss the well-thought-out and suggestive questions which are to be found in some texts, others will lament the absence of a list of important dates, and still others will feel that the author has not made sufficient use of authentic anecdotes. At times carelessness in proof-reading is observable, as in leaving those puzzling numbers under the illustration on page 208, or in calling all the masks on page 211 "Masks used in Comedy", or in having "Broughton" for Boughton on page 526.

By the use of pencil and scissors the author has reduced his *Outlines of Greek History* and *Outlines of Roman History* from a gross total of about 750 pages to this volume of 550 pages. These two excellent manuals have suffered by the process used. The titles of the chapters have been changed. A comparison of the texts, however, shows that much cutting, but little rewriting, has been done. The failure to rewrite is the matter wherein the greatest weakness of this book lies. As it is presumably for pupils of about the age of thirteen

or fourteen years, the author should have made a distinct effort to write for (not necessarily write down to) children of that age. The error into which the author has fallen is in thinking that a book can be equally well handled by students of eighteen and fourteen. This is shown by his choice of material, by his method of presentation, and by the selections for outside reading, most of which would stagger a college student and which to the pupil of fourteen are but words, words—a dry and compulsory task to which he applies himself by reading a page and then counting up to see how many more he must read. The fact that most college writers of texts for secondary schools fall into this error makes it none the less serious in any book.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Essentials of United States History. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY and BLANCHE S. MOWRY. (New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company. 1906. Pp. x, 378, 56.)

The Making of the American Nation: a History for Elementary Schools. By JACQUES WARDLAW REDWAY, F.R.G.S. (New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company. 1905. Pp. xii, 420, 56.)

ESTIMATED by the number of text-books intended for pupils of the elementary schools which have been published recently, history is coming into a larger place in the curricula of these schools. Really worthy texts will do much to stimulate this interest.

The declaration, by the authors of *Essentials of United States History*, that particular stress is to be laid on the "personal element" sounds attractive. Short sketches of the careers of leading men are given either in the body of the text or as foot-notes. This feature would have been strengthened had the four and one-half pages which are devoted to Benedict Arnold (pp. 152-156) been given to the more notable and worthy characters.

Conventional titles are given the forty-one chapters, each administration being assigned a separate chapter.

"It is well," the teacher is informed (p. vi), "in many cases, merely to read over the details of war and battles, dwelling rather on causes and effects . . . the pupils should see clearly that glory is not confined to the battlefield, nor patriotism to the career of the soldier." Such a viewpoint is not emphasized by assigning fifty-five pages to the purely military account of the American Revolution, and by devoting to the Civil War one-fourth of the material from the inauguration of President Washington to the present time. Sense of proportion is lacking, also, when eight lines are given on the same page to the discussion of Hamilton's financial measures, and to the statement that Monroe came within one vote of a unanimous election (pp. 191-192). The mere outline of the Constitution and list of the presidents is of doubtful value (pp. 170-175).

A statement of fact, adequate for pupils who have devoted some time to a topic, is not sufficient for pupils in the elementary schools. They must be told *why* in the text, for outside help either from books or teachers cannot be presumed. No word of explanation is attempted relative to the influence of the conduct of Maryland in refusing at first to adopt the Articles of Confederation. Such a paragraph as the one on the Constitutional Convention (p. 167) would signify more to a pupil if, in place of the declarations: "Washington afterwards became the first and Madison the fourth President of the United States; . . . Hamilton, as the first secretary of the treasury, established our system of finance", there were some attempt made to state just what these men actually stood for in the Convention. Some reason also should be assigned for calling the Hartford Convention (p. 215), and for locating the new capital on the Potomac River (p. 197). The Genet episode ought not to be wholly omitted.

While these and other sins of omission might be overlooked, there can be no forgiveness for misleading statements and errors. Columbus, we are told, discovered the Orinoco River on his fourth voyage instead of the third (p. 14). Shall we ever learn that the statement of Mr. Gladstone relative to the making of the Constitution (p. 168) cannot be used without some modification? The "Era of Good Feeling" appears in spotless garments notwithstanding the fact that the sources indicate that they were a bit soiled (p. 217). It is misleading to assert that Calhoun, Jackson, and Crawford "held to the doctrine of state rights" (p. 225).

The language used is simple and direct. The maps and other illustrative material are not different from those to be found in a number of texts, and in some instances are poorly executed. Appendix A contains ten pages of well-selected and well-classified books for supplementary work.

The text-book written by Mr. Redway is very attractive and suggestive. The author has not hesitated to cut loose from established forms. New titles are given the chapters, and old topics are placed in new groups. Suitable recognition is given the European background to our history.

It was to be expected that the author, because of his interest in physical and commercial geography, would make industrial history the leading feature of his text-book. Indeed, the "Foreword or Two" sets forth the view that "political history may be broadly summed up as a quantitative expression of temperature, rainfall, and surface features"; that the development of commerce, manufactures, etc., "and not the eloquence of statesmen in legislative halls, have made the political fabric of the nation what it is to-day". Mr. Redway is to be congratulated on the development of this thesis. There is no disappointment in the reading of his excellent chapters on the economic evolution of the country.

But the query recurs constantly, have not the political and constitutional problems been slighted and the educational and religious influences been minimized? Discussions on such topics are, at times, so condensed that it is questionable whether pupils in the elementary schools would be able to understand their significance. No adequate understanding of the work of the Constitutional Convention can be acquired unless there is some attempt to define the compromises and the necessity for them. Other features of the Northwest Ordinance besides the exclusion of slavery are worthy of mention. The annexation of Texas is made the sole cause for the Mexican War (p. 275). Such a statement as the following, without explanation, would better be omitted: "The Electoral Count Act (1887) provides for such details of counting the electoral votes as are not named in the Constitution" (p. 365).

The actual errors of statement are few in number. Hamilton's plan of government is made quite as conspicuous as the New Jersey plan (p. 183). It is not in keeping with the fact to state that "The four plans" (Virginia, South Carolina, New Jersey, and Hamilton's) "were thoroughly discussed. The convention discarded Hamilton's and New Jersey's plans and eventually accepted the best features of the other two plans." Thirty-nine delegates signed the Constitution; and we now know that, of the thirteen members who were absent, only four absolutely opposed the work of the Convention (p. 184). Pinckney's "No, no, no, not a six-pence!" is still made to read "Millions for defense", etc. (p. 203). No doubt is expressed about the saving of Oregon by Marcus Whitman (p. 267). The language is suitable to pupils for whom the book is intended. The "Pronouncing List of Proper Names" (appendix, pp. 46-48) will be found serviceable. Much more might have been done in the selection of books which would be appropriate for collateral reading and for reference. Bancroft's *History of the United States*, constantly cited for the history of the colonies, is of little value to grammar-school pupils. There would be but slight appreciation, also, for such reference books as Fiske's *Critical Period*, Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Palfrey's *New England*, and Stephens's *War between the States*.

This text, on account of the wealth of excellent illustrative material and because of certain suggestive chapters, such as "A Period of Industrial Growth, 1789-1840", "Industrial Progress, 1845-1860", "Industrial Development and Economic Problems", and "Recent Events", might well be used by pupils as a supplementary text.

JAMES A. JAMES.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

The *General Index to Volumes I.-X.* of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, a book of 164 pages, prepared with great care by Mr. David M. Matteson, has now been issued, and may be obtained from the publishers either bound or unbound.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association, a full account of which will as usual be published in the April REVIEW, was held in Providence on December 26-29. The first session, as is customary, was a joint meeting of the Economic and Historical associations, at which the annual addresses of the respective presidents were delivered; the second session was devoted to various papers on European history; the third session, which was a joint meeting with the New England History Teachers Association, consisted of a conference on history in elementary schools; the fourth session, held jointly with the American Economic Association, was devoted to papers on economic history; while the fifth session was made up of two conferences, one on the study of history in colleges, the other on the problems of state and local historical societies; and the sixth and seventh sessions were given over to American history. At the annual business meeting of the Association the usual reports of committees and commissions were presented. In particular may be mentioned that of the Public Archives Commission, which embraced reports on the archives, state or local, of seven states, a bibliography of the published archives of the original states prior to 1789, and the statutes passed by the states during the past year respecting their archives. The report of the committee on bibliography included a list of about one thousand works selected as the most important source-books of European history, with a mention in each instance of the American libraries where they are accessible.

Alexander Brown, D.C.L.; LL.D., died at his home in Nelson County, Virginia, on August 29, at the age of sixty-three, after a long period of ill health which entirely incapacitated him for work of any kind. His career as a historian was quite unusual. Leaving college to enter the Confederate army, he engaged after the war in mercantile business and later in farming. Seized with ambition to develop the early history of Virginia more completely than it had previously been developed, he pursued this end with wonderful perseverance and success, accumulating a singularly varied store of materials from European archives. Large parts of his rich finds were set before scholars in his monumental *Genesis of the United States* (1889), really a history of Virginia to 1616, *The First Republic in America* (1898), and *English Politics in Early Virginia History* (1901). These books often showed want of regular

training in historical criticism, and were marred by increasing and delusive prepossessions against the foes of the Virginia Company; but all who in future time work in this field will have reason to be deeply grateful to Mr. Brown for his services as a discoverer of sources.

Rev. Henry M. Baird, professor in the University of New York during forty-three years, 1859-1902, died on November 11, at the age of eighty-four. Though his chair was that of Greek (he was the first American scholar to study extensively in Greece, 1851-1852), his chief writings lay in the field of the history of the French Huguenots. His *Rise of the Huguenots of France* (1879), *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre* (1886), and *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1895), are standard works in that field, marked by learning, moderation of view, and excellence of diction. More recently, 1899, he published a volume on Beza.

The Reverend Edmund F. Slafter of Boston died during October, aged ninety. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a corresponding member of the Royal Historical Society, and president of the Prince Society. Among his historical publications may be mentioned *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization* (1873), *Voyages of the Northmen to America* (1877), his memoir of Champlain (1878), and *John Checkley, or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay* (1897), all issued by that society.

George R. Fairbanks died last August at his summer home at Sewanee, Tennessee, at the age of eighty-six. He was born in Watertown, New York, in 1820, graduated from Union College, was admitted to the New York bar, and in 1842 removed to the territory of Florida, where was his home, first at St. Augustine, later at Fernandina, for sixty-four years. His historical writings of most note are *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine* (1858), reissued, with additions, in 1868 as *The Spaniards in Florida*, etc.; *History of Florida, 1512-1842* (1871); *Florida, its History and Romance, 1497-1898* (1898); and *History of the University of the South* (1905). At the time of his death Major Fairbanks was president of the Florida Historical Society and an honorary member of the New York Historical Society. His historical library, rich in material on the early history of Florida, was bequeathed to the University of the South.

Reverend Robert R. Howison died at his home in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, on November 2, at the age of eighty-six. His principal historical work was his two-volume *History of Virginia* (1846-1848), the most comprehensive history of that state yet published.

Mr. Edward Wilson James of Norfolk, Virginia, a member of the council of the Virginia Historical Society, died on October 21. Mr. James commenced in 1895 the publication of *The Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Antiquary*, devoted to the history of the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and the adjoining counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne,

and edited and published it at his own expense, giving it liberally to libraries and historical societies. He confined his publication almost entirely to documents from the county records, etc., and did much good work not only for local, but for colonial and state history. Mr. James bequeathed \$3,000 to the Virginia Historical Society and about \$150,000 to the University of Virginia, which was made his residuary legatee.

Mr. William I. Marshall, principal of the Gladstone School in Chicago, died on October 30 at the age of sixty-six. He was best known, and performed a useful service to historical science in America, by his untiring efforts to combat in every form the legend respecting "Marcus Whitman's Ride". Besides writing acute controversial pamphlets upon the subject, he labored unceasingly with the makers of text-books to remove or exclude the legend from their pages.

Mr. John Rogers Williams, prominent in the organization of the Princeton Historical Society and editor of the *Journal of Philip Fithian*, died at Princeton on October 21.

Miss Mary Bateson died in London on December 1, in the prime of life and when apparently at the height of her unusual physical and intellectual vigor. The daughter of a master of one of the Cambridge colleges, she was educated at Newnham, of which she became a fellow and lecturer. Her remarkable talents, her devotion to work, and the force and simplicity of her character, make her loss deeply felt among English historical students. Though not unskilled in other fields, as was shown by an excellent chapter in the American volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, her chief repute rested upon a long series of contributions to the medieval history of England, especially to the history of the English municipalities. Her *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (1899-1905) established an admiration for her scholarship which was more than confirmed by the *Borough Customs*, issued by the Selden Society (1904-1906), a work of which the Lord Chief Justice declared that it showed her to possess more knowledge of English legal history than nine lawyers out of ten. Lately, as announced in these pages, she had been invited to be one of the three general editors of the proposed *Cambridge Mediaeval History*.

M. Auguste Himly, from 1863 to 1898 professor of geography in the Faculty of Letters at Paris, and dean of the Faculty from 1881 (honorary from 1898), died on October 6 in his eighty-fourth year. He was of those who know much but write little. Besides his thesis, on *Wala et Louis le Débonnaire*, and a few critical articles, he produced only the *Histoire de la Formation Territoriale des États de l'Europe Centrale* (1876; 2nd edition, 1894). This work, however, will doubtless keep his name before students of European history for years to come.

Henri Doniol, author or editor of several works relating to French history, among them a history of rural classes in France, two cartularies, and *M. Thiers, Président de la République, 1870-1873*, but best

known by his monumental *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*, five vols. (1886-1900), died recently at the age of eighty-eight.

M. Albert Réville, professor of the history of religions at the Collège de France, and author of an *Histoire des Religions* in four volumes (1883-1888), and of many other valuable books in that field and in Protestant theology, died in October, in his eightieth year.

Dr. Hans Edler von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, professor of history in the University of Graz since 1885, died late in November, aged sixty-one. His leading works, works of great distinction, were: *Die Politik der Republik Venedig während des dreissigjährigen Krieges* (1883-1885); *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitraum der Gründung des preussischen Königthums* (1887-1894); and *Deutsche Geschichte 1806-1871* (1895-1905). He was also the editor of the *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte*.

Geheimer Hofrat Heinrich Gelzer, professor in Jena, editor of *Scriptores Sacri et Profani*, and considered to be the chief German authority on Byzantine history, died in Jena on July 11, aged fifty-nine.

M. Léon Vanderkindere, member of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire and until lately professor in the University of Brussels, died in the early part of November, aged sixty-four. In earlier life he had played a somewhat prominent part in politics. His *Siècle des Artevelde* was published in 1879. His other chief historical works were *Introduction à l'Histoire des Institutions de la Belgique au Moyen Age*, I. (1890), and *Histoire de la Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen Age*, I. *La Flandre* (1899).

President Arthur T. Hadley is to be Theodore Roosevelt Professor of American History at the University of Berlin during the academic year 1907-1908.

The Managing Committee of the International Congress for Historical Sciences announces that the next meeting will be held in Berlin in the summer of 1908.

Although the Chair of Colonial History at Oxford University, established by the late Mr. Alfred Beit, was filled in December, 1905, by the appointment of Mr. H. E. Egerton, who entered upon his duties at Easter, it was not till October of this year, after the appointment in July of his assistant, Mr. W. L. Grant, that the department came into full working order. The last term's work included lectures twice a week by Professor Egerton on "The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century", and weekly by Mr. Grant on "The French Régime in Canada". In addition, both the professor and the lecturer receive students at their rooms during certain hours of the week, and hope gradually to establish a *Seminar* for advanced work. Before long a subject, dealing probably with the evolution of colonial self-government in Canada, will be added to the list of special subjects, one of which must be taken up by all honor students of modern history in the university.

The foundation of the new department it is hoped will be of special value to competitors for the degree of B. Litt. (the "research degree") intending to devote themselves to colonial history. The new foundation is of added interest at a time when the scheme of the Rhodes trustees is attracting to Oxford large numbers of colonial and American students.

To the students of Spanish and Portuguese culture in the Iberian peninsula, in Latin America, and in other parts of the world the opening, in April, of the library and museum of "The Hispanic Society of America" will be a matter of rare interest. Founded in July, 1904, by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, as a means to encourage the study of Spanish and Portuguese literature, philology, history, archaeology, art, science, and philosophy, the Hispanic Society, though American in origin, is international in character, membership, and activity. By correspondence and by publication the society may be expected to perform a great service to scholarship, especially since the generosity of Mr. Huntington has made it the possessor of his magnificent collection of books, manuscripts, paintings, coins, and archaeological specimens. The library now contains about 50,000 volumes. Of this number at least twenty thousand treat of historical subjects and include official publications and collections of documents. For the housing of the collection, to which additions are constantly being made, Mr. Huntington has provided a handsome and appropriate building situated in Audubon Park, 156th street near Broadway, New York. Membership in the Hispanic Society is limited to one hundred persons whose contributions to the knowledge of Hispanic culture are such as to indicate their peculiar usefulness for the prosecution of the great purpose to which Mr. Huntington has devoted his life and his fortune. With the exception, however, of certain rare works and objects of special value, access to which is restricted to members and to persons duly accredited by them, the contents of the library and museum will be open freely to the public.

The literary remains of Theodor Mommsen have recently been put into the possession of the Royal Library in Berlin. Of chief interest among these papers are four large chests of letters, which Mommsen declared should not be published till thirty years after his death. To these letters received by Mommsen the library will try to add as many as possible of the thousands which he himself wrote. In the series of his *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, Weidmann) the first volume of the historical writings has now appeared, Band IV. of the series, its three predecessors being juristic pieces.

Part I. of a *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* has been published by Aloys Meister (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. 319). The editor contributes an introductory *Grundzüge der historischen Methode*, B. Bretholz *Paleographie*, Thommen *Diplomatik* (in general) and *Kaiserurkunden*, Schmitz-Kaltenberg *Papsturkunden*, Steinacker *Privaturkunden*, Grotefend *Chronologie*.

The history of theological doctrines, the history of ecclesiastical institutions, and the history of religions are among the subjects on the programme of a new quarterly which announces its first number for January, 1907: *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, under the editorship of a group of Dominican professors (address: Le Saulchoir, at Kain, Belgium). The price, outside of Belgium and France, is fourteen francs.

The *Histoire de l'Art depuis les Premiers Temps Chrétiens* which is being published under the direction of M. André Michel has entered upon the second part of tome II., with the subject "Évolution de l'Art Gothique". The first part of this volume treated of the formation and expansion of Gothic art (Paris, Colin).

The first volume of an *Histoire Économique de l'Imprimerie*, by Paul Mellottée (Paris, Hachette et Cie.), covers the period from 1439 to 1789.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The volume entitled *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitû* contains an introduction by Mr. Theodore M. Davis, who undertook the excavation of the tomb near Deir-el-Bahari in 1903; an account of the life and monuments of this queen of the eighteenth dynasty, by E. Naville; and a description of the finding and excavation of the tomb, by Howard Carter (Constable, pp. xv, 112).

The fourth volume of the *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents*, edited and translated by Professor J. H. Breasted (Chicago, University Press, 1906, pp. xxviii, 520), covering the period from the twentieth to the twenty-sixth dynasties, completes the work. An index is to be issued separately.

Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan, edited by Professor A. H. Sayce and Dr. A. E. Cowley (Moring, 79 pp.), is a collection of documents covering a large part of the fifth century B. C., which are now in the Cairo Museum.

In the report of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania entitled *Excavations at Nippur: Plans, etc., of the Buildings* are the plans and measurements made in the excavations by Mr. Joseph Meyer, Mr. P. H. Field, and Mr. Colman d'Erney, successively, with photographs and architectural plans, and a descriptive text by Mr. Clarence S. Fisher, which traces the development of the city until its decline.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion, by Dr. J. G. Frazer (Macmillan), is a preliminary publication of material for the third edition of *The Golden Bough*.

Two recent publications recording the work of the British School at Athens are its *Annual*, for the session 1904-1905 (Macmillan) and *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906). The latter shows the results of the

preliminary work in the exploration of Laconia undertaken by the School. The section devoted to inscriptions is the work of Mr. Tod; that on sculpture and miscellaneous antiquities was prepared by Mr. Wace.

Among the announcements of The Cambridge University Press is the second volume of Professor William Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*, of which the first volume was published in 1901.

Eleusis; her Mysteries, Ruins, and Museum is translated by Mr. Hamilton Gatliffe from the French of M. Demetrios Philios, director of the excavations made in the sacred precinct from 1882 to 1894 (London, Appleton, 1906).

Under the editorship of Dr. Ludwig Mitteis, with contributions from Professor Ulrich Wilcken, a beginning has been made of the publication of *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig* (Teubner). The first volume contains 123 pieces, ranging in date from 107 B. C. to the Arabic period, but chiefly of the third and fourth centuries after Christ. It embraces a wide variety of documents of civil and military administration, and private business and correspondence.

Excavations have been begun on the site of the ancient Phoenician city of Motye under the supervision of Professor A. Salinas, the director of the National Museum in Palermo. Motye having been one of the last strongholds of the Phoenician power in Sicily, it is hoped that the excavations will shed light on the history and art of Phoenicia. Systematic excavations of Cumae, northernmost of Greek colonies in Italy, and of the theatre of Verona, are also in progress.

Messrs. Teubner of Leipzig are about to bring out part II. of Dr. Hermann Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*. Part I. appeared in 1870; the present installment concludes the work.

Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire (Aberdeen, University Press, 1906, 391 pp.), which have been edited for the four-hundredth anniversary of the University of Aberdeen, by Professor W. M. Ramsay, give the results of researches by Aberdeen students in Asia Minor. The volume includes a preliminary report by the editor on exploration in Phrygia and Lycaonia.

Among the collection of memoirs entitled *Mélanges d'Arbois de Jubainville* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. vii, 287) prepared in honor of the seventy-eighth birthday of M. d'Arbois are to be noted: *Les Éléments d'Importation Étrangère dans le Droit Gallois*, by P. Collinet; *Les Salyes Celto-ligures*, by Camille Jullian; *Un Tabou Guerrier chez les Gaulois du Temps de César*, by Salomon Reinach.

The director of excavations in the Roman Forum, Giacomo Boni, has published in the *Nuova Antologia* of November 1 a most important article upon the "Legends of Trajan", giving the results of the writer's recent researches in and near the Column of Trajan, and in the tombs of Trajan and Plotina, and also bringing together a great variety of

evidences which illustrate the origin and development of the legends of Trajan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Fabricius, *Das römische Heer in Obergermanien und Rätien* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 1); P. Lacombe, *L'Appropriation Privée du Sol dans l'Antiquité.—II. Athènes* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); E. Revillout, *Amasis et la Chute de l'Empire Égyptien*, III. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

With the object of setting forth the present state of knowledge on the subject of the early history of the Christian religion M. Charles Guignebert, of the University of Paris, is writing a *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne du Christianisme*. In a first volume he deals with the origins, and arrives at the end of the first century (Paris, Picard).

Mrs. Geraldine Hodgson, professor of the history of education in University College, Bristol, England, has published under the title *Primitive Christian Education* (Edinburg, T. and T. Clark, pp. 287) a series of useful essays dealing with aspects of Christian education down to the time of Jerome.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A publication has just begun that marks the accomplishing of a great part of the preparatory work for the general collection of papal bulls down to the pontificate of Innocent III. which was undertaken some ten years ago by the Royal Academy of Göttingen. It does again on a large scale what Jaffé, Kaltenbrunner, Ewald, and Loewenfeld attempted in their *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. The new repertory rejects the purely chronological arrangement of the older work, and disposes its matter primarily according to the destination of the documents in question. Its first division relates to Italy: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontificia, sive Repertorium Privilegiorum et Litterarum a Romanis Pontificibus ante Annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Civitatibus Singulisque Personis Concessorum*; and the first volume of this division—the one now published, edited by Professor P. Kehr, director of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome—relates to that city. It will require several volumes to cover the several regions of Italy, and it is expected that they will appear at the rate of about two each year (Berlin, Weidmann).

A. Galante has published (Innsbruck, 1906) a *Quellenbuch* for the history of the canon law under the title *Fontes Juris Canonici Selecti*. This is arranged under the heads: Ecclesia antiquissima; Potestas ecclesiastica et imperium civile; Ordinatio; Hierarchia ordinis et hierarchia jurisdictionis; Pontifex Romanus; Cardinales; Curia Romana; Legati Pontificii; Metropolitae; Episcopi; Capituli; Vicarii et coadjutores episcoporum; Parochi; Ordines et congregationes.

The third volume in the new series of "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History," published by the Department of History in the University of Pennsylvania, is the *History of the Langobards*, by Paul the Deacon, translated and edited by W. D. Foulke.

A specially useful contribution to the study of monastic history is the critical edition of a Cluniac customary from the tenth or early eleventh century, in the second volume of *Consuetudines Monasticae*, by Dom Bruno Albers (Monte Cassino).

The relations between the church and the Orient in the time of the Crusades form the subject of a new volume in the "Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique": *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen-Age: Les Croisades*, by L. Bréhier (Paris, Lecoffre).

Rev. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., has translated into English *The Golden Sayings of Blessed Brother Giles*, following the critical Latin edition published last year by the fathers of Quaracchi as the third volume of their *Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi*. The little volume is published by the Dolphin Press, Philadelphia.

Saint Antoine de Padoue d'après les Documents Primitifs, by P. Léonard de Chérancé (Paris, Vve. Poussielgue, 1906, pp. xv, 257), forms volume XVIII. of the first series of the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque Franciscaine*.

Documentary publications: J. Brochet, *La Correspondance de Saint-Paulin de Nole et de Sulpice Sévère* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 111); G. Schnürer and D. Ulivi, *Fragmentum Fantuzzianum*: [containing the] *Pactum sive Promissio Facta per Pipinum Patricium Stephano Secundo Pontifici* (Études Historiques de Fribourg, fascicule II., 1906); F. Van Ortroy, *Vie Inédite de S. Bernardin de Sienne, par un Frère Mineur, son Contemporain* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. 3).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gino Arias, *La Chiesa e la Storia Economica del Medio Evo* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2); W. Goetz, *Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 1); R. Poupardin, *Charlemagne et la Principauté Lombarde* (Le Moyen Age, Sept.-Oct.); P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales*: IV. *La Patrie des Fausses Décrétales*; 2. *La Province de Tours* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); A. Poncelet, *Vie et Miracles du Pape S. Léon IX.* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. 3).

MODERN HISTORY

The fourth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, devoted to *The Thirty Years' War*, has just appeared (Cambridge, University Press).

Mr. John Murray announces, as the first issue (four volumes) in the "Indian Texts Series" edited by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, *Storia do Mogor; or the Mogul Memoirs (1653-1708)*, by Niccolao Manucci the Venetian, translated, edited, and annotated, under the supervision of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Mr. William Irvine.

The Grand-Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich has brought out at Paris in four considerable volumes a work on the *Relations Diplomatiques de la Russie et de la France, 1808-1812*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Pérez de Guzman, *Matrimonios Regios entre Inglaterra y España, 1623* (La España Moderna, July); C. de Bildt, *Cristina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II. Duca di Bracciano* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2); G. Desdevises du Dezert, *De Trafalgar á Aranjuez, 1805-1808, Notas de Historia Diplomatica* (Cultura Española, November); G. Goyau, *Un An de Politique Pontificale: Consalvi au Congrès de Vienne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

English Historians, with an introduction by A. J. Grant, professor of history in Leeds University (Blackie) contains parallel passages from the writers showing their aims and motives as stated by themselves and their style and methods as displayed in their works.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission has in the press reports on the manuscripts of the earls of Verulam and Ancaster, the bishops of Salisbury and Exeter, and the deans and chapters of Exeter and Wells, a fourth volume of the Ormonde papers, and a third volume of the calendar of the Stuart manuscripts possessed by the King.

We have received the twenty-second volume (new series) of the *Genealogist* (London, George Bell and Sons, 1906, pp. viii, 320), edited by Mr. H. W. Forsyth Harwood of the Middle Temple.

Melandra Castle is the title of a volume describing the excavations undertaken by the Classical Association at the Roman fort of Melandra in Derbyshire. The book is prepared by different members of the Manchester Branch of the Association and edited by Professor R. S. Conway (Manchester, University Press, 1906). Among the writers are Professor Boyd Dawkins and Dr. Haverfield, author of *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, recently published.

A volume of *Lectures on Early English History*, by Bishop William Stubbs, edited by Arthur Hassall, has been published through Messrs. Longmans (London, 1906, pp. vi, 391). The volume begins with a survey of the materials for English constitutional history in the Norman and Angevin periods. The remainder of the book traces the evolution of the chief European constitutions.

An excellent Jena dissertation, prepared under the supervision of Professor Cartellieri, is *Jung Heinrich, König von England, Sohn König Heinrichs II., 1155-1183* (Jena, Kampfe, 1906, pp. xiii, 83), by C. E. Hodgson.

Volume IV. of the *Political History of England* is by Professor C. Oman, and covers the period from the coronation of Richard II. to the death of Richard III. (London, Longmans, pp. 542). Volume V.

(1485-1547), by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and volume VII. (1603-1660), by Professor F. C. Montague, will appear shortly.

Richard III: his Life and Character Reviewed in the Light of Recent Research, by Sir Clements R. Markham, is announced for immediate publication by Smith Elder and Company.

Two volumes in preparation by Professor Feuillerat of the University of Rennes for Professor Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* comprise, respectively, documents on the revels at court in the time of Elizabeth and the accounts of the Office of Revels in the time of Edward VI. and Mary (the latter preserved at Loseby Hall).

English Patents of Monopoly, by W. H. Price, forms volume I. of the *Harvard Economic Studies*.

Professor Wolfgang Michael's *Cromwell*, in two small volumes, has been published at Berlin by E. Hofmann.

Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, Plates XLI.-L., published by the British Museum, represent the earlier years of the reign of Charles II.

The life of the great Duke of Ormonde, which is in preparation by Lady Burghclere and is expected to appear soon, is based largely on the unpublished Carte Papers.

Mr. Murray announces for forthcoming publication *Charles James Fox: A Commentary on his Life and Character*, by Walter Savage Landor, edited by Stephen Wheeler. This commentary, written in 1811 and suppressed before publication, will now be printed for the first time in full.

Volume IV. of *A History of the British Army*, by the Honorable J. W. Fortescue, is complete in two parts, covering the period from 1789 to 1801, with a separate volume of maps (London, Macmillan).

The Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham, 1792-1849, by Mr. Stuart J. Reid (London, Longmans), is based on the family and political papers preserved at Lambton Castle.

In *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, by Sir Samuel Hall (Longmans, pp. 278), the author aims at tracing the origin, leadership, and progress of the movement without discussing the theological questions involved.

The *Letters of William Stubbs*, published in 1904, have been succeeded by a volume entitled *William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825-1901; From the Letters of William Stubbs*, by W. H. Hutton (Constable, pp. 272); some new information has been added and some of the letters have been omitted.

Recent additions to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* are Nottinghamshire, vol. I.; Cornwall, vol. I.; Devon, vol. I.; and Somerset, vol. I.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters in Public and Private Libraries and Muniment Rooms has been compiled by Mr. J. H. Jeayes, assistant keeper in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and published recently through Messrs. Bemrose. The volume contains over two thousand charters arranged under place headings and indexed, with short abstracts in English.

Mr. Laurence Gomme is about to publish through Mr. Fisher Unwin a work entitled *The Governance of London; Studies of the Place of London in English Institutions*.

Professor Ramsay Muir and Miss Edith M. Platt have published through Messrs. Williams and Norgate *A History of Municipal Government in Liverpool from the Earliest Times to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835*. The volume consists of a narrative portion by Professor Muir and a collection of charters, leases, and other documents in Latin, Norman French, and English, many of them hitherto unpublished, which have been transcribed, translated, and edited by Miss Platt.

The Scottish History Society, having lately issued for the subscriptions of 1905 the second volume of the *Records of the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh*, the *Records of the Baron Court of Stitchill*, and the first volume of *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, proposes to issue for 1906 the second and third volumes of the latter, and the *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, all of which are nearly ready. Later it intends to print a volume of the charters of Inchaffray, the Ochtertyre House-Book of Accounts, 1737-1739, a selection of the Forfeited Estates Papers, and a third and final volume of the *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, 1650-1653.

The Early Scottish Church; Its Doctrine and Discipline (Edinburgh, Sands and Co., 1906, pp. 306) by Dom Columba Edmonds, is chiefly an attempt to prove that the ancient Scottish church never claimed to be independent of that of Rome, yet has much learned material respecting Celtic Christianity, the abbots of Iona, liturgy and ritual.

The New Spalding Club of Aberdeen has begun its promised publication of the registers of the Scottish Catholic colleges on the Continent by a volume devoted to the registers of students, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, vol. I. (pp. 339). The whole period is covered in each case, save that in the instances of the colleges at Rome and Valladolid, which still flourish, the lists extend only to 1900. Biographical notes are added.

A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King, D.D., 1650-1729, recently published by Messrs. Longmans, consists of an autobiography and selections from Dr. King's correspondence, edited by Sir C. S. King (pp. 346).

British government publications: *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, vol V.; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, vol. II., Henry III., Edward I., 1257-1300; *Calendar of Close*

Rolls, Edward I., vol. IV., 1296-1302; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, vol. II., Edward I.; *List of Inquisitions ad quod Damnum preserved in the Public Record Office* (Part 2); *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, *Papal Letters*, vol. VII., 1417-1431; *Feet of Fines for Essex*, Part VII.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. L. Mathieson, *The Scottish Parliament, 1560-1707* (*Scottish Historical Review*, October); E. I. Carlyle, *Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts* (*English Historical Review*, October); C. Brinkmann, *Charles II. and the Bishop of Münster in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-1666* (*English Historical Review*, October); K. Stählin, *Die Politik der englischen Landgrenze von einst und jetzt: Die schottische und die indische Frage* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, XCVIII. 1).

FRANCE

In the series entitled *Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France* (Picard), we have received *La Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges*, a volume of documents edited by M. Noël Valois. The committee will before long publish a second volume of the correspondence of Cardinal Jean du Bellay, and a second volume of the nunciatures of France under Clement VII., while those under Paul IV. are under editorial preparation by Father René Ancel. The committee also announces as in preparation *La Désolation des Églises de France pendant les Guerres de Religion*, edited by L. LeGrand.

Happily the index to M. Molinier's volumes on *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, des Origines aux Guerres d'Italie*, has at last appeared. It is the work of an experienced bibliographer, L. Polain (Paris, Picard).

Steps are being taken by a group of scholars in France to found a review whose field shall be colonial history. It is to be called *La Revue d'Histoire Coloniale*.

The following volumes are announced as in the press for the "Collection de Documents Inédits": *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale*, tome VI.; *Correspondance Générale de Carnot*, tome IV.; *États Généraux de 1614*; *Lettres de Catherine de Medicis*, tome X. (supplement); *Procès-Verbaux et Arrêtés du Directoire Exécutif*; *Actes Notariés de Sully*.

Among the issues of the Société de l'Histoire de France as for the year 1906 is the first volume of the *Mémoires du Lieutenant-Général Souvigny*; perhaps also the first volume of the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*. For early publication the society has in hand the second volume of the *Mémoires de Saint-Hilaire*, edited by L. Lecestre, and the first volume of *Mémoires Militaires du Maréchal Duc de Croÿ*, under the care of L. Dores and the Viscount de Grouchy.

In the preparation of *L'Arbitrage dans le Droit Français aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles* M. J. Fourgous has made extensive use of manuscript sources (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 213).

M. Léon Mirot has published a study of *Les Insurrections Urbaines au Début du Règne de Charles VI.*, 1380-1383 (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906).

Only recently has provision been made for including matter relating to modern history in the "Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire". The volumes already published are to be considered as forming part of a first section, which will extend to the end of the seventeenth century; while for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there will be a second section, under the direction of a special committee. Among the numbers announced for the new section are: *Recueil des Protestations de la Cour de Rome contre les Articles Organiques*, by Count Boulay de la Meurthe, *Les Grandes Traités de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, by E. Bourgeois, and a critical edition of the *Mémoires* of Brissot, by C. Peroud (Paris, Picard).

The Société d'Histoire Moderne has in the press, besides the *Anecdotes* of the tribune Duveyrier, three new volumes: *Mémoires Militaires de Klever pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre de Vendée*, edited by M. Baguenier-Desormeaux; *Souvenirs et Fragments du Marquis de Bouillé* (the father of this Bouillé had a part in the affair of Varennes); the *Journal* kept by Charles de Lacombe, member of the National Assembly of 1871.

In a *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Épiscopat Constitutionnel (1791-1802)*, announced by the house of Picard, Paris, the Canon Paul Pisani aims, by bringing together in the form of short notices the chief outlines of the life of the bishops of that period, to provide the materials for a history still to be written.

Commandant Balagny's exhaustive work upon Napoleon's campaign in Spain has reached the fourth volume, which is entitled *La Course de Benavente—La Poursuite de la Corogne*. This work is published under the direction of the historical section of the general staff of the army (Paris, Berger-Levrault and Company).

M. Gabriel Monod's *Jules Michelet, Études sur sa Vie et ses Oeuvres* (1905) is to be followed this year by a volume on *Les Débuts de Jules Michelet*, in which M. Monod will set forth the life and education of Michelet from 1815 to 1830: his home life and his first marriage (with Pauline Rousseau), and his education at the Institution Briand, the École Sainte-Barbe, and the École Préparatoire. A series of such volumes is to lead up to a biography of Michelet.

The third part of the history of the Republican party in France by M. Tchernoff is entitled *Le Parti Républicain au Coup d'État et sous le Second Empire* (Paris, Pedone, 1906). The author has made use of some unpublished memoirs. The first part was published in 1901.

Upon the initiative of the Société Dunkerquoise pour l'Encouragement des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts, a congress of scholars interested in the history of northern France and of Belgium is to be held

at Dunkirk, in July. That the congress may accomplish something definite, a programme of questions on which contributions will be accepted has been prepared, evidently with great care. There are fifty-two questions in all, distributed in five sections: organization of historical work, and general history; philology, and history of literatures; religious, intellectual, and moral history; archaeology, and history of art; geography and social sciences.

Documentary publications: W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, I. (Franche-Comté) (Berlin, Weidemann, 1906, pp. 145) [Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Beiheft 1.]; H. Lemaitre, *La Chronique* and *Les Annales* of Gilles le Muisis (1272-1352), abbot of Saint Martin's of Tournai [Société de l'Histoire de France]; A. Gazier, *Mémoires de Godefroi Hermant sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique du XVII^e Siècle* (1630-1663) (Paris, Plon-Nourrit); A. de Saint-Leger and Ph. Sagnac, *Les Cahiers de la Flandre Maritime en 1789, publiés avec une Introduction et des Notes*, I. (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. lxiii, 473); F. A. Aulard, *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public, avec la Correspondance Officielle des Représentants en Mission*, XVII. (21 septembre 1794-6 novembre 1794) (Paris, Leroux, 1906, pp. 869); A. Lavertujon, *Gambetta Inconnu: Cinq Mois de la Vie Intime de Gambetta* [chiefly a series of fifteen letters written by Gambetta to M. Lavertujon in 1869] (Paris, Librairie Universelle).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Powicke, *The Angevin Administration of Normandy* (English Historical Review, October); Ch.-V. Langlois, *Doléances recueillies par les Enquêteurs de Saint Louis et des Derniers Capétiens Directs*, I. (Revue Historique, September-October); H. Baraude, *Le Siège d'Orléans et Jeanne d'Arc*, VI. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); J. J. C. Tauzin, *Le Mariage de Marguerite de Valois* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); M. Wilkinson, *The Wars of Religion in the Périgord* (English Historical Review, October); G. Ascoli, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Idées Féministes en France, du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, August); P. Caron, *La Tentative de Contre-Révolution de Juin-Juillet 1789*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); C. Christophelsmeier, *The Fourth of August 1789* (University Studies, Nebraska, October); C. Vellay, *Saint-Just: Premières Luttes Politiques, 1790-1792* (Revue de Paris, October 15); L. de Lanza de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon: La Cour et le Monde Officiel* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); G. Weill, *Les Lettres d'Achille Murat* (Revue Historique, September-October); E. Bourgeois, *Comment M. de Broglie écrivait l'Histoire* (Revue Historique, November-December); G. Monod, *Albert Sorel* (Revue Historique, September-October); H. Sée, *Le Travail d'Histoire Moderne en Province: La Bretagne, années 1904-1905* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October).

ITALY, SPAIN

The recently-published third volume of the *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* contains, among many other important contributions, one by Mgr. Duchesne on the bishoprics of Italy and the Lombard invasions, one by Dr. Pastor on private libraries (especially those of the princely families of Rome), and one by the Count C. A. de Sonnaz on Louis of Savoy.

Professor W. F. Butler has published through Mr. Unwin *The Lombard Communes: History of the Republics of North Italy* (pp. 496).

A new translation of *The Florentine History* of Machiavelli has been made by Mr. Ninian Hill Thomson and published through Constable and Company of London.

The historical congress of the Italian *Risorgimento*, which met in Milan November 6-9, was limited in scope, but for this reason it accomplished more definite results than it is customary to expect from gatherings of this character. Its labors were confined to Italian history of the period 1796-1870, and resulted not only in bringing out a number of important historical papers, and the discussion of urgent questions of method and organization, but succeeded in arranging for the establishment of a permanent historical association, with a historical review devoted exclusively to this period of history, as its organ. A further result was an excellent temporary exhibition of documents, the catalogue of which will be an important contribution to bibliographical knowledge. The organization of the permanent historical association, Società Storica del Risorgimento, will resemble in many ways the American Historical Association; like the latter its annual meetings will be held in rotation in different cities of Italy. The publication of the *Rivista Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, which after the completion of three volumes, 1895-1900, under the able direction of Professor Beniamino Manzoni, was discontinued for want of funds, is to be resumed; the review will serve as the organ of the association. Among the important questions discussed at the congress was that of the systematization of material in the *Risorgimento* museums (resembling in character the museum of the Old South Church in Boston) which exist in most of the principal cities of Italy. The publication of a general bibliography of the *Risorgimento* was discussed, but unfortunately no decision was arrived at. About two hundred and fifty members subscribed to the congress, including almost all the well-known historians of Italy, and a few foreigners. Among the papers read were the following: Serafino Ricci, on medals in the history of the *Risorgimento*; Enrico Ghisi, on the Italian tricolor, 1796-1814; William Roscoe Thayer, on Cavour and Bismarck; H. Nelson Gay, on the relations between the United States and Italy, 1847-1871; Commander Weill, on Austrian policy with regard to Murat, 1814-1815; G. Capasso, on attempts to effect the escape of Settembrini from the dungeon of S. Stefano, 1855-1859; and Jules Gay, on Edgar Quinet and Italy.

M. Julien Luchaire has undertaken to set forth the intellectual origins of contemporary Italy, and has begun with a study of the years 1815-1830: *Essai sur l'Évolution Intellectuelle de l'Italie de 1815 à 1830* (Paris, Hachette).

The complete works of Giuseppe Mazzini are to be published under the auspices of the Italian government, through the house of P. Galeati, of Imola.

A Revolutionary Princess: Christina Belgiojoso-Trivulzio, Her Life and Times (1808-1871), by H. Remsen Whitehouse, was published recently in London (Unwin, pp. 317).

The *Archivio Marchigiano del Risorgimento*, edited by Ernest Spadolini and Luigi Mancini (Sinigaglia, Puccini e Marra, 1906), a historical quarterly recently founded to stimulate historical studies upon the Marche, 1796-1870, has now reached its third number, and may be said to have exhibited already sufficient merit to justify its existence. It closely resembles in character and scope the *Archivio Storico del Risorgimento Umbro*; both are doing excellent work in preserving and systematizing material for the Italian history of the period, particularly of their respective provinces.

A review has been founded to serve as an organ of historical studies relating to the region of the upper Adige: *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, under the direction of E. Tolomei (Trent, Zippel).

Señor Manuel Danvila y Collado, author of *El Poder Civil en España*, has published a volume entitled *Estudios é Investigaciones Historico-Críticas acerca de las Cortes y Parlamentos del antiguo Reino de Valencia* (Madrid, Jaime Ratés, 1906, pp. 508).

Modern Spain, 1815-1898, by the late H. Butler Clarke (with a memoir by the Rev. W. H. Hutton), is announced for forthcoming publication by the Cambridge University Press.

Documentary publications: J. Luchaire, *Documenti per la Storia dei Revolgimenti Politici del Comune de Siena dal 1354 al 1369*, with introduction and notes (Paris, Picard, 1906); O. Karmin, *La Legge del Catasto Fiorentino del 1427* (Firenze, Seeber, 1906); G. Bourgin, *Fonti per la Storia dei Dipartimenti Romani negli Archivi Nazionali di Parigi* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2); A. Rodriguez Villa, *Correspondencia de la Infanta Archiduquesa Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria con el Duque de Lerma* (Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, April-September).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Calmette, *La Politique Espagnole dans la Guerre de Ferrare, 1482-1484* (Revue Historique, November-December); C. Benoist, *César Borgia, I. La Préparation du Chef-d'Oeuvre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); W. R. de Villaurrutia, *España en el Congreso de Viena, según la Correspondencia Oficial de D. Pedro Gómez Labrador, Marqués de Labrador* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, July-August); G. Tomassetti, *Della*

Campagna Romana, continuation (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX. 1-2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The following prizes are offered for the immediate future by German associations: Fürstlich Jablonowski'sche Gesellschaft, Leipzig, M. 1500 for dissertations in the years 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909 on the subjects respectively of dialect-formation, the development of German *Kulturgeschichte* in the nineteenth century, the economic legislation of the chief German states from 1400 to 1618, Greek financial conditions; the Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, M. 2000 for a history of the Cologne staple (July 1908), M. 2000 for a history of the Rhenish press under the French rule (July 1908), M. 3000 for a history of glass-painting in the Rhine regions from the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century (July 1908), and M. 2000 for a history of the founding and continuance of the Prussian rule on the lower Rhine (in commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary thereof).

The *Historische Zeitschrift* has issued a *Register* for Vols. LVII.-XCVI.; it is arranged both alphabetically and by subjects (pp. xi, 334).

Workers in German history are provided with a new guide in the *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* of Dr. K. Jacob, of which Vol. I. (Leipzig) comes to the end of the fourteenth century. It has been noticed favorably by high authority.

F. Dietrich in Leipzig has published Band XVIII. of the *Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften-Literatur*, embracing scientific journals besides "Zeitungsbeilagen" and "Sammelwerke." The volume covers the first half of 1906 and records about 2,000 periodicals.

The ninth annual conference of "landesgeschichtlicher Publikations-institute" was held at Stuttgart April 17-21, in connection with the "Versammlung deutscher Historiker". The report, by Dr. Armin Tille, will appear in January (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot). The conditions of the publication and sale of historical material were discussed, and projects were submitted for extensive issues in the sources of agrarian history and for "Münzwerke". A committee was appointed to report at the next meeting on the conditions of "Regesten und Regestenwerken" and a report was made as to sources for the history of urban law and industry.

The fourth volume of Professor E. Michael's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1906) is devoted to poetry and music.

Dr. J. Greving, Privatdozent at Bonn, has undertaken with various other Catholic scholars the publication of a collection entitled *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte* (Münster, Aschendorff). It will be devoted mainly to Catholic writers of the sixteenth century. The first issue (by Dr. Greving) is *Johann Eck als junger Gelehrte: Eine*

literär- und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung über seinen Chrysopassus Praedestinationis aus dem J. 1514.

The *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte* has begun the publication of a series of studies on Luther, intended especially to defend him from the attacks of P. Denifle. The first of these is by K. Benrath, *Luther im Kloster, 1505-25*.

A new series, *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger, and Wilcken, makes its beginning with a monograph by Dr. O. A. Hecker, *Karls V. Plan zur Gründung eines Reichsbundes; Ursprung und erste Versuche bis zum Ausgange des Ulmer Tages, 1547* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer).

In the late Professor Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte* the new issues are volume III. of Ritter's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des dreissigjährigen Krieges, 1555-1648*, and the first two volumes of Kraus and Kaser's *Deutsche Geschichte im Ausgange des Mittelalters, 1438-1519* (Stuttgart, Cotta).

The *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV., Ergänzungsheft 1, is devoted to Dr. R. Fester's publication of "Der Universitäts-Bereiser Friedrich Gedike und sein Bericht an Friedrich Wilhelm II.", in 1789. The document (pp. 6-92) contains Gedike's notes of a seven-weeks' trip among fourteen non-Prussian universities (Helmstadt, Göttingen, Marburg, Giessen, Mainz, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Altdorf, Erlangen, Erfurt, Jena, Leipzig, Wittenberg), undertaken for the Prussian government for the purpose of getting information about general conditions but especially about professors whom it might seem desirable to call to Prussia. A large amount of personal information is given.

The Macmillan Company has published in two large volumes an English translation of the Hohenlohe memoirs, the German edition of which, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst*, published in the autumn (Stuttgart and Leipzig, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt), created so great a sensation in diplomatic and political circles.

The "Deutsche Städtetag" has undertaken the establishment at Berlin of a library on urban history and conditions, and has formed plans for starting it with the collecting of local material by its members.

Band 40 of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte Schlesiens* is accompanied by the eighth volume of the Silesian *Fürstentagsakten* (Acta publica), dealing with the year 1629 and of particular interest with respect to the Counter-reformation in Silesia.

Heft 2 of the *Beiträge zur Geschichte Niedersachsens und Westfalens* contains a study by Bruno Engler on the French government in Münster of the Napoleonic period. This is supplemented by an article by H. Hulsmann in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 63, with special reference to the city's constitution.

The Hansische Geschichtsverein has issued its thirty-second "Jahresbericht", showing that there has been published in the past year: *Oldenburg's Seeschiffahrt* (ed. Sello), and *Burgensprachen der Stadt Wismar* (ed. Techen). Since Koppmann's death the conduct of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* has been in the hands of a committee; for the future it will be issued semiannually.

Band 22 of the *Archiv f. böhmische Geschichte* (Archiv Cesky) contains an index to vols. 1-22. This shows the journal to contain a large amount of documentary material especially of economic importance from the middle of the fourteenth century to 1620.

The bibliography of Bohemian history which is being published by the Bohemian Academy (ed. C. Zibrt) in the Czech language (*Bibliografie Ceske Historie*) comprises so far two volumes: Vol. I. (1900), 674 pp., with 23,871 titles, and Vol. II., 1,216 pp. with 15,429 titles under Literature and 4,992 under Sources. These volumes bring the work to 1419; Vol. III. will come to 1600. Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia are included. The great extent of the work is due to the fact that not only titles but summaries of contents are given. The arrangement is based on that of Dahlmann-Waitz.

Leopold Engel's *Geschichte des Illuminaten-Ordens* (Berlin, H. Bermühler, 1906, pp. x, 467), a large book with many illustrations, is primarily a history of the movement in Bavaria, based, as is claimed, on exhaustive archive-researches in Munich, Berlin, Dresden, Gotha, Paris, Vienna, the secret archives of the order itself, and various private collections.

The Swiss National Historical Association has just published a *Repertorium über die in Zeit- und Sammelchriften der Jahre 1891-1900 enthaltenen Aufsätze und Mittheilungen Schweizergeschichtlichen Inhalts*. It is a continuation of the publication of 1892 by J. L. Brandstetter for the period 1812-1890 (Basel, Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung).

The historical section of the Annual Congress of Swiss Catholics, meeting at Fribourg September 21-23, decided to begin the publication of a review of Swiss ecclesiastical history and one of Swiss modern and contemporary history.

The Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz, at its meeting in Winterthur, September 10 and 11, resolved upon a comprehensive plan for a new series of the *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, embracing three chief divisions, of chronicles, documents, and individual correspondence respectively. A guide to the literature of Swiss history by Frida Gallati is also in progress.

Documentary publications: *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigismund*, IV. 2 (1431-1433); *Archiv für oesterreichische Geschichte*, XCV. 1; *Oesterreichische Urbare*, III. *Urbare des Benediktinerstiftes Gottweig von 1302 bis 1536*, ed. Ad. Fr. Fuchs; *Monumenta Historica*

Ducatus Carinthiae: Die Kärntner Geschichtsquellen, IV. 2 (1263-1269); *Nuntiaturreports aus der Schweiz seit dem Concil von Trient*, I. 1, *Die Nuntiaturreports von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, 1579-1581, Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte, Nuntiaturreports, und Correspondenz mit Carlo Borromeo*, ed. Steffens and Reinhardt; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, VII. 1, ed. Escher und Schweizer; *Die Zürcher Stadtbücher des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, III.; *Urkundenregister für den Kanton Schaffhausen*, I. (987-1469).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Raders, *Zur Geschichte der alten Handelsstrassen in Deutschland* (Petermann's Mitteilungen, LII. 3); S. Rietschel, *Landleihen, Hofrecht und Immunität* (Mitth. des Instituts f. österr. Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 3); M. Lenz, *König Wilhelm und Bismarck in Gastein 1863; Ein neuer Beitrag zur Kritik der "Gedanken und Erinnerungen"*, I. (Deutsche Rundschau, November).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands, by J. Ellis Barker, which is among the announcements of Smith Elder and Company, is described as a political and economic history and a study in practical statesmanship.

Professor Felix Rachfahl of Königsberg, author of an interesting monograph on Margaret of Parma and of other minor writings in the same field, has brought out the first volume of his *Wilhelm von Oranien und der niederländische Aufstand* (Halle, Niemeyer, pp. 642).

The Royal Historical Commission of Belgium has decided to undertake a scientific investigation of foreign archives for materials for national history. At Simancas the documents relating to the Spanish government in Belgium in the seventeenth century are to be inventoried by Professor H. Lonchay of the University of Brussels, who will also gather there material for the continuation of the publication of Gachard's *Correspondance de Philippe II.* At Vienna M. J. Laenen, archivist of the Archbishop of Malines, is to calendar the documents connected with the origins of Austrian rule in Belgium.

Under the general title *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* the Belgian Historical Institute of Rome has begun its series of documentary publications. The first volume contains *Suppliques de Clément VI.* (1342-1352), edited with analyses by the director of the Institute, Dom U. Berlière (Rome, Bruges, Paris, 1906, pp. xxxix, 952). The Institute has also published lately an *Inventaire Analytique des Diversa Cameralia des Archives Vaticanes* (1389-1500), by the director (Paris, H. Champion, 1906, pp. ix, 328).

M. Arnold Fayen of the Belgian Historical Institute at Rome has edited with much care, and the city of Ghent has published, as a part of the second series of the *Cartulaire de Gand*, the *Liber Traditionum Sancti Petri Blandiniensis* (pp. 309), a record of gifts to the Benedictine

abbey of St. Peter, mingled with a varied mass of documents; the manuscript contains many details useful to the economic history of Ghent in the period before the middle of the eleventh century.

Under the title *Un Diplomate Belge à Paris de 1830 à 1864* M. Discailles, the biographer of Charles Rogier, has prepared a sketch of the life of Firmin Rogier, his elder brother, Belgian minister to France.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Christine de Suède et le Conclave de Clément X., by Baron de Bildt (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1906), is founded on autograph letters of the queen to Cardinal Azzolino.

Manuel Historique de la Question du Slesvig (Paris, Picard), edited by Dr. Fr. Jessen, is a French version of a valuable book in the preparation of which a dozen of the best Danish historical scholars have united. Though mainly directed toward a political end, it has high value to the historical student of events and conditions in Schleswig before 1864 and since.

The Library of Congress has just acquired, by purchase and by the generosity of Gen. Yudin of Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, his remarkable collection of Russica and Sibirica. The collection numbers 80,000 volumes and many thousands of manuscripts, including a hundred volumes of manuscript material for the history of Alaska before its purchase by the United States.

Several useful memoirs of high Russian officials respecting the military revolution of 1825 are made accessible in German in A. Goldschmidt's *Aus der Dekabristenzeit* (Hamburg, Gutenberg-Verlag).

Messrs. Teubner of Leipzig publish, as part II. of Dr. Theodor Preger's *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, the *Origines* (ca. 995) attributed to Georgius Codinus, important for the topography of the city. A map of medieval Constantinople is appended.

M. Pompiliu Eliade, in the first volume of his *Histoire de l'Esprit Public en Roumanie au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1905, pp. 402), deals especially with the period of quasi national independence between the revolt of 1821 against the Turks and the establishment of Russian control in 1829.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution has received authority from the trustees to undertake investigations of the archives of Mexico and France similar to those already carried through in the cases of England, Spain, and Cuba, and leading to the production of systematic guides to the materials for the history of the United States which are to be found in the two archives named. Professor Herbert E. Bolton will proceed to Mexico in June, for a year's

work of this sort. Mr. Pérez's report on the Cuban archives, and the second edition, revised and enlarged, of Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government at Washington*, are ready for the press. Mr. Andrews's report, supplemented by Miss Davenport's researches in London, approaches completion. Progress on other volumes continues. Preparations are being made for the compiling of a complete and scholarly edition of all the debates in Parliament on matters relating to the British colonies in America (to 1783). The first annual report of the present director, separately reprinted from the fifth *Year-Book* of the institution, will soon be sent to those most interested.

Volume I. of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1905 has just been issued from the Government Printing Office. It contains, in addition to the account of the Baltimore meetings, the following articles and reports: "Old Standards of Public Morals", being the presidential address of J. B. McMaster; "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1730-1733", by St. George L. Sioussat; "Why North Carolina at First Refused to Ratify the Federal Constitution", by C. L. Raper; "The First Lord Baltimore and His Colonial Projects", by B. C. Steiner; "The Authorship of the Monroe Doctrine", by James Schouler; "Origin of the National Land System under the Confederation", by P. J. Treat; "Slavery in California after 1848", by C. A. Duniway; the reports of the conference on the first year of college work in history and of the conference of state and local historical societies; a report, by Messrs. Thwaites, Shambaugh, and Riley, on "Methods of Organization and Work of State and Local Historical Societies"; a report of the proceedings of the second annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, and the report of the Public Archives Commission. In this last are included Reports upon the historic buildings, monuments, and local archives of St. Augustine, Florida, by D. Y. Thomas, the French archives of Illinois, by C. W. Alvord, the work of the Public Records Commission of Maryland, by Mrs. H. D. Richardson, the state archives of Wisconsin, by C. R. Fish, and a supplementary report upon the state archives of Michigan, by J. L. Conger. Volume II. of the *Report* is to comprise A. P. C. Griffin's revised bibliography of the publications of historical societies.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists met, according to announcement, in Quebec, September 10 to 15. Amongst the numerous papers submitted, a selection for individual notice is difficult. The delegate of the French government at the Congress, Professor Léon Lejeal of the College of France, together with M. Eric Boman, member of the French Scientific Mission to South America, supplied a paper on the *Question Calchaquie*; they uphold the conclusion, supported on the part of M. Boman by researches in the field, that this civilization, which is commonly held to be an independent development, is only a branch of the Ando-Peruvian. Professor Chamberlain of Clark University pre-

sented a paper on the linguistic stocks of South America, and Professor Franz Boas of New York discussed the ethnological problems of Canada. The historical work of the Congress may be divided into two classes, the one relating to the native races of America and their origin and history, and the other to the European discovery and occupation of the New World. In the second class the number of papers was comparatively small. Professor Stevenson of Rutgers College discussed the comparative fallacies of the early cartography of the New World, and Dr. Jules Humbert of Bordeaux gave a paper, drawn from archival sources, on Spanish efforts at pacific colonization in Venezuela and Guiana and the reasons of their failure. Historical papers on the native races of America were more numerous. Amongst them was one by Professor Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology, on primary Indian migrations in North America. Of a less general nature were the papers by Abbé A. Gosselin of Laval University on the Indians of the Mississippi from 1698 to 1708, and by Baron de Villiers du Terrage of Paris on the Indians of the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys in 1758. The former paper was based on reports of missionaries preserved in the Seminary at Quebec, and the latter on the report in the French colonial archives by Kerlérec, governor of Louisiana. Concerning the Indians of Canada, papers were given by Dr. J. Edmond Roy of Lévis on their principles of government, and by Abbé P. Rousseau of Montreal on the Hochelagas.

The fifth meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America was held in Providence on December 27. Of especial interest from the point of view of the historical student were papers by Mr. Theodore L. Cole of Washington on the plans for a union catalogue of American colonial laws, by Mr. C. S. Brigham of the Rhode Island Historical Society on the need of a bibliography of American colonial newspapers, by Dr. Thwaites on the bibliographical work of historical societies, and the report of the committee on Americana.

The various antiquarian and ancestral societies are preparing busily for a proper arrangement of collections, as well as of public accommodations at the Jamestown Exposition. The fact that the Exposition Company has given the name of Jamestown to the exposition grounds at Norfolk, seems to have caused some confusion, and it seems probable that many of the organizations which have decided to hold their meetings for 1907 at "Jamestown" have the old town-site in view. There will be abundant accommodation for conventions, etc., at the Exposition at Norfolk; but at Jamestown Island, though every preparation will be made for rest houses, park benches, pure water, etc., there will be no place for meetings unless they are held out of doors.

At the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester on October 24, Dr. Edward Everett Hale was elected president. The society made provision for a catalogue of its manuscripts, and appointed a committee to consider the publication by the society,

as an additional volume of its *Transactions*, of all the royal proclamations respecting the English colonies in America and the United States to 1815.

The annual Report of the Librarian of Congress mentions, among the accessions of the last year, a collection of over 400 books and pamphlets relating to the Shakers, and the books from the library of the late Woodbury Lowery relative to Spain and Spanish America and to Jewish history. The Division of Maps and Charts has acquired a considerable number of manuscript maps, including those relating to the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States collected by Mr. Lowery. Foremost among the accessions of the Division of Manuscripts is to be noted the Stevens Catalogue Index of Manuscripts in the Archives of England, France, Holland and Spain, relating to America, 1763-1783, in 180 manuscript volumes, sufficiently described in these pages some time ago. Along with this catalogue were secured thirty-seven volumes of transcript made by B. F. Stevens of about 10,000 documents in English and French archives, relating to the peace negotiations of 1783. The work of transcribing material in the British Museum and the Public Record Office has proceeded steadily and the library now has on hand over fifty volumes of these transcripts, a list of which is printed on pages 137-139 of the librarian's report. Among other manuscript accessions are the historical papers of Mr. Lowery, comprising eighteen volumes of copies of manuscripts relating to Florida, New Mexico, California, etc.; the remainder of the Van Buren collection of Dr. S. F. Morris; papers of Senator James Brown of Louisiana, 1777-1810; eighteen letters from Zachary Taylor written during the Mexican war; the papers of the Galloway family of Maryland; the private correspondence (1856-1872) of Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois; the private correspondence of Thomas Corwin when Secretary of the Treasury, 1850-1853; and five volumes of the correspondence between the Collector of the Port of Savannah and the Treasury Department of the Confederate States.

We note and welcome the appearance of a new periodical, which may be expected to assume a position of leadership in the field which it covers: *The American Political Science Review*. The *Review* is published quarterly by the American Political Science Association, and is the official organ of that body. The board of editors is composed of men whose reputations afford ample guarantee that a high standard of excellence and scholarship will be maintained: John A. Fairlie, Frank J. Goodnow, John H. Latané, C. E. Merriam, Paul S. Reinsch, B. F. Shambaugh, Eugene Wambaugh, Robert H. Whitten, and W. W. Willoughby, the last named being the managing editor. The first issue (November) contains four contributed articles: "The Usurped Powers of the Senate", by A. Maurice Low; "Negro Suffrage: The Constitutional Point of View", by John C. Rose; "Racial Distinctions in Southern Law", by Gilbert T. Stephenson; and "An Index of Comparative Legis-

lation", by W. F. Dodd. The articles are followed by four departments: Notes on Current Legislation, News and Notes (with the sub-sections Personal and Miscellaneous, International Law and Diplomacy, Municipal), Book Reviews, and Index to Periodical Articles.

The *Magazine of History*, four numbers (May-August) of which are before us, offers its readers a mixture of serious contributions, reprinted articles, reminiscences of the oldest inhabitants, fragmentary genealogical notes, "historical fiction", documents, and poetry. The revival of interest in the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence" is responsible for the reprinting, from the old *Magazine of American History*, of the well-known controversial articles by Cassius M. Wilcox and James C. Welling and of some not very important reminiscences of Morgan Brown. There are useful articles on "The Commonage System of Rhode Island", by Franklin C. Clark; "Religious Restraint among the early Puritans on Long Island", by R. S. Guernsey; and "The Flag in Kansas", by George W. Martin.

The *American Historical Magazine* for November prints as its leading contribution "Reminiscences of the Panic of 1857", by Henry Dexter. It also includes the fifth paper by John A. Stevens on "New York in the Nineteenth Century", dealing with the "Beginning of Greater New York"; and the continuation of Theodore Schroeder's "The Origin of the Book of Mormon".

A twelve-volume edition of Prescott's *Complete Works* has been brought out by Thomas Y. Crowell and Company.

The Department of State has published in eight volumes (volume VIII. being a general index) a *Digest of International Law*, by John Bassett Moore. This work was commenced in consequence of the act of February 20, 1897, which provided for completing and perfecting the second edition of Wharton's *Digest*. As the work progressed under Mr. Moore's direction it became evident that it was necessary to adopt an entirely new plan, hence the present volumes constitute an independent digest rather than a revision and continuation of a previous one. As described in the sub-title, this work is "a digest of international law as embodied in diplomatic discussions, treaties, and other international agreements; international awards, the decisions of municipal courts and the writings of jurists, and especially in documents, published and unpublished [the manuscript records of the Department of State were drawn upon to July 1, 1901], issued by presidents and secretaries of state of the United States, the opinions of attorneys-general, and the decisions of courts, federal and state."

In the August number of the *German American Annals* we note a historical sketch of "Scandinavian American Literature"; in that for September-October the first installment, translated and edited by Luther Anderson, of the "Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman", provost of the Swedish churches in America. The diary opens on July 25, 1696.

Volume IV., Parts I. and II., of *Historical Records and Studies*, published by the United States Catholic Historical Society (New York, 1906, pp. 358), contains, amongst other matter, several articles on Catholic clergymen and laymen in the archdiocese of New York, notably Maximilian Oertel, founder of the *Kirchenzeitung*. Longer than these articles and wider in range are the address here printed of Rev. John T. Driscoll on the "Charter of Liberties and the New York Assembly of 1683," and the article by Archbishop Messmer on the establishment of the Capuchin order in the United States. The volume contains also the reports of the annual meetings of the society for 1905 and 1906.

Number 15 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, a volume of 122 pages, consists of Dr. Cyrus Adler's presidential address on "Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States," with large extracts from that correspondence in disputes or questions which have arisen with Turkey, Switzerland, Morocco, Roumania, Russia, and Persia.

The Dunkers (New York, 1906) is a Columbia University doctoral dissertation by John L. Gillin. It is defined by the author as "an attempt to apply the principles of sociological theory to the interpretation of the denomination" known as Dunkers, or German Baptist Brethren. There seems reason to fear that the history of the Dunkers has been rather obscured for most readers by a highly theoretical interpretation.

The latest issue in the series of *Johns Hopkins University Studies* is a monograph of 150 pages on "National Labor Federations in the United States", by Dr. William Kirk, now of Brown University. Under each of the chief headings, General Labor Federations, Trades Councils, and Industrial Unions, an historical account is prefixed to the descriptive or economic matter.

We have received a pamphlet, *Jeremy Bentham and American Jurisprudence*, by Jesse S. Reeves, being an address delivered at the tenth annual meeting of the Indiana State Bar Association, in July.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

Of the series entitled "Original Narratives of Early American History", two volumes have recently been published. The first contained *Original Narratives of the Voyages of the Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, the first part edited by Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin, the remainder by Professor Edward G. Bourne of Yale University. The other volume, properly the third in the series, *Early English and French Voyages*, chiefly out of Hakluyt, is edited by Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage of the Maine Historical Society. The second volume, *Spanish Explorers*, containing the narratives of Cabeza de Vaca, the Gentleman of Elvas, and Castañeda, edited by Mr. F. W. Hodge and Mr. T. H. Lewis, has been somewhat delayed, but will be out in February; the fourth, devoted to Champlain, in March or April.

The Norroena Society has published (London and New York, 1906) a quarto volume of 176 pages bearing the title *The Flatey Book and Recently Discovered Vatican Manuscripts concerning America as early as the Tenth Century*. According to the title-page this contains "documents now published for the first time which establish beyond controversy the claim that North America was settled by Norsemen five hundred years before the time of Columbus."

Professor William MacDonald is engaged in the preparation of an annotated edition of the English statutes relating to America, extending to 1783.

On September 28 there was unveiled in the Reformed Church, Delfshaven, Holland, a bronze tablet presented by the Congregational Club of Boston in commemoration of the sailing of the first Pilgrim company in the *Speedwell*. The presentation address was by William E. Griffis, that of acceptance by Chairman Van Bentveld. Dr. Griffis's address has been published by J. M. Bredée, Rotterdam.

Eight new "Old South Leaflets" (Nos. 166-173) have been published during the past summer in connection with the Old South lectures on "Early days in the old colonies". The leaflets bear the following titles: "The Invention of Ships", by Sir Walter Raleigh; Captain John Smith's Account of the Settlement of Jamestown; De Vries's Account of New Netherland in 1640; The New England Confederation, 1643; Relation of Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland, 1634; William Penn's Description of Pennsylvania, 1683; The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, 1669; and "The Rights of the Colonists", by Samuel Adams, 1772.

Letter-books of Charles Thomson, extending from before his election as secretary of the First Continental Congress to near the close of his life, have been discovered in private possession in Oregon, and are being prepared for publication by Professor F. G. Young of the state university.

One volume of the original manuscript journals of the Continental Congress has for many years been missing from the series of volumes forming the records of the Continental Congress. It is not known when or how it disappeared, if indeed it formed a part of that series when deposited in the Department of State. It is possible that it is now in possession of some library or collector who is ignorant of its nature. In the hope that this missing volume may be located and restored the Librarian of Congress has sent a circular to libraries and collectors, describing the probable appearance of the volume and giving a facsimile of the page of the journals in Charles Thomson's writing. The description is as follows: "The writing should be that of Charles Thomson. It should begin with the entries for March 19, 1778, and end with the entries of May 1, 1778. It may be bound in thin boards, of a bluish color, and if any label is on the front it should be merely 'No. I.' The

volume immediately preceding it is written on folio paper with the watermark of Britannia seated with shield and spear, in a circle surmounted by a crown, on one sheet, and the letters 'J. W.' on the other. The volume immediately succeeding is written on paper bearing the same figure of Britannia on one sheet, and the full name 'J. Whatman' on the other. They were evidently made up of quires of the paper, by Charles Thomson, and not by any binder."

The Correspondence of William Pitt, edited by Miss Gertrude S. Kimball (London, New York, Macmillan; two vols.), previously announced in these columns, has appeared. Great credit for this valuable documentary publication is due to the Committee on Historic Research of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, a committee of which Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat is chairman. The volumes have been prepared and printed at the charge of the Colonial Dames.

About half of the October issue of *The American Catholic Historical Researches* is devoted to documents and incidents bearing on the general subject of "Catholics in the American Revolution".

The Sterling Furnace and the West Point Chain (New York, De Vinne Press, privately printed, pp. 54) is an address delivered by Macgrane Coxe at Sterling Lake on June 23, 1906, upon the occasion of the unveiling of a tablet by the Daughters of the Revolution of New York, in commemoration of the making of the chain.

A useful little volume by W. Herbert Burk is a *Guide to Valley Forge* (Norristown, 1906). The volume is well illustrated and the topographical and historical information, accompanied by a good map, are calculated to make the visit of the tourist both profitable and interesting.

The New York Historical Society has printed (John Divine Jones Fund Series, II.) *The Journal of a Voyage from Charlestown, S. C., to London undertaken during the American Revolution by the Daughter of an Eminent American Loyalist in the Year 1778, and Written from Memory only in 1779*. The writer was Louisa Susannah Wells, afterward Mrs. Aikman.

The Robert Lucas Journal of the War of 1812, noted in these columns in the last issue, has been reprinted in an edition of four hundred copies from the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July.

Number VI. of the series of *State Documents on Federal Relations*, edited by Herman V. Ames, bears the subtitle *Slavery and the Union, 1845-1861*. Thirty-three documents, with ample historical and bibliographical notes, are included, and the series is now completed.

The larger part of the October *Annals of Iowa* is devoted to a detailed account of "The Battle of Pleasant Hill, Louisiana", by S. F. Benson. Mr. Benson was a participant in the battle, and has made a careful study of the Red River campaign. The article is illustrated with a map.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for October contains Part I. of "Naval Letters from Captain Percival Drayton, 1861-1865". The letters in this installment, about twenty-seven in number, are written to Lydig M. Hoyt and Alexander Hamilton, jr., and are dated from various points along the Atlantic coast. Drayton was at the Philadelphia Navy Yard at the outbreak of the war, but was soon placed in command of the *Pawnee*, in Dupont's squadron, and later in command of the *Passaic*. Then, after having been stationed at the New York Navy Yard, he was appointed fleet captain under Farragut.

Life and Letters of Robert Edward Lee, by Rev. J. William Jones (New York and Washington, Neale Publishing Company, 1906, pp. 486), contains a few letters of Lee, for the most part unimportant, that have not before been published. As Mr. Jones has been connected with Washington and Lee University since the close of the war, the few pages of personal reminiscences of Lee are perhaps the most interesting part of the book.

W. L. Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, two vols.) has just appeared.

From a New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865, by Mary Ames (Springfield, Mass., pp. 125), relates the experiences from day to day of Miss Ames as a teacher of freedmen on Edisto Island off the South Carolina coast, from May, 1865, to September, 1866. The narrative deals mainly with the negroes, and touches but lightly on political affairs.

Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana State University (Bloomington, Indiana) has in preparation a biography of Thaddeus Stevens, and will welcome information respecting material bearing on his subject.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

There has recently been printed (Concord, N. H., Rumford Printing Company, 1905) and distributed the argument for the defendants on final hearing delivered in 1905 by A. S. Batchellor, Henry F. Hollis, and Will P. Buckley before the United States Circuit Court, District of New Hampshire, in the case of *Percy Summer Club vs. Joseph C. Astle and Jacob Astle* (No. 315 Equity). The contention of the argument is that "a natural fresh-water pond containing ten acres, is a large or great pond; and that this is judicially recognized and affirmed as the common law both in the province and state." The historical bearing of the argument lies in that part of it that deals with the establishment and recognition of the common law in New Hampshire.

A biography bearing closely upon the political history of New Hampshire just after the Civil War is James O. Lyford's *Life of Edward H. Rollins* (Boston, Estes and Company, pp. 547).

To the *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* for February, 1906, Rev. Henry A. Parker contributed a biography of Rev.

Francis Doughty; to those for March Mr. Andrew McF. Davis contributed a valuable paper on the origins of stock-speculation; in April Mr. Henry H. Edes contributed interesting papers on the vice-admiralty court of the provincial period.

The Massachusetts General Court and the Boston City Council have had printed a small volume containing the proceedings of the celebration by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Boston of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. The chairman of the celebration was Dr. Samuel A. Green, and the oration, "Our Debt to Franklin", was delivered by Carroll D. Wright. As an appendix are printed some selections from Franklin's writings prepared by Lindsay Swift.

The Records of the First Church of Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1632 to 1830, have been edited, with exhaustive indices, by Stephen P. Sharples, of the Cambridge Historical Society (Boston, Eben Putnam, 1906, pp. ix, 579). The volume contains, in addition to the usual registers, records of church proceedings which are of interest especially in the earlier periods.

In the October number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* are printed some thirteen letters from George Williams to his brother-in-law, Colonel Timothy Pickering, 1777-1778. They are selected from the Pickering papers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and relate to Revolutionary matters. Further installments are to follow. In the same issue should be noted "Records of the Proprietors of Common Lands in Boxford, 1683-1710".

The Connecticut Historical Society reports two valuable accessions of manuscripts. Mr. James Terry of Hartford has given ninety papers of the Whiting family of Hartford, most of them relating to Connecticut's part in the French and Indian War. Miss Mary K. Talcott of Hartford has given six hundred letters written to Edwin Wesson of Northboro, Massachusetts, manufacturer of rifles, 1838-1848. The society is now preparing for publication the correspondence of Jonathan Law, governor of Connecticut from October, 1741, to November, 1750. The first volume, 1741-1745, will be issued during the coming winter.

On November 20 the New York Historical Society celebrated its one hundred and second anniversary by formally opening the completed part of its new building on Central Park West.

The *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776* (Dodd, Mead and Company), have been published in eight volumes by authority of the city government. The text is supplemented by committee reports and other documents. The work has great value to students of early municipal institutions. The volumes have been edited by a committee of the New York Historical Society, of which Professor Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University was chairman.

The Society of Iconophiles has published an index to the illustrations in the series (beginning in 1841-1842) of the New York City Common Council Manuals. The index is in four sections, (1) Plates and Maps; (2) Maps and Plans of the City of New York and Vicinity; (3) Miscellaneous Maps; (4) Facsimiles, Letters, Signatures, Documents, Broad-sides, and Certificates. An introduction has been written by William L. Andrews, and the volume is put forth by the Gillis Press. Copies not taken by members of the society will be on sale by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons.

In the *Monthly Bulletin* for July of the Pittsburg Carnegie Library is a "List of References on the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania in 1794".

A second volume of Baltimore records, following immediately after those of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town, noted in these columns last year, has been edited by Wilbur F. Coyle and published by the Baltimore City Library: *Records of the City of Baltimore, 1797-1813*. The volume opens with the act incorporating Baltimore as a city, and then follows with the records of the city commissioners.

The September issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* is made up of three groups of documents. Under "Negro Colonization" are printed three letters from Montgomery and Frank P. Blair to J. R. Doolittle (in October and November, 1859) dealing with the negro problem and urging the creation of a sentiment in favor of colonization. Under "Early Appointments to Office under the United States Government" we are given fifteen letters to James McHenry, Secretary of War, from John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and William Vans Murray (1798-1800). There are also selections from the "Duane Correspondence", comprising letters to James Duane from Samuel Chase, S. Metcalf, James Kinsey, and William Tod, all written in the years 1774-1776, and relating to a variety of topics.

In the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October the "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions" are continued from June 15, 1738, to November 7 of the same year; under the caption "Virginia Legislative Papers" is commenced an interesting series of intercepted letters from Norfolk and Portsmouth Tories; a group of documents, translated and annotated by Professor William J. Hinke, relates to the German Lutheran colonies in Virginia after their settlement in Madison County; among them are included church accounts, reports, letters, and wills. "Revolutionary Army Orders for the Main Army under Washington" are continued from May 27 to 31, 1778. Among the "Notes and Queries" is printed for the first time a letter, unfortunately incomplete, from Patrick Henry to William Grayson, March 31, 1789, respecting the conduct of Indian affairs by General Joseph Martin.

The Virginia Historical Society is just completing a manuscript index to the volume of Virginia General Court Minutes, 1670-1676, which is in its library. It will not be published, but will be available there to all who may wish to use it.

The Virginia State Library has in preparation, in the Division of Bibliography, a calendar of the Richmond *Enquirer*, which will contain entries for signed articles, editorials, obituaries, etc. The same division has under way a bibliography of books, pamphlets, broadsides, and newspapers concerning Virginia, which will constitute a contribution to the ten-volume bibliography of Virginia projected by the Library. In the Department of Archives and History the mass of material owned by the state is being rapidly arranged and filed. The specific task under way at present is a calendar of all petitions that have been presented by the various towns and counties since 1773. A calendar of the George Rogers Clark papers is also in preparation, and a calendar to land grants of the colonial period.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* for October presents entertaining material in the continuation (August 4-7, 1775) of the "Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College"; and two letters written by James Lyon from the Camp before Yorktown, October 7 and 17, 1781.

Jefferson, Cabell, and the University of Virginia, by John S. Patton (New York and Washington, Neale Publishing Company, 1906, pp. 380), contains an account, based on the correspondence of Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, of the founding of the university, a sketch of the institution's early history, a description of the Jeffersonian buildings, and accounts of the various phases of the university's development, together with lists of honor and prize students, orators, participants in the Civil War, etc.

Volumes III. and IV. of the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, edited by Samuel A. Ashe (Greensboro, N. C., C. L. Van Noppen), maintain the high standard of excellence established in the first two volumes. In the third volume the sketches of Martin Howard, R. Howell, and Francis Nash bear on the Regulators, and point out that that movement had no connection with the Revolution. Of interest for the Revolutionary period are the accounts of Joseph Hewes, Robert Burton, George Farragut, and Alexander Lillington, while among the sketches bearing on later history those of R. M. Saunders, Holden, Turner, and North are especially noteworthy. Volume IV. opens with the sketches of Raleigh and Virginia Dare, and note should be made of the articles on John Ashe, Samuel Johnston, Allen Jones, Macon, and A. D. Murphy.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries has been printing from month to month, in the *Wachovia Moravian* (Winston-Salem, N. C.), a translation of the now famous document by Traugott Bagge. It will be remembered that

this document was first noted in public, because it contained a statement to the effect that at some time in 1775 the people of Mecklenburg County declared themselves free and independent. The document ended in 1779, was undated and unsigned. During the course of a most able and critical examination Miss Fries determined that it was by Traugott Bagge, was written in 1783, and constituted a summary of Revolutionary events in North Carolina. It is to be hoped that Miss Fries will conclude to publish the entire document in separate form. The article in which she demonstrates the date and authorship of the sketch is printed in the *Wachovia Moravian* for April.

A useful contribution to the local history of North Carolina is *The Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County, N. C.*, by Benjamin B. Winborne (Edwards and Broughton, 1906, pp. 348).

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has submitted his fifth annual report, in which is a detailed account of his investigations in the archives of England, France, and Spain for material relating to the provincial history of Mississippi. This state has the distinction of being the first state of the lower South to begin the publication of its documentary history, and Dr. Rowland's trip abroad was for the purpose of providing for the transcription of all documents in European repositories of the years 1540 to 1798 that are of sufficient value for Mississippi history. His report includes lists and calendars of the documents under investigation, and opens up an interesting field which has never before been systematically worked. The report will be ready for distribution about April 1.

The Baron de Pontalba has placed in the hands of the Louisiana Historical Society two memoirs on Louisiana written by Governor Miró, and many letters from Miró to Pontalba, written in 1792-1795. The documents are being copied for the society and will be published soon.

The larger part of the July *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* is devoted to a historical account of "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier", by I. J. Cox. This is followed by "Land Speculation as a Cause of the Texas Revolution", by Eugene C. Barker, and a few "Documents relating to the Organization of the Municipality of Washington, Texas".

The next meeting of the North Central History Teachers Association will be held in Chicago on March 30, 1907, in the rooms of Hull House. The principal address will be given by Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, and the list of speakers includes Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, Professor C. H. VanTyne of the University of Michigan, and Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri.

Of the contents of the "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* we mention the continuation of Allen Trimble's autobiography, sketches of

Captain Samuel Davis and of Timothy Lee, and an account by the late Reverend Henry Bushnell of the Central College of Iowa.

With the beginning of January, 1907, Mr. Harlow Lindley takes up his duties as chief of the division of archives in the Indiana State Library, with plans for a much more extensive collecting of historical material than has hitherto been practised in the state.

The most important contributions to the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September are "The Early Newspapers of Indiana" by George S. Cottman, and the first installment of "A Newspaper Index", being a chronological list of the more interesting material in the *Western Censor* and its successor, the *Indiana Journal*, from March 7, 1823, to December 4, 1827.

Mrs. O. P. Morton has presented to the Indiana State Library the private despatches of Governor O. P. Morton during the first two years of the Civil War, 1861 to January 1, 1863. The material is very interesting and valuable for historical studies of the conditions in Indiana at that time. The despatches cover a large field, including many to the authorities in Washington, to officers at the front, to private agents, state officers, etc. Much light is thrown on preparations to meet the Morgan invasion and on political conditions.

A state history of imposing appearance is *Michigan as a Province, Territory, and State*, by Henry M. Utley and Byron M. Cutcheon, assisted by Mr. Clarence M. Burton in the capacity of advisory editor ([New York], The Publishing Society of Michigan, 1906; four vols.).

Among the additions made by Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit to his library during the last year, several groups of important manuscripts should be noted: a collection of papers relating to Detroit during the years 1805-1811 throw light on the transactions of the village; a small bundle of manuscripts bears on the history of Detroit and the Northwest just before the battle of Fallen Timbers, in 1794, and includes a proposal by citizens of Detroit to establish military posts at Sandusky, Miami, and elsewhere, and an official report of the militia about to be mustered to resist Wayne's advance. Another group of papers relates to the massacre of Fort Dearborn in 1812, while still another, probably the most important, comprises the papers carried in a leather pouch by General Richard Butler, and taken from his body by Indians after St. Clair's defeat. This collection was secured by Mr. Burton from one of the chiefs of the Wyandotte Indians, during the last summer. It consists of reports made to General Butler while he was in command of Fort Pitt, which relate to the Indian troubles in that neighborhood early in 1791. Mr. Burton has in an advanced stage of preparation a history of Detroit in the Revolution, which will be printed in one or two volumes, for private distribution.

The regents of the University of Michigan have published through the University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, a *History of the Uni-*

versity of Michigan, prepared by the late Professor B. A. Hinsdale, with biographical sketches of regents and members of the faculties from 1837 to 1906, by Professor Demmon. The work is richly illustrated with pictures of the buildings and grounds and with portraits of the regents and professors.

Publication No. 10 of the Illinois State Historical Library is *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1905. It is composed of the record of the official proceedings, papers read at the annual meeting in 1905, contributions to state history, and obituaries. We have space to mention only a few among the many papers and contributions: "The Value of a Closer Connection between the State Historical Society and the Public Schools", by Henry McCormick; "The Bloomington Convention of 1856 and those who Participated in it", by J. O. Cunningham; "A Contribution toward a Bibliography of Morris Birkbeck and the English Settlement in Edwards County", by C. W. Smith; "Early History of the Drug Trade of Chicago", by A. E. Ebert; and "Puritan Influences in Illinois before 1860", by Carrie P. Koboid.

Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811 (pp. xiv, 34) is the title of the latest Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library (Volume I., No. II., June). It is edited by Clarence W. Alvord, and is a revised and enlarged edition of the library's Publication No. 2, which has the title *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois*, and which was prepared by Edmund J. James. The thirty-four laws here printed constitute the complete legislative record of the first phase of territorial government in Illinois, and are now collected for the first time. Several of the laws were found among the Kaskaskia records, the recent discovery of which has already been noted in these columns. The introduction by Professor Alvord is a valuable contribution to the territorial history of Illinois, and particularly interesting is his account of how, after much searching, the collection was at last completed.

The annual report of the Chicago Historical Society, November 20, 1906, shows that organization to be in a flourishing condition. Over 1,600 volumes and pamphlets have been added to the library during the past year, and the very remarkable collection of early prints, photographs, and stereoscopic views of historic places and personages in Illinois and the Mississippi valley has been classified and filed.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in Madison on October 18. Dr. Thwaites's report as superintendent shows that during the past year there has been an accession of over 10,000 titles to the library and that two especially valuable collections of manuscripts have been added. These are the papers of Moses M. Strong and of Morgan L. Martin. Strong was a resident of Mineral Point, a pioneer lawyer, surveyor, town-site promoter, and historian, and his papers, filling two hundred volumes, throw interesting light on the affairs of early Wisconsin. Martin, whose papers fill about

twenty volumes, was one of the earliest citizens of the lower Fox River valley; he was an Indian agent, lawyer, judge, and army paymaster, and the partner and adviser of Juneau in the founding of Milwaukee, respecting which enterprise his papers are particularly rich in material. At the open session of the meeting the following papers were read: "Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632-1832", by Publius V. Lawson; "The Old Mascontin Village", by John J. Wood, jr.; "Founding of Milwaukee", by Edwin S. Mack; "Western Wisconsin Industries", by John M. Holey; and "Count Haraszthy", by V. S. Pease.

Among the contributions in the September *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* we note the following: "Sketch and Picture of Governor Beriah Magoffin", by Mrs. Jennie C. Morton; "General Joseph Montford Street", by George Wilson; "George Rogers Clark", by Z. F. Smith; and "The History of the Kentucky Historical Society", by J. W. Townsend.

The *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, which has heretofore appeared at irregular intervals, will now be regularly published as a quarterly. Among the contents of the July number we note, as being of especial interest, an account of the "Emigration from the French West Indies to St. Louis in 1848," read before the Historical Society in 1878 by Edward de Lauréal, one of the émigrés, followed by a general account of "The French Émigrés, from Guadeloupe", by Adèle Hornsby, and a sketch of Edward de Lauréal, by R. A. Bakewell. There are also printed some "Documents relating to the Attack upon St. Louis in 1780," selected from the Canadian archives, and a narrative by Captain William Bicknell of two expeditions from Boon's Lick to Santa Fé in 1821 and 1822.

Among recent acquisitions to the collections of the Missouri Historical Society should be noted the private papers and correspondence of the late Judge Samuel Treat; a large and unique collection of state and private bank notes, gathered by the late Edward G. Moses; the letters of General George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia; the "Guibourd Collection", relating to the early French settlement of Missouri, 1752-1809; and the proceedings and papers of the Democratic Association of St. Louis County from 1839 to 1842.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has published *Circulars* Nos. 2 and 3, calling attention to the fact that the constitution of the society provides that local organizations may be enrolled as auxiliary members of the State Society, representing the advantages of such an affiliation, and describing the various classes of materials bearing on Missouri history desired by the society. These include all publications relating to Missouri or by Missourians, manuscripts, public documents and reports, reports of organizations and societies, files of newspapers and periodicals, maps, engravings, photographs, paintings, and all manner of relics. It is the desire of the society to collect at Columbia ma-

terials for a library and museum which shall constitute the principal repository of its kind in the state.

A bronze tablet in memory of General William Clark was unveiled in St. Louis on September 26, under the auspices of the Civic League of St. Louis and of the Missouri Historical Society. The principal address was by Dr. R. G. Thwaites on "William Clark, Soldier, Explorer, Statesman".

The three articles that make up the body of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October are all useful contributions. "The Origin of the Republican Party in Iowa", by Louis Pelzer, is accompanied by an appendix containing lists of the members and officers of the state convention of 1856. Of more general interest perhaps is the article on the "Origin, Principles, and History of the American Party", by Ira Cross, while "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa", by Hugh S. Buffum, is a valuable summary, illustrated with tables. A new feature in the *Journal* which should prove to be well worth while if continued is a list of "Historical Items in Several Iowa Newspapers from December, 1905, to September, 1906".

Professor Shambaugh of the State University of Iowa has issued the *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, under Governor Robert Lucas (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1906, pp. xxv, 341). The journal is printed from a manuscript record recently discovered among the papers of Robert Lucas. Notwithstanding that the Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa required that a record of executive proceedings be kept and transmitted to the President, this journal apparently is preserved in official records neither in Iowa nor at Washington. The volume illustrates the difficulties of territorial governors during the period to which it relates.

The *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society for 1905-1906* (Topeka, State Printing Office, 1906, pp. xi, 654) print fourteen addresses, mainly on Kansas topics, delivered at the annual meetings of the society in 1904 and 1905 or in connection with the semi-centennial anniversary of the territorial organization of Kansas. Amongst them is the speech of Mr. William H. Taft on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, at Topeka in May, 1904. The remainder of the volume is devoted to papers on early Catholic and Methodist missions amongst the Indians of Kansas, the navigation of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, and political and military topics in the history of the state. The volume is the ninth issued by the Kansas Society.

The Peopling of Kansas, by Wallace E. Miller (Columbus, Ohio, 1906), a Columbia University doctoral dissertation, is intended mainly as a sociological study, conducted on a historical basis. After describing the "environment" in Kansas and discussing the effect of it upon population, the author takes up successively the various races and nationalities (Indian, native white American, European, Negro) that

have gone to make up the population of Kansas. Then follow an account of the organization of population in relation to its institutional life, a discussion of "Aspects of the Social Mind", and "Impulsive Social Action", and finally, statistical tables showing the nativity of the foreign-born, by countries.

We have received *The County Boundaries of Colorado*, by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, reprinted from *University of Colorado Studies*, volume III., No. 4. The article is illustrated by sixteen well-constructed maps, showing the progressive changes from 1861 to 1903.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual session in Portland, Oregon, on November 30 and December 1. The officers for the next year are: president, William D. Fenton of Portland, vice-president, James D. Phelan of San Francisco, secretary, Professor C. A. Duniway of Leland Stanford University.

For the preservation and maintenance of the Bancroft Library, the regents of the University of California have resolved on the establishment of an "Academy of Pacific Coast History", and for a curator and staff of assistants. The academy is to be installed in the new university library building.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September is devoted to the addresses delivered upon the occasion of the reinterment of the remains of Jason Lee, the Oregon missionary pioneer, and to a continuation of the reprint of Johnson and Winter's *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*.

We have received *McDonald of Oregon*, by Eva Emery Dye (Chicago, A. C. McClurg, 1906). Although the narrative is based (according to the author's "Foreword") upon an exhaustive examination of historical material, the volume can hardly be ranked as a historical publication. The hero of the narrative, whose biography is supposed to be set forth here, is Ronald McDonald (1824-1894), one of the pioneers of the northwest, and among the first Americans in Japan.

A cordial welcome should be extended to the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, the organ of the Washington University State Historical Society, of which the first number appears for October, 1906. It is published at Seattle, in good form; Professor Edmond S. Meany is the managing editor. The arrangement is in the usual four subdivisions—articles, documents, reviews, news, with the added feature of a section in which rare printed works relating to the history of the state and of the Northwest Coast may be reprinted. Thus, in the first number is presented an installment of George Wilkes's History of Oregon. The most important article is one by Mr. Harvey W. Scott of the *Oregonian*, on "Jason Lee's Place in History". Others are on Washington nomenclature, by Dr. J. N. Bowman, and on the Cayuse War, our first Indian war in the Northwest, by Mr. Clarence B. Bagley.

The future historian of Canada will have small opportunity to go astray with such a publication as *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* at his command. The volume before us, by J. Castell Hopkins (Toronto, Annual Review Publishing Company), the fifth to be issued, relates to the year 1905, is a book of over six hundred pages, and, by no means least, is well indexed. Its scope can best be shown by mentioning the heads of the various sections: Dominion political affairs; General elections in Ontario; Provincial elections in Alberta and Saskatchewan; Public affairs in the provinces; Dominion and provincial finances; Relations with the Empire; Relations with the United States; Transportation interests; Militia affairs; Literature and journalism; Religious and sociological incidents; Production, trade, and material progress; Finance, insurance, and industrial conditions; Miscellaneous incidents; and Obituary. An appendix, printed separately in a pamphlet of thirty-seven pages, is a *Chronology of Canadian History*, covering the period from the Confederation in 1867 to the close of 1900.

We should note a French volume on the French phase of Canadian history, by E. Salone, *La Colonisation de la Nouvelle France, Étude sur les Origines de la Nation canadienne française* (Paris, E. Guilmoto, pp. 467).

Acadiensis for October commences an account, by Jonas Howe, of "Major Ferguson's Riflemen—The American Volunteers", together with the roster of that Loyalist corps, and brings to a conclusion the article by Reginald V. Harris on the "Union of the Maritime Provinces".

The present Earl of Durham has presented to the Archives Branch of the Dominion of Canada the collection of documents that formed the basis of the report of his father, Lord Durham's report in 1838 on the Canadian rebellion of 1837. The papers relate to the difficulties between the races in the lower provinces and to the defects in the colonial system of government. They consist of municipal records, pamphlets, posters, petitions, correspondence, etc.

A feature of the approaching tercentenary of the foundation of Quebec is to be a museum illustrating the various events in the history of Canada from the earliest times to the present. In it will be collected all obtainable relics of Champlain, Montcalm, and other figures prominent in Canadian affairs. A national subscription will be opened for the purpose, whilst grants will be made by the English, Canadian, and the French governments.

Abbé Dugas, formerly of St. Boniface College, Winnipeg, has just published the second volume of his *History of the North-West*, covering the period from 1822 to the extinction of the Hudson's Bay Company's sovereignty in 1869.

Constitucion de 1857 y las Leyes de Reforma en Mexico, by Ricardo García Granados (Mexico, Tipografía Económica, pp. 135), is described as a historico-sociological study.

At the Congrès des Sociétés Savantes held in Paris last May Professor Jules Humbert of Bordeaux read a paper on the documents in the archives of Guipúzcoa relative to Spanish colonization in America, referring especially to the records and papers of the Compañía Guipuzcoana, founded in 1728.

Dr. Hiram Bingham, accompanied by Dr. Hamilton Rice, F.R.G., and assistant, left New York at the end of November for Venezuela. His plan is to follow, as far as possible, the military campaigns of General Bolívar during the War of Independence, 1812-1820. He expects to travel across country on horseback some eight hundred miles, from Caracas to Bogotá, and thence by the customary route to Cartagena. The expedition is undertaken in behalf of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale Universities, for the purpose of collecting scientific, historical, and geographical data. Dr. Bingham hopes also to gather material for a history of the South American wars of independence and for a history of the Scots Darien Colony.

A South American publication of especial interest is *Catálogo por orden cronológico de los Manuscritos relativos á América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1905, pp. 386).

The Royal Academy of Göttingen has published (*Abhandlungen*, phil.-hist. Kl., n. f., VI. 4) the history of the empire of the Incas by Pedros Sarmiento de Gamboa, edited by Dr. Richard Pietschmann.

We note the following recent works bearing on the history of Spanish America: *Las Constituciones Políticas de Bolivia; estudio histórico i comparativo*, by Jenaro Sanjinés (La Paz); *Das heutige Mexiko und seine Kulturfortschritte*, by Paul George (Jena, G. Fischer); *Benito Juárez, su Vida—su Obra*, by Rafael de Zayas Enriquez (Mexico, F. Diaz de Leon); *Heroe y Caudillo (continuación de Mejico Pacificado)*, by Adolfo Duclos-Salimas (St. Louis, Spanish American Publishing Company); and *El Sistema de Gobierno Dual de Argentino y su Origen*, by Antonio Rodríguez del Busto (Buenos Aires, Compañía Sud-americana de Billetes de Banco).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Vignaud, *Sophus Ruge et ses Vues sur Colomb* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s., III. 1); G. Friederici, *Die Ethnographie in den "Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias"* (Globus, November 8, 22); M. du Villiers, *Une Mémoire Politique du XVIIIe Siècle relatif au Texas* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, III. 1); A. Bertrand, *Les États-Unis et la Révolution Française* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); A. B. Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine in its Territorial Extent and Application* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, vol. XXXII.); G. Weill, *Les Lettres d'Achille Murat* (Revue Historique, September-October); R. Corlett Cowell, "Abraham Lincoln: Master of Men" (London Quarterly Review, October); W. H. Crook, *Lincoln*

as I Knew Him (Harper's Magazine, December); I. M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in the Civil War* (American Magazine, December); E. P. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke and the Financing of the Civil War* (Century Magazine, November, December); S. N. Cook, *Johnson's Island in War Days* (Ohio Magazine, September); Duane Mowry, *Senator Doolittle and Reconstruction* (Sewanee Review, October); F. T. Hill, *Impeachment of Andrew Johnson* (Harper's Magazine, November); D. C. Scott, *The Last of the Indian Treaties* (Scribner's Magazine, November); Allen Johnson, *The Nationalizing Influence of Party* (Yale Review, November); Ulrich B. Phillips, *An American State-Owned Railroad* [the Western and Atlantic] (Yale Review, November); H. Lorin, *Les derniers Jours du Canada Français* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); J. Marshall Sturge, *Was West Indian Slavery Harmless?* (Independent Review, October); *La Doctrine de Monroe et la Politique Panaméricanique* (Le Correspondant, August 10); José Ingegnieros, *La Evolución Política Argentina y sus Bases Económicas* (La España Moderna, August).

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT PROVIDENCE

A CITY of many historic memories and not a few ancient buildings, Providence is an eminently suitable place in which to hold one of the annual meetings of the American Historical Association. It is also so convenient of access by railroad from an area richly populated with members of the Association that about three hundred attended. As four other associations, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the Bibliographical Society of America and the American Sociological Society, held their annual meetings at the same time and place, and the New England History Teachers' Association assembled with the national historical body on one of the days, the resources of Providence with respect to hotel accommodations were taxed to their utmost. More serious was the sense of mental crowding and confusion which is inevitably produced by sessions so numerous, even if the Historical Association had not had, as it certainly did have, too full a programme. One who paused to reflect, if any were able to achieve that feat during those three days, must have felt some longings for those simpler days when as yet the other societies were not, days of quieter sessions, before the age—we need not borrow Burke's unamiable phrase about the age "of sophisters, economists and calculators"—but before the period of "entangling alliances".

But anything like physical crowding was wholly avoided by the careful arrangements made by the local committee, whose work deserves all praise, and by the fortunate presence, on or near the grounds of Brown University, of an abundance of suitable halls and rooms for the meetings and for the entertainment of all the societies. Seldom if ever at any annual meeting have all things

proceeded so smoothly. An especial advantage for such sessions was offered by the rooms of the Brown Union, abounding in opportunities for meeting and conversation, and supplemented by those afforded by the University Club. The larger gatherings were held in Sayles Hall and Manning Hall of Brown University. Receptions or luncheons were offered by the university, by the committee of management of the John Carter Brown Library, by the Rhode Island Historical Society, and by Mr. William B. Weeden, chairman of the committee of local arrangements, and Mrs. Weeden. The Rhode Island School of Design made all the societies free of its buildings and collections; and there was the usual "smoker".

The first evening, that of Wednesday, December 26, was occupied with a felicitous address of welcome by President Faunce of Brown University, and with the inaugural addresses of Professor J. W. Jenks of Cornell University, president of the American Economic Association, and of Judge Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, president of the American Historical Association, heard in joint session of the two bodies. Judge Baldwin's address, entitled "Religion Still the Key to History", has already been printed, in the January number of this journal. The subject of that of Professor Jenks was, "The Modern Standard of Business Honor". He first adverted to the new conditions under which modern business is conducted: the scale on which it is carried on, vastly larger than ever before; the want of personal contact between the business man and his workmen or his customers; the heightened extent to which directors of corporations are trustees for numerous stockholders; and the increased profits from monopolies that are technically legal, but economically and socially unjustifiable. He showed how the rapid development of these conditions had often prevented the evil of unjust courses from being fully and clearly seen. He urged that, while the state should go farther in forbidding unscrupulous practices and in enforcing publicity in the management of great business enterprises, yet it was plain from human nature and the experience of the ages that we must after all look to individual morals and the efforts of individuals as the chief sources of improvement, and must place the responsibility upon ourselves as individuals.

The subsequent sessions of the Association were divided, as usual, between those which were occupied with formal papers or prepared addresses and those which bore the character of free conferences on special topics. The session of Thursday morning was of the former sort, and was given to papers in European history. Professor

George L. Burr of Cornell University discoursed informally on "Protestantism and Tolerance". After glancing at the rise of intolerance in the early church, which served the sixteenth-century reformers as a model, and sketching the causes which at the close of the Middle Ages had brought about a practical freedom of thought not since reached perhaps in continental Europe, he followed in some detail the growing intolerance of the reformers, pointing out how by 1529-1530, the date of the birth of "Protestantism", Luther and his colleagues were advocating the punishment of heresy—and by death—under the name of sedition or of blasphemy, though it was left for Calvin to restore fully to heresy its place as a crime and to make valid in Protestantism the penal laws of the Middle Ages.

Professor Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin dwelt on "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century". The increasing study of the classical writers in that century he regarded as merely the culmination of a movement which had been going on through the preceding centuries. There was no distinct renaissance of letters. But the twelfth century was characterized in a remarkable degree by the evolution of the spirit of independence, not only in such matters as the growth of freedom and self-consciousness in communes and guilds, but especially in the prevalence of the spirit of free inquiry on the part of scholars, largely influenced by Aristotle, in the growth of interest in science, and in the enhancement of the practical desire to turn all things to immediate use.

Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor of New York City read an interesting paper entitled "An Instance of Medieval Humanism: Some Letters of Hildebert of Lavardin". Hildebert of Lavardin, who became bishop of Le Mans in 1095, and in 1125 archbishop of Tours, finely exemplifies in the balance and temperance of his attitude towards life, and incidentally in his facile scholarship, the subtle working of the antique culture upon character and temperament. As a classical scholar he was unexcelled in his time, and was a skillful writer of both prose and verse. Some of his poems in elegiac metre have been mistaken by comparatively modern scholars for genuine antiques. In his elegy on Rome, one of his best, one is almost startled to hear the frank medieval note of admiration for the idols of pagan Rome. And yet the major part of Hildebert was Christian, as his theological writings thoroughly attest. His classic tastes gave temperance to his Christian views. How sweetly the elements were mixed in him appears in a famous letter written to William of Champeaux, wherein he balances temperately and soundly the advantages of the active and the contemplative life. Hildebert's writings evince that kind

of classical scholarship which springs only from great study and great love. His soul does not appear to have been riven by a consciousness of sin in this behalf. Sometimes he passes so gently from Christian to pagan ethics, as to lead one to suspect that he did not deeply feel the inconsistency between them. Or again he seems satisfied with the moral reasonings of paganism, and sets them forth without a qualm. For instance in a letter which he writes to King Henry consoling him upon the loss of his son in the *White Ship* there is a strain of reasoning which would much more naturally have come from the lips of Seneca than from an archbishop of the time of St. Bernard. But the antique in Hildebert's ethical consolations reflects a manner of reasoning rather than an emotional mood. The emotion, the love and yearning, of medieval religion was largely the gift of Christianity.

Miss Louise R. Loomis of Cornell University followed with a paper on "The Greek Renaissance in Italy". The conventional view has described that movement as the abrupt recovery at the close of the fourteenth century and the opening of the fifteenth of the long-forgotten stores of Hellenic literature, and the emancipation under its stimulating influence of the Italian intellect from the bondage of medieval ignorance and superstition. Against this view she urged the temporary revival of Greek by the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the superficiality of the knowledge of Greek actually acquired by the Italian humanists of the early fifteenth century, the conventional quality of their eulogies of Hellenic literature, the many evidences that the culture which deeply impressed them and elicited their real admiration was that of Rome and Alexandria, that their literary model was Cicero, their Platonism secondary and derivative.

In a discussion of the last three of these papers Professors James H. Robinson of Columbia University and Paul Van Dyke of Princeton endeavored to bring them into unity by dealing with the Renaissance as a movement continuing through several centuries, rather than comprised in any one century. Professor Robinson set forth this thesis in its more extreme form, Professor Van Dyke in one more qualified, representing the fifteenth century more distinctly as the culmination of a long process.

While these papers were being read, the Bibliographical Society of America was considering topics which were in large part historical or of interest to the writers of history. Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin read portions of a valuable report on the bibliographical work of historical socie-

ties, and Dr. J. F. Jameson in response to inquiry gave some information as to such bibliographical work as is undertaken by the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution. The need of a bibliography of American colonial newspapers was considered by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in a formal paper, and in remarks by Mr. William Nelson of the New Jersey Historical Society, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits of the Lenox Library, and others. A committee was appointed to consider the proper mode of description of such files. Another body of source-material of much interest to students of American history was brought under discussion by Mr. Theodore L. Cole of Washington, who described the plans of the Association of American Law Schools for preparing by united effort a catalogue of printed issues of American colonial laws. A committee to consider co-operation on the part of the Bibliographical Society of America was appointed. At a later session the society took up the subject of an international catalogue of the current literature of the social sciences, including history.

On the afternoon of Thursday the American Historical Association held a joint session with the New England History Teachers' Association, devoted to the consideration of a report prepared by the Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools. The conference was presided over by Professor James A. James of Northwestern University, chairman of that committee. The portion of the report presented on this occasion was that which dealt with history in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades of the elementary schools. Professor James spoke of the methods used in reaching the conclusions, and of the purpose of the committee in its work. The committee desired to re-assert their belief that the subject-matter for a course in the elementary schools and especially for the last three grades should be selected from the field of American history. In the sixth grade it is recommended that attention be devoted to the beginnings of American history in England and in Europe at large, with a view to showing the historical dependence of American history and institutions upon the Old World; in the seventh grade should be studied the discovery, exploration and colonial history of America, while the last year should be given over to the history of the United States. The teacher's main task should be to give an historical representation of our national life, rather than to recount the events which have happened in America since the first discovery. He should aim mainly to teach the child what his fellow human beings have done and are doing and to

show him how to co-operate with them. He should endeavor to make clear the close relation of history with other subjects, especially its vital connection with geography and civics. It will be seen that the main features of the programme presented a year ago are retained.

Dr. Julius Sachs of Columbia University, a member of the committee, led in the discussion following the presentation of the report, remarked that the committee had abandoned as futile all attempt to develop an ideal plan of history teaching. They had, however, adopted a grouping of the work so broad that, as they hoped, it afforded the fullest scope for the most accomplished elementary teacher of history, and again so flexible that the teacher of lesser attainments, of restricted opportunities for self-culture, can make it the basis of a sound and logical presentation. No rigid adherence in detail to the minor sub-divisions of each year's work was contemplated. He pointed out, as an advantage of the plan, that the old method of going over the same ground each year was abandoned and a continuous narrative could be presented.

This last point was enlarged upon by Superintendent H. P. Lewis of Worcester, who maintained that the old method in striving after thoroughness had defeated its own purpose. Pupils, he said, had actually less knowledge of the facts of American history after two or three years of repetition than when their study of it had been confined to a single year, and furthermore by the time when they entered the high school had lost their interest in history. He believed that the report of the committee would commend itself to every earnest teacher of American history in our elementary schools; but suggested that the study of European history recommended for the sixth grade was rather too difficult, and believed in general that more emphasis should be placed on the economic aspects of history. Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College commended the plan. He agreed with the suggestion as to the economic phases of history, but as to the place given to European history believed that it should be made even larger. To study the continuous development of some other country, say England, would help to keep the pupil from a provincially American turn of mind. Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College, discussed the principal defects in the teaching of history in elementary schools. She traced them to inefficiency in the mass of such teachers as can now be tempted into the work of school-teaching, to the exaltation of method over substance, fostered by many text-books, and to the failure of teachers of history to hold frequent conferences with

others. The teacher should especially endeavor to develop the art of narration, and to arouse enthusiasm at an impressionable age.

Mr. Isaac O. Winslow, principal of a school in Providence, regarded the committee's plans as impracticable and too ambitious. The amount of work he considered as far too great. It would be better to have fewer details, to select a few large centres of interest and emphasize them. Qualitatively also the work proposed is too difficult. Pupils of sixth-grade age are not interested in tracing the origins of American institutions in European history; for them history is still largely a moral subject and its basis should be biography. It would be better, he thought, to devote the sixth and seventh years to American history, taking up European history with its American connections in the eighth year. Tested under average conditions he believed the scheme would not prove practicable. Dr. James Sullivan of the High School of Commerce, New York City, declared, on the other hand, that the plan marked an important forward step in that it gave the pupil some idea of European history, presented American history as part of world-history, thus inculcating a truer patriotism than mere jingoism, eliminated what was unimportant, and made a most wise selection of historical personages for biographical treatment.

An open impromptu discussion followed. Professor James announced that in the completed report of the committee due attention to geography, civics, literature and art in their relations to history would be provided for; and that the work laid down for the first five grades, and especially for the fourth and fifth, would have to do with American life or American heroes. Mr. A. P. Walker of the Boston Normal School emphasized anew the doctrine that no vivid interest can be aroused and maintained in the minds of immature pupils by merely going over somewhat more intensively a field already covered. Care would need to be exercised that teachers of lower grades should not appropriate subjects belonging to the upper grades. The plan in his opinion did not cover too much ground provided a proper method of exclusion were adopted. Dr. Ernest F. Henderson thought that the plan provided too much American history. He proposed a four-year course in modern history, dealing in successive years with German, French, English and American history. It is expected that the final report of the committee will be published in the course of the year 1907.

Upon the evening of the same day occurred a joint session held with the American Economic Association, at which two papers in economic history were read. The first was that of Professor

Ulysses G. Weatherly of Indiana State University on "Babeuf's Place in the History of Socialism." The French Revolution was not entirely a movement of the middle classes. The Jacobins tended towards community of property, and their fall in 1793 replaced the middle classes in power. Babeuf and his fellow-conspirators in 1795 were tried upon political charges and the economic character of their conspiracy remained in the background. Babeuf was released from prison in October, 1795, and immediately set about to establish a communistic system. His newspaper, the *Tribun du Peuple*, began to attack the existing system of ownership of property, and the capitalistic organization of industry. The Society of the Pantheon was organized to spread communistic principles, and lasted until 1796 when Babeuf was again arrested. Babeuf and his followers were too busy contending for their political principles to evolve a plan of a social system. The general principles of their plan were outlined in the *Analysis of the Doctrine of Babeuf*. Needs, not productive power, should determine the distribution of commodities. Babeuf's system, though communistic, was based upon the principles of modern scientific socialism. His belief that socialism was the only proper system justified revolution. Babeufism was the logical result of the principles of Rousseau, Robespierre and Saint Just. Babeuf's death in 1797 marked not only the disappearance of the last of the Jacobins, but that of the leader of revolutionary socialism as well. His movement was the logical predecessor of the revolutionary outbreak of 1830, and his doctrines were largely responsible for the later outbreak.

The second paper, by Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard University, led a discussion of "Some Recent Theories concerning the Stages of Economic Development." He reviewed the discussions of Roscher, Hildebrand, Knies, Marx, Rodbertus, Schmoller, and Bücher, but devoted most attention to Bücher's system, which has practically displaced all of the others. Bücher's system of economic stages is purely static in character, and takes no account of social forces. The system has not been fitted to the facts, but the facts to the system; it cannot be applied either to European or to American economic development. The scheme was developed with reference to Germany, and does not fit other countries. Bücher's separable generalizations, however, correspond roughly to historical events.

Miss Katharine Coman, professor in Wellesley College, criticized the existing theories of economic stages as being too narrow, and emphasized the view that any adequate exposition of the

course of industrial evolution, so complex are the phenomena, would require not one but a series of formulae. The world-encompassing transportation agencies have made the thread of sequence difficult to follow. Beyond a mere verbal analogy to the processes of biological growth economic evolution is not organic; sequence of forms is not inevitable. Yet human society is being progressively industrialized, and industrial progress is determined by the survival of the most efficient. Environment exercises always an important influence on the course of economics, and in our country the determining conditions have been free land and the absence of legislative restraint. The transitions have been remarkably rapid. Notwithstanding these disturbing forces—cheap and rapid transportation, world-commerce, and rapid transitions—the course of economic evolution in this country may be quite clearly traced. Professor Bogart of Princeton University disagreed with what he thought to be Professor Gay's view that correct historical generalizations of historical development are impossible. Existing schemes of economic stages might be incorrect, but all such schemes he thought of value for certain purposes. He thought it possible to find some broader generalizations which should be both correct and useful. Professor Richard T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin thought man's power over nature the true principle for the tracing of economic development. A classification so based is not absolute, but is helpful and convenient. Professor Gay closed the discussion. He thought that to posit economic stages was useful, but feared that hard and fast stages and classifications might dominate too much.

In the next forenoon two conferences were simultaneously held. The one, intended to serve the interests of college teachers, had as its topic "The Sequence of College Courses in History"; the other was a conference on the special problems of state and local historical societies. The former was presided over by Professor Max Farrand of Leland Stanford University, who described the order of courses provided in that institution. It begins with a series of introductory courses covering all the chief fields of general history, which must be taken in the first or second year of college. There is also what is called a library course, likewise to be taken in one or the other of these years, which is intended to give the student some preliminary knowledge of the means by which more elaborate studies should be conducted. After these courses the student must take one advanced course in history, to be pursued in detail, without taking which he cannot be graduated in history.

Professor George B. Adams of Yale University discussed frankly

the experiments made in the historical curriculum at that institution and their good and bad results. But one course is offered, he said, in the freshman year, a general introductory course in the medieval and modern history of western Europe. Experience had shown that the demand in the second year was for general courses, covering broad fields, rather than for more special courses, the fields of which were somewhat restricted. A course covering the whole of English history has been found best to meet this demand, while in the junior and senior years a free elective system prevails.

Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago remarked that while a fixed sequence of studies after a general introductory course may be advisable, there are many difficulties in preparing any rigid scheme, especially if the arrangement is made to depend only on the location and extent of the periods that may be selected. The guiding principle of the order of courses ought not to be the choice of fields for their own sakes. Any sequence to be useful and helpful must be based on the purpose of bringing the student gradually into a fuller appreciation of what history is and what its methods are. The chiefest aim in any arrangement must be to bring the students into intellectual sympathy with history as a branch of modern developing knowledge and to give them the historical spirit, perspective, and a knowledge—not of full technical detail to be sure—but a reasonable knowledge of the essentials of historical criticism and construction.

Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California adverted to the differences of method which must be caused by the varying numbers of men and women in various institutions. The women students study history in order to become teachers of that subject, while the men most commonly intend to specialize in law or journalism later. Teachers must therefore differentiate sharply between the order and method employed in the instruction of men and those pursued with women. Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College urged that the ability of any particular student to pursue with profit a given course depended more upon his maturity than upon such preparation as might be offered by introductory courses. Thus, he said, the sequence may vary with every student, and he advocated a high degree of flexibility in the requirements. Professor Munro of Wisconsin related that at the University of Wisconsin a system of majors with a bachelor thesis obtains, and that a student who holds his major in history must take twenty-six semester-hours. In the freshman year three courses are open: ancient, medieval, and English history. In the following years all

the courses are open, subject to certain restrictions. Professor Burr of Cornell said that, other things being equal, he believed the chronological order to be the sensible one, and that at Cornell it is made the possible one. This point was emphasized by Professor C. H. Haskins, who stated that at Harvard the students, left free in their choice of studies, ordinarily and naturally follow a chronological order if given a fair chance. Professor Theodore C. Smith of Williams made a plea for the needs of the college as distinguished from the university in the teaching of history, while Professor Herbert D. Foster gave an account of co-operative teaching at Dartmouth, and Professor Albert B. White of the University of Minnesota stated that at that institution it was insisted upon that a student should have taken a course in English history before entering upon the study of American history.

The conference on the problems of state and local historical societies was presided over by Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the State University of Iowa. Two subjects were discussed, "Problems relative to the care and preservation of public archives", and "The marking of historical sites". Professor Herman V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Association's Public Archives Commission, was the first speaker and presented a review of the work of that commission during the seven years of its existence. The purpose of the Commission has been two-fold, to contribute information, in the form of printed reports, relative to the historical material in public archives, and to stimulate state and local governments to the proper care of such material. Forty reports, of which thirty-one have been published, have been prepared on the archives of twenty-nine states. It has been shown that hardly one of the older states has preserved complete files of its records, although the eastern states are better off in this respect than most of the others. There is however a very encouraging movement in those states where the need is greatest, for the proper care of public records. In Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Iowa, the state archives are being provided for in accordance with recent legislation. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut attention has been directed to the care of local archives. Professor Ames concluded his report with mentioning two additional activities undertaken by the Commission: the selection by a sub-committee of the material in the British archives to be transcribed for the Library of Congress, and the preparation of a bibliography of the official pub-

lished records of the original thirteen states to 1789, and of such local records as have been printed in any of the states.

Mr. Luther R. Kelker, custodian of public records for the state of Pennsylvania, described the work which he has done in that office since his appointment in 1903, and the principles which he has followed in the arrangement of the material confided to him. Beside such work of arrangement, he has prepared copy for the fifth and sixth series of the Pennsylvania Archives. Mr. Clayton Torrence of the Virginia State Library described the archives of that state, including the portions which are in charge of the library, the land-office, the office of the secretary of state and the other executive offices, and the work which is being done toward putting them in order and making their contents available to historical students. In 1906 the Department of Archives and History was established, in charge of Mr. H. J. Eckenrode. The early petitions and other legislative papers have been sorted, and a calendar of the petitions is now in preparation. Mr. Torrence dwelt also on the county archives, the progressive losses of these treasures by fire, and the need of better treatment of the problems connected with them. Mr. John C. Parish of the State University of Iowa spoke of the work which has lately been carried on in connection with the public archives of that state, under the direction of Professor Shambaugh, and especially described the system of classification which has been adopted. The unprinted material is first classified according to three periods: the territorial, that of the first state constitution, and that of the present constitution (since 1857). For each of these the classification is according to the various offices from which the papers respectively emanated, then in subdivisions according to the external character of the documents (letters, reports, accounts, vouchers, etc.), then in still further subdivisions of a topical sort, in each of which the arrangement is chronological. It is proposed to issue calendars of various classes and to prepare a catalogue and an index to the whole mass. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, chief of the division of manuscripts in the Library of Congress, spoke briefly of the effect of sunlight on manuscripts exposed for exhibition or for other purposes, and described an ingenious device which, with the aid of the Bureau of Standards at Washington, he had prepared for measuring the extent of such damage.

The consideration of the marking of historic sites was opened by Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, in a paper in which he discussed the utility of such procedure

both in awakening patriotic feeling and in making the course of historic events more intelligible. The General Committee, of which he is chairman, had sent out questionnaires and attempted to secure a systematic body of information as to what had been done and was being done in this direction. He summarized the results of this inquiry, mentioning, as examples of the work going forward, that of the committee on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Medford, Massachusetts, that of the Germantown Site and Relic Society, that of the New York History Club, the marking of scenes of the Sioux War by the Minnesota Valley Society, the appropriation of fifteen hundred dollars by the General Assembly of Rhode Island for expenditure of this sort under the direction of the Rhode Island Historical Society, the military parks established by the United States government, and the work of various of the "patriotic-hereditary" societies. Fuller statements, of much interest, were made by Miss Jane Meade Welch of Buffalo on the work of the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, and by Miss Zoe Adams on the marking of the old Santa Fé Trail by the Kansas Daughters of the American Revolution, aided by the state, and on the interesting investigations which were undertaken for determining the route.

The sixth and seventh sessions of the Association, those of Friday evening and Saturday morning, December 28 and 29, were devoted to the reading of papers, the business meeting of the Association having been held on Friday afternoon. In the sixth session, devoted to the earlier portions of American history, four papers were read. We speak of three, for the fourth, that of Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan, on "Sovereignty in the American Revolution", appears on later pages of the present number of this journal.

Miss Susan M. Kingsbury of Simmons College, reader of the first paper, entitled "A Comparison of the Virginia Company with the other English Trading Companies of the Seventeenth Century", endeavored to lead attention away from the study of the colonial movements associated with the name of the Virginia Company to the consideration of its composition as a trading organization. This was the aspect it chiefly bore to its founders and members. The writer entered upon a comparison of its organization and operations with those of some of the other English trading companies of the time. No less than thirty such were chartered in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there are hardly more than half a dozen whose records are preserved and accessible in

such quantities as to make comparisons fruitful. Of these we may name the Merchant Adventurers, the Eastland Company, the Muscovy, Levant, and East India companies. Miss Kingsbury instituted comparisons between the Virginia Company and these, and also, so far as possible, the Providence Island Company, in respect to organization of the former as a joint stock corporation, its arrangements for the division of land and for returns from the joint stock, its instructions to outgoing agents and to the managers of its industrial enterprises, its financial system and the pecuniary result of its endeavors both in the period of large expenditures under Sir Thomas Smythe, and in the period of Sir Edwin Sandys, when company expenditures were less but were extensively supplemented by investments in minor associations subsidiary to the company itself. Miss Kingsbury properly emphasized the need, if this large trading movement is to be comparatively studied, of completer access to the copious bodies of materials for the history of the Royal African Company, the Providence Island Company, the Levant Company, and several others.

The paper which followed, by Professor Barrett Wendell of Harvard University, was of a general character, endeavoring to suggest the specific differences which distinguish three varieties of New England character—those centring in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. All these have their origin, he held, in the English character of the early seventeenth century, which brought to Massachusetts two incompatible tendencies—those of Protestantism, or the right of the individual to freedom from spiritual control, and of ecclesiastical system, in the peculiar form which this assumed in the early churches of New England. The typical character of Massachusetts, he suggested, has resulted from an unbroken conflict between these tendencies; while the typical character of Rhode Island has resulted from the dominant development of the Protestant tradition; and that of Connecticut from the dominant development of the ecclesiastical. Accordingly, the individuals of Massachusetts have been somewhat more distinctly developed; and the types of Rhode Island and of Connecticut have been, on the whole, more strongly pronounced. In illustration, he cited the character of Edwards, a native of Connecticut; Channing, a native of Rhode Island; and Emerson, a native of Massachusetts. Edwards, the greatest spiritual force produced by America in the eighteenth century, was the best exponent of complete divine authority; Channing stood as no other man for individual liberty within the limits of order; Emerson cast aside all

semblance of authority and stood for the greatest degree of individualism. The conflict which has prevailed in Massachusetts has made impossible the tenacity of type found in Rhode Island and Connecticut, a tenacity which has tended to prevent the development of striking personalities. For this reason the greatest literary figures of New England—Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Lowell, Hawthorne, Emerson—are all of Massachusetts. Such divergences as have been noted are what has made New England as a whole a vital, animating force in the life of the nation.

Next followed a paper by Mr. George L. Beer of Columbia University on "The Colonial Policy of Great Britain, 1760-1765". The general formula which in the eighteenth century summed up the reciprocal duties of Great Britain and the American colonies was that the former owed protection, the latter obedience. Protection, as quoted in the formula above, meant, in the main, naval defense; obedience signified, in general, conformity with those laws passed by Parliament in the interest of the empire as a whole. The course of events up to 1760 made imperative a reform in the colonial system of defense and a stricter enforcement of the laws of trade and navigation. The English colonial administration, therefore, directed its energies toward readjusting the laws of trade to the new conditions, toward encouraging the production in the colonies of products which Great Britain had to buy from competing European nations and, in general, toward increasing the mutual economic dependence of mother-country and colony. Measures were adopted with a view to stopping all illegal trade and to checking the purchase of French West Indian products by continental colonies. The new policy involved a reform of the customs service, the establishment of admiralty courts, the extension of British control over the Indian trade, and the imposition of Parliamentary taxes. This last part of the policy was carried out by enforcing, in a modified form, the molasses act of 1732, by laying duties on imports, and by passing a stamp act. By these measures enough revenue was raised to defray about one-third of the cost of the military establishment necessary for the protection of the colonies. The policy at once met with opposition, because the removal of the French from Canada had had the effect of making the colonies more independent, and this feeling became more and more apparent until the attempt on the part of the government to extend its administrative control over the colonies met with a decided check.

The final session, occupied with five papers on the later periods

of American history, was opened by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, with a contribution on "The Impressment of Seamen preceding the War of 1812". The conflicting orders of the English government and of Napoleon having thrown the carrying-trade into the hands of neutrals, British sailors rushed to man the American ships to such an extent that Gallatin declared them to constitute 2,500 out of 4,200 of the annual increase of the American marine. The right of impressment, ancient and in England undoubted, was in America regarded with feelings differing on party lines, in its application to the recovery of British sailors, or alleged British sailors, found on American ships. Judicial opinions on both sides of the ocean mostly upheld the rightfulness of such impressment, but the American executive denied it. Few sailors had been naturalized by the required five years' residence. The act of May 1796 provided for "protection papers", or certificates of citizenship. Four registers of these, from the Providence custom-house, have lately been acquired by the Rhode Island Historical Society. But such papers were shamelessly exchanged and otherwise abused. The speaker estimated that from ten to twenty thousand British sailors were serving on American vessels before the outbreak of war.

The second paper was by Professor Edward Channing on William Penn. The name of Penn, said Professor Channing, is one of the greatest of the seventeenth century, and his career has been studied most minutely. The charges of Macaulay have been refuted to the satisfaction of all investigators, yet there are some things in the career of Penn that are hard to understand. His attitude in the boundary disputes of Pennsylvania has frequently been misunderstood. Penn regarded his colony as a holy experiment in government but also, it should be remembered, as a great domain for himself. Two centres of colonial activity offered themselves in Pennsylvania, the valleys of the Delaware and the Susquehanna. Through the latter Penn desired to tap the northern fur-trade and with that in view sent agents to Albany to buy land from the Indians. His plans however were frustrated by Governor Dongan of New York, who maintained that the Iroquois were tributary to that colony, and who took a deed from the chiefs in his own name. In the south Penn was opposed by Baltimore, who claimed everything below the Schuylkill. Between the two Penn seemed likely to lose a large part of his grant. In addition to these territorial disputes Penn was beset with difficulties in the government of his colony. He was an idealist,

he desired to found a Quaker colony, yet was determined to have freedom of religion for all. Very probably a Quaker colony could have got along without laws, but non-Quakers, of whom there was a considerable influx, could not be dealt with in the Quaker meeting. Penn held that the end of government is the good of the people, that governments depend on men rather than men on government. This, it should be noted, was his idea before he had been a governor. He was a man of the highest ideals and the noblest intuitions, whose mind, however, was not fitted by nature or training to cope with practical problems of government or of business. The constitution which he made was an utter failure. This failure may be attributed to two causes. In the first place, his plan of government took away from the more numerous branch of the legislative body the right of amendment, and, a more vital defect still, denied to them also the privilege of initiation or even of discussion. The constitution which superseded the second Frame of Government and which proceeded from divided and unknown authorship remained a part of the organic law of Pennsylvania until the year 1776. How much of this constitution grew out of the idealistic notions of William Penn and how much proceeded from the experience of practical Pennsylvania politicians can never be determined because of the imperfections of the records bearing upon the subject.

The third paper of the morning, "Gustav Koerner, a Typical German-American Leader", by Professor E. B. Greene of the University of Illinois, was a biographical sketch intended to illustrate one phase of the colonization of America in the nineteenth century. The influence of the German colonists has been strongest in the Middle West, and in Cincinnati and St. Louis it has been decisive. In Illinois before the war the relation of the German element to the slavery contest was an important factor. One of the most interesting of the German communities in Illinois as early as the thirties was Belleville, whose leading citizen for half a century was the subject of this sketch. Koerner was born in Frankfort on the Main in 1809. His father was strongly anti-Napoleonic in sentiment and was in personal relations with Blücher and Stein. The son thus grew up in an atmosphere of liberalism the effects of which were strengthened by his education at Jena, where he was a member of the Burschenschaft, and at Munich, and Heidelberg. He took part in the July revolution of 1830, was present at the Hambach Festival, and, soon after his admission to the bar, took a leading part in the Frankfort insurrection of 1833. In this uprising he was wounded

and captured but made his escape and very shortly thereafter came to the United States. It was his intention to settle in Missouri but his dislike of slavery determined him in favor of Illinois. After a short law course at Transylvania University he was admitted to the bar at Vandalia and soon became one of the leading lawyers in southern Illinois. In politics he allied himself with the Democratic party, believing the Whigs to be tainted with Native-Americanism. In 1842 he was elected to the legislature and from 1845 to 1848 was on the supreme bench, resigning because of the insufficient salary. He was much interested in the European revolution of 1848 and prepared an address from the Belleville Germans which was sent to Germany urging the establishment of a republican government. He opposed the radical movement among the Germans which followed the influx of refugees about 1850 and which had for its purpose the demanding of special recognition of the Germans in America. In 1852 he was elected lieutenant-governor and came into close relations with Douglas, with whom he travelled making campaign speeches. When it became evident that the Democratic party would divide over slavery, Koerner transferred his allegiance from Douglas to Trumbull and contributed largely to the latter's election. In 1856, when the Republican party repudiated Native-Americanism, he joined its ranks and was a member of the convention of 1860. During the war he helped to raise troops, was military adviser to the governor of Illinois, was appointed to Fremont's staff, and was later made minister to Spain. During Grant's administration he went into the liberal wing of the Republican party and was a candidate for governor of Illinois. In the Hayes-Tilden campaign, however, he became a Democrat once more and was not again in public life.

The fourth paper, by Professor F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, dealt with "Some Aspects of the English Bill", the measure upon which the House and Senate compromised respecting the Lecompton constitution and the statehood of Kansas. The English bill provided that the Lecompton constitution should be resubmitted to the people of Kansas with the land-ordinance which had accompanied the constitution considerably amended. In case of the failure of Kansas to accept the constitution with the new ordinance, it was provided that the admission of the territory should be postponed until its population should be equal to the unit of Congressional representation. The bill was vigorously denounced at the time as a swindle and an attempt at bribing the people of Kansas with a grant of land. This view has been upheld by such

historians as Von Holst, Schouler, and Rhodes, but a careful study of the measure shows that such a view is not justified. The bill presented two issues, the constitution and the ordinance, and the conference committee endeavored to emphasize the latter and minor issue while minimizing the former which was really the more important. As a matter of fact the land-grant provided for in the bill was modelled after the corresponding section of the enabling act for Minnesota passed the year before, and was identical with the grant actually made to Kansas upon its admission in 1861. It has been the custom moreover to make grants of land upon the admission of new states, and while the amount has varied the grants of later years have generally been larger than the one in question. Finally any appearance of a bribe was removed by the fact that the grant provided for in the bill was actually smaller than the amount demanded in the ordinance accompanying the Lecompton constitution. More important than the matter of the land-grant was the provision in the bill that in case Kansas should fail to accept the terms thus offered the whole question of statehood should be postponed until the territory should have a population equal to the unit of Congressional representation. This has been regarded as a threat but is so reasonable as a matter of principle that there seems to be but small occasion to denounce it; at present it is customary to require a population equal to twice the unit of representation.

The concluding paper of the session, that of Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University, on "The Attitude of Thaddeus Stevens toward the Conduct of the Civil War", appears in full in a subsequent part of the present number of this journal.

It remains to speak of the annual business meeting, always one of the most interesting portions of the session, to those who appreciate or take part in the varied activities which mark the progress of the Association throughout the intervals between meetings. In the annual report of the Executive Council the most important passage was that which dealt with the problems connected with the Association's publications and particularly with the readjustments made necessary by the reduced appropriation by Congress, or (more exactly, so far as the present year is concerned) allotment by the Smithsonian Institution, of \$5,000 for the printing of the Annual Report.¹ It has been impossible under the appropriation for the current fiscal year to provide for gratuitous distribution to the members of volume two of the Report for 1905, which is now in press;

¹ The Sundry Civil Appropriation Act of March 3, 1907, increases the appropriation (in a sense, restores it) to \$7,000 for the ensuing fiscal year.

at a later time the members will be notified that they can procure copies of this volume at cost from the Public Printer. It consists of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*. Provision has also been made for the separate printing of Mr. David S. Muzzey's monograph on "The Spiritual Franciscans", which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in December 1905, but which by reason of its ecclesiastical character was debarred by the Smithsonian Institution from publication.

The Council also reported that it had found it necessary to reorganize the Committee on Publications so as to include the chairmen of the three committees which furnish the greater part of the material for the annual volume, and to instruct the committee to consider carefully the amount and distribution of space in the Annual Report, so as to bring the cost of the Report within the amount appropriated by Congress. On recommendation of the Council the Association voted to hold the meeting of 1907 in Madison, Wisconsin, and the meeting of 1908 in Richmond, Virginia, with one day's session in Washington, provided satisfactory arrangements can be made with the railroads for rates from Washington. Professor George B. Adams, it was announced, had been re-elected by the Council as a member of the Board of Editors of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, for the term ending January 1, 1913.

No action of the Association was taken with a more cordial unanimity and none has been received with more hearty commendations by the public press than the election of Mr. James Bryce, upon the proposal of the Council, to honorary membership in the Association. The Association has in its whole history had but four honorary members: first Ranke, then Stubbs and Gardiner and Mommsen. It was felt that the new British ambassador had claims of the highest kind to any honor which the Association could offer him.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts of \$8,490, net expenses of \$7,534, an increase of about \$950 in the funds of the Association, and total assets of \$24,189.

The secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch reported upon its work for the past year and particularly on the third annual meeting held at Portland, Oregon, on November 30 and December 1.

The chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dr. J. F. Jameson, reported that the appropriation for the year 1906 had been consumed in the completion of the work on the diplomatic archives of the Republic of Texas, undertaken by the preceding commission, and that it had not been practicable to take up new enter-

prises until that work had been disposed of. The chairman of the Public Archives Commission, Professor Herman V. Ames, reported that the commission had prepared for publication in the Annual Report for 1906 reports on the state (or in some cases local) archives of Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia, a bibliography of the published archive-material of the thirteen original states from the beginning of the colonial period to 1789, and a summary of recent legislation by the states for the care and supervision of state and local archives. It had also arranged for the continuance of the work of selecting and copying documents in England relating to America, under the direction of a sub-committee, of which Professor Charles M. Andrews is chairman.

The Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize announced the award of that prize to Miss Annie Heloise Abel, of the faculty of the Women's College of Baltimore, for her monograph on "The History of Events resulting in Indian Consolidation west of the Mississippi River". The Association voted to adopt the committee's recommendation that the prize be henceforth \$200 instead of \$100, and that it be awarded biennially, beginning with December, 1908. The Association also voted, on the joint recommendation of the committees on the Adams and Winsor Prizes, to define the areas to which these prizes respectively refer as follows: for the Justin Winsor Prize, American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, or of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, and of independent Latin America; for the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783.

The Committee on Bibliography reported that progress had been made upon a check-list of the chief collections of sources of European history in American libraries, and that this would doubtless be in print before the next meeting of the Association. The General Committee reported that they had begun a systematic inquiry into the marking of historic sites, which they planned to finish during the coming year. The editor of the *Original Narratives of Early American History* reported the publication of two volumes during the autumn just passed, and the expectation that another would appear in February and two more during the spring. The Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools reported, as has been mentioned above, that their final report might be expected to appear in print in the course of the year 1907.

Complimentary resolutions of the usual character were presented and passed. The committee on nominations, Messrs. A. C. McLaughlin, E. L. Stevenson and J. A. Woodburn, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was elected president, Professor George B. Adams first vice-president, and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart second vice-president. Mr. A. Howard Clark, Professor C. H. Haskins and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen were re-elected to their former positions. In the place of Professors Bourne and McLaughlin, who had been thrice elected to the Executive Council, Mr. Worthington C. Ford and Professor William MacDonald were chosen.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

<i>President,</i>	J. Franklin Jameson, Washington.
<i>First Vice-president,</i>	Professor George B. Adams, New Haven.
<i>Second Vice-president,</i>	Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge.
<i>Secretary,</i>	A. Howard Clark, Esq., Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
<i>Corresponding Secretary,</i>	Professor Charles H. Haskins, 15 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Clarence W. Bowen, Esq., 130 Fulton Street, New York.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

Hon. Andrew Dickson White, ¹	Professor Goldwin Smith, ¹
President James Burrill Angell, ¹	Professor John Bach McMaster, ¹
Henry Adams, Esq., ¹	Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, ¹
James Schouler, Esq., ¹	Professor George P. Garrison,
Professor George Park Fisher, ¹	Reuben G. Thwaites, Esq.,
James Ford Rhodes, Esq., ¹	Professor Charles M. Andrews,
Charles Francis Adams, Esq., ¹	Professor James H. Robinson,
Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, ¹	Worthington C. Ford, Esq.,
Henry Charles Lea, Esq., ¹	Professor William MacDonald.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Twenty-third Annual Meeting: Professor Alfred L. P. Dennis, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Charles H. Haskins, Frank H. Hodder, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Frederick J. Turner, and Claude H. Van Tyne.

¹ Ex-presidents.

Joint Local Committee of Arrangements for the Next Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society: Burr W. Jones, Esq., Madison, Wisconsin, chairman; Richard T. Ely, Carl R. Fish, Dana C. Munro, Paul S. Reinsch, Edward A. Ross, R. G. Thwaites, and William F. Vilas.

Committee on the Entertainment of Ladies at the Above Meeting: Mrs. Lucius Fairchild, Madison, Wisconsin, chairman; Mrs. William F. Allen, and Miss Ida M. Tarbell.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Professor George B. Adams, Yale University, chairman; George L. Burr, Albert Bushnell Hart, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, and William M. Sloane.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution of Washington, chairman; Edward G. Bourne, Worthington C. Ford, Frederick W. Moore, Thomas M. Owen, and James A. Woodburn.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; Edward P. Cheyney, Evarts B. Greene, John H. Latané, and Williston Walker.

Public Archives Commission: Professor Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Clarence S. Brigham, Carl R. Fish, Herbert L. Osgood, Dunbar Rowland, and Robert T. Swan.

Committee on Bibliography: Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Appleton P. C. Griffin, William C. Lane, Victor H. Paltsits, James T. Shotwell, and Wilbur H. Siebert.

Committee on Publications: Professor William A. Dunning, Columbia University, chairman; Herman V. Ames, A. Howard Clark, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, and Ernest C. Richardson.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor Charles Gross, Harvard University, chairman; George L. Burr, Victor Coffin, James W. Thompson, and John M. Vincent. (During the absence of Professor Gross in Europe after June 1, 1907, Professor Burr will act as chairman.)

General Committee: Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, State University of Iowa, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Earle W. Dow, Charles H. Haskins, Frank H. Hodder, Susan M. Kingsbury, Franklin L. Riley, Lucy M. Salmon, Frank H. Severance, and Frederick G. Young.

Finance Committee: James H. Eckels and Peter White.

Committee of Eight on History in Elementary Schools: Professor James A. James, Northwestern University, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, Eugene C. Brooks, Wilbur F. Gordy, Mabel Hill, Julius Sachs, Henry W. Thurston, and J. H. Van Sickle.

Conference of State and Local Historical Societies: Frank H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society, chairman; Evarts B. Greene, secretary.

SOME ENGLISH CONDITIONS SURROUNDING THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA

To Americans the settlement of Jamestown presents itself as something unique, the birth of the nation, the first scene in the drama of American history. Looked at from the European side, however, it was but a single occurrence connected with a long line of preceding events and surrounded by a group of others with which it had mutual relations. Under the conditions existing in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century the establishment of the Virginia colony was the natural next step to take, and its form reflected the group of influences active there. In these times of reminiscence it may be of interest to examine more closely some of the steps that led up to the formation of the Virginia Company and some of the contemporary circumstances under which the settlement was made.

England came late into the colonizing movement. The example of two great colonial empires had long been before her. When the settlement of 1607 took place, more than a century had passed since the nearly contemporary voyages of Vasco da Gama in 1497 and of Columbus in 1492 had established the dominion of Portugal and of Spain respectively in the East and the West Indies. In the years immediately succeeding 1497 the Portuguese government, in a wonderful series of naval and trading expeditions, extended its dominion along the coasts of the Indian Ocean far beyond what would have seemed inherently possible for so small a nation. A line of able commanders not only successfully fought Indian, Arab, and Turkish fleets and the armies of petty Indian rajahs and island chieftains, but carried out a policy of seizing and holding the strategical military and commercial ports that soon gave them virtual command of all the Eastern seas. By 1520 the east coast of Africa, the land at the outlet of the Persian Gulf, the west coast of India, the island of Ceylon, Java, and the Spice Islands were lined by a scattered series of Portuguese fortified stations, and most of the princes of these regions had been forced to accept dependent alliances with the king of Portugal. From Quiloa and Mombassa on the African coast, through Ormuz, Diu, Goa, and Calicut, to Malacca and the Spice Islands, no vessel could trade without a

Portuguese pass, no coast ruler could make a treaty antagonistic to Portugal, and all the most profitable commerce was in her hands. A Portuguese viceroy ruled at Goa, and two governors with stations at Mozambique in the west and Malacca in the east were given the oversight of the outlying parts of these 15,000 miles of coast dominion. Every year a fleet averaging twenty sail passed around the Cape of Good Hope between Portugal and her eastern dominions, its great galleons, caravels, and carracks loaded with the most valuable articles of commerce. Lisbon became a great commercial centre and Portugal enjoyed a period of unwonted intellectual, economic, and international prominence. Her king along with his other titles called himself "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India."

The construction by Spain in the latest years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century of a still more extended, more powerful, and more profitable empire in the West is an even more impressive if also more familiar story. By some such date as 1540 the *conquistadores* had explored and largely subjugated a great part of the island and continental regions of America south of what is now the United States. This dominion had been organized under the systematic administration of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratacion in Spain and of two viceroyalties with a number of subordinate governments in America. Certain municipal institutions had been established and constant communication took place with the home government. The vast geographical extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, with a Spanish-born population of perhaps 150,000 and native-born of possibly 5,000,000; the productivity of the silver and gold-mines, unexampled before in human history; the size of the fleets carrying between Spain and the Indies emigrants, military and civil officials, troops, bullion, European and American goods, and all the interchange of two parts of an advanced empire; the reaction of these things on the importance of the mother-country in Europe—all these, like the East-Indian empire of Portugal, had grown practically to maturity by the middle of the sixteenth century, long before England had established her first colony.

We know that the existence of these imposing political structures exercised a powerful influence on the thought of Englishmen. It was not merely that they had a natural human interest in the newly-discovered lands, with their savage men, new animal and vegetable productions, and peculiarities of climate and physical conformation; nor was it merely that the mystery, the glamor, and the romance of the distant and the unknown touched poetic imaginations amongst

them; but it was true that many Englishmen of influence had a vivid realization that two nations of Europe, one far smaller, the other not inordinately larger than England, had obtained a great inheritance in the East and the West that England might have had, might even yet rival. The very first reference to the New World in English general literature is an expression of regret and vexation on that account:

O what thyng a had be than
Yf that they that be englyshe men
Myght have ben the furst of all
That there shulde have take possessyon
And made furst buyldynge and habytacion
A memory perpetuall.
And also what an honorable thyng
Bothe to the realme and to the kynge
To have had his domynyons extendynge
There into so farre a grounde.¹

An early historian makes one party in the council of Henry VIII., as early as 1511, say, "The Indies are discover'd, and vast treasure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and if the Spanish and Portuguese suffer us not to join with them, there will be yet region enough for all to enjoy."² The well-known memorial sent by Robert Thorne, an English merchant resident in Seville, to Henry VIII. in 1527, after speaking of the islands and territories belonging to the kings of Spain and Portugal, declares that in some of the earlier English expeditions, "if the marriners would have been ruled, and folowed their pilot's mind the lands of the West Indies from whence all the gold commeth had beene ours", and that even yet England might find lands under the equator no less rich in gold and spicery and no less profitable to her than theirs were to the kings of Spain and Portugal.³ Richard Eden in the dedication of his *Treatyse of the New India*, published in 1553, again expresses regret that the faint-heartedness of the early English navigators prevented its coming to pass that the rich Peruvian treasury of the Spanish king at Seville was not in the Tower of London.⁴ In his *Decades of the New World*, published two years later, he refrains, naturally enough, from such a pious wish, as his book is dedicated

¹ *An Interlude of the Four Elements*, written probably in 1519; printed in E. Arber, *First Three English Books on America*, pp. xx-xxi.

² Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *History of Henry VIII.*, under the year 1511.

³ Hakluyt, II. 177.

⁴ E. Arber, *First Three English Books on America*, p. 6.

to Philip of Spain, now king also of England, but he does go so far as to say in his "Preface to the Reader":

Besyde the portion of lande perteynyng to the Spanyardes and beside that which pertaineth to the Portugales, there yet remayneth an other portion of that mayne lande reachynge towarde the northeast, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet knowen but only by the sea coastes, neyther inhabyted by any Christian men.

Then still more exactly indicating the very region which was destined long afterward to become Virginia and New England, he declares that it is a reproach to the English race that they who are the nearest people in Europe to that land have not attempted to christianize or occupy it, nor "to doo for owr partes as the Spaniardes have doone for theyrs, and not ever lyke sheepe to haunte one trade, and to doo nothyng woorthy memorie amonge men or thankes before god".¹

Similarly through the growing familiarity of the Englishmen with the Indies during the reign of Elizabeth runs the thought that England also should have an Indian empire. The residence of English merchants and the experience of travellers in Spanish and Portuguese cities, their home correspondence, and their translations of Spanish works on the Indies;² the productions of pamphleteers and writers of travels, culminating in the work of Hakluyt in 1589; the unwelcome visits of English adventurers to the Indies; the capture by Drake in 1587 and 1592 of the *San Felipe* and the *Madre de Dios*, the two great Portuguese carracks on their way home from the East Indies; the minute description of the Portuguese East Indies by Linschoten in his work published in England in 1598; the wide experience and thoughtful observation of many English statesmen and ambassadors—all these strengthened "imperialist" sentiment in England. Men of visionary temperament, like Sidney, Raleigh, Drake, Captain John Smith, Sir Thomas Smythe, and many humbler names among London merchants or restless adventurers, felt their imaginations stirred by the thought of distant dominions of such extent, interest, and value to the European powers that ruled them. It is not to be believed that in a period of strong national self-consciousness and increasing power, when ambition for distant possessions had been growing through more than one generation, a vigorous and effective effort to establish some such colony as Virginia could have been long delayed.

Projects indeed were early formed and colonists sent out, but their history is a record of failure. A desire for the possession

¹ Arber, p. 55.

² Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, chap. 5.

of a colonial empire and enthusiasm for the plantation of colonies are not enough; a practicable plan must be found.

English exploitation of America was begun on mistaken and impracticable lines. A large proportion of the expeditions that were sent from England to America in the last two decades of the sixteenth century were sent out by single individuals or small groups of individuals. The first expedition which carried men intended as settlers, that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, was a private venture of his own, with the aid of a few friends, and that on which he lost his life five years afterward was on scarcely a broader basis. The contemporary annalist, Camden, speaking of Gilbert's failure and death, says, "learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countreys upon private mens Purses, than he and others in an erroneous Credulity had persuaded themselves, to their own Cost and Detriment".¹ Or as some one a few years later says, "Private purces are cowlde comfortes to adventurers, and have ever ben fownde fatall to all interprises hitherto undertaken by the English, by reason of delaies, jeloces and unwillingnes to backe that project which succeeded not at the first attempt."² The multiplicity and extent of costs involved in procuring and fitting out vessels, in providing military equipment and all other supplies for mariners and colonists, and in supporting employees and settlers; the long waiting for any returns; the slight development of instruments of credit—these made demands beyond the means of any individual gentleman or group of gentlemen, burdened as they already were by the living expenses of their rank. The efforts of the Gilberts, the Raleighs, and the Sidneys were along mistaken and hopeless lines. Their efforts were more useful as a warning than as an example. There is no instance of a successful settlement in America carried out by private persons till well toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Until the day when settlers for religious or economic reasons went out at their own cost, the only hope of meeting the expenses incident to founding a colony was either to draw on the resources of the whole community through the government, or to meet them by the combined means and the organized credit and effort of the merchant class. At the close of the sixteenth century the English government was not in a position financially or politically to furnish the funds for colonization, so the only remaining practical method was

¹ *History of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 287.

² "Reasons or Motives for the Raising of a Publique Stocke," sect. 5. Printed in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 37.

the formation of a trading company, with its much more extended resources and its corporate life. The £40,000 which Raleigh spent on the six or eight expeditions he sent out nearly ruined him and his friends, while the East India Company spent more than £60,000 on its first voyage to the East alone.

The true line of descent of the plan for the successful settlement of Virginia is through the early trading companies of the Old World, not through the early failures in the New. In fact the whole advance of English discovery, commerce, and colonization in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was due not to individuals but to the efforts of corporate bodies. The development of such companies is a familiar story. It began almost an even half-century before the settlement of Jamestown. In 1553 a group of London merchants sent out an expedition to the north-east to seek a new outlet for trade. As a result a line of connection was formed with Moscow in the centre of Russia, and in 1555 a charter was given to the merchants engaged in the trade, forming them into the body that had a long and influential history under the familiar name of the Muscovy Company. "Muscovy House", their hall, was long the customary meeting-place for adventurers interested in new trading movements. Twenty-five years later the merchants who were engaged in the trade with Scandinavia and the lands to the east of the Baltic Sea secured a charter guaranteeing to them the monopoly of English commerce there, and became known as the Baltic or Eastland Company. From a time early in the century other merchants had been interested in trade with Venice and the eastern Mediterranean possessions of Venice. Now they proceeded to develop a trade with the possessions of Turkey, in 1581 were chartered as the Levant or Turkey Company, and shortly afterward absorbed the smaller company trading to the northern Mediterranean.

In the meantime a Barbary or Morocco Company had been formed. Then, as an Elizabethan chronicler says, "The searching and unsatisfied spirits of the English, to the great glorie of our nation, could not be contained within the banckes of the Mediterranean or Levant seas, but that they passed far towards both the articke and anarticke Poles, enlarging their trade into the West and East Indies".¹ English trade with the west coast of Africa was resented by the Portuguese, and in 1561 Queen Elizabeth was induced to issue the following proclamation:

Although we know no reasonable cause why our subjects may not saile into any country or province subject to our good brother, being in

¹ John Speed, *Chronicle*, II. 852.

amytie with us, paying such tributes and droytes as may belong to their traffique, yet at the instant request of the said king, made to us by his ambassador, we be pleased for this tyme to admonish all manner our subjects to forbear anie entry by navigation into any said ports of Ethiopia in which the said king hath presently dominion and tribute.¹

Many changes occurred in the next twenty-five years, and when all the possessions of the Portuguese had come into the hands of the king of Spain and war had broken out between them and the queen, there was no longer any reason for such self-restraint, so that in 1588 the first Guinea or African Company was chartered. In 1589 a petition was laid before Lord Treasurer Burleigh asking for the queen's authorization to a group of adventurers to establish a trade in the Far East, on the ground that "the Portugales of long tyme have traded the East Indies and the countries to them adjoyning to the great benefytte and enriching of themselves and their countrie . . . and the tyme doth now offer greater occasion for the attempting of trade in those countries than at any tyme heretofore yt hath done."² This project resulted in the Raymond and Lancaster expedition to India in 1591 and ultimately in the establishment in 1600 of the East India Company, the most ambitious of all the chartered companies of the period.

In the same year with this petition, however, that is to say 1589, a memorial of even greater boldness, breadth of view, and interest was submitted to the queen. It is headed, "A Discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the Straight of Magellan."³ It is based on the anticipated peril to all Europe arising from the possession of both the West and the East Indies by the king of Spain and his shutting other nations entirely out from both their products and their trade. It proposes that the narrowest part of the Strait of Magellan be occupied and fortified by the English, calmly suggesting that "Clarke the pyrott" may be sent there on promise of pardon, or rather, may "go there as of him selfe and not with the countenance of the English state", and take some cannon and a man skilled in fortification. If later a few good English soldiers are placed there, no doubt "they will soon make subject to them all the golden mines of Peru and all the coste and tract of that firm of America." As additions to the soldiers and the native population may be sent "condemned Englishmen and women in whom there may be found hope of amendment". Then the author contemplates, probably for the first time, an independent America. "But admitt that we could

¹ Dyson, *Proclamations*, No. 34.

² State Papers, East Indies, I., No. 8.

³ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., ccxxix, 97.

not enjoye the same longe, but that the Englishe there would aspire to government of themselves, yet were it better that it should be soe then that the Spaniardes should with the treasure of that countrie torment all the countries of Europe with warres." This and much more equally audacious and impracticable brought no response from the thrifty and cautious powers then in charge of the English government. And indeed such a project is to be looked upon rather as an indication of the expansive spirit of England than as a proposal anywhere within the realm of success.

Thus the century and the reign of Elizabeth closed without the possession by England of a foothold on the western continent. Yet the way was obvious. Six chartered commercial companies had divided most of the available Old World between them; next to be chartered was the Virginia Company. In fact the three next succeeding companies, the Guiana, the Newfoundland, and the Bermuda Companies, established in 1609, 1610, and 1612 respectively, all had their sphere of operation in America. The connection of the older companies with the Virginia Company was very close. More than one hundred members of the Virginia Company were already members of the East India Company. Sir Thomas Smythe was at the same time governor of both the Muscovy and the East India Companies, a member of the Levant Company, and treasurer of the Virginia Company. John Eldred, a director, and Sir William Romney, a governor of the East India Company, were members of the first council of Virginia. Richard Staper, who is described on his tombstone in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, as "the cheefest actor in the discoverie of the trades of Turkey and East India", was much interested in the Virginia project, but died in June, 1608, just too soon to have his name inscribed with the others on the second charter. The same connection existed in the case of Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Thomas Roe, and many others. There was also a distinct lapping over in time. The second charter of the Virginia Company was signed on the twenty-third and the second charter of the East India Company on the thirty-first of May, 1609. The vessels for the third voyage to India and those for the first voyage to Virginia were both loading at the wharves of London at the same time; and the two ships of one of the expeditions of the Muscovy Company had returned to Gravesend but three months before the first Virginian fleet left it.

Close however as was the connection of the Virginia Company with preceding trading companies, in many ways the closest analogy with its action and its nearest congener among the movements of the time is to be found in the plantation of Ireland then in progress.

An English colony had been established in Ireland in the twelfth century, and additional settlers had come from England and Wales during the thirteenth and the earliest years of the fourteenth century, but after that time immigration had with small exceptions come to an end.¹ This "first colonization" had however been largely absorbed into the native population or had returned to England, and the end of the fifteenth century had seen the English occupation and domination in Ireland reduced to its lowest limits. Within the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, however, a great reaction took place, first in the government, which became more vigorous and extended its power more widely in the island; then in the population, into which with great labor an English and Scottish element was injected. The colonization of Ireland with Britons may indeed be looked on as largely a part of the political policy of the government. The maintenance of an armed body in Ireland was an expensive necessity; if this could be provided by the military services exacted from a body of English settlers, money would be saved and the end more effectively reached. Again, the evident failure to induce the native population or the old English element to abandon Catholicism made it highly desirable for political reasons to introduce a Protestant element from the outside. Since the only conception of orderly government which English statesmen of the time could form was the system already in existence in England, with its county and parish administration, its justices of the peace, grand and petty juries, and town corporations; and since these could only be counted on to act in accordance with the desires of the administration if they were made up of Englishmen and Protestants, this requirement made a still further need for settlers. Therefore the government was more than ready to respond to the enterprise, the adventurous spirit, and the acquisitiveness of the times; and as a matter of fact an extensive colonization by English and Scots took place nearly if not quite contemporary with the earliest settlement of America.

There was much that was alike in the two movements. The simultaneity of dates is striking. It is true that in Ireland the process began sooner, but these first efforts were hardly more successful than the tentative sixteenth-century settlements in America. In 1566 a "plantation" was begun in Leix and Offaly in the centre of Ireland in the lands of the O'Mores and O'Conors, far earlier than any definite project of English settlement in America was mooted, unless it were Stukely's plan for the settlement of Florida in 1563 and the

¹ Bonn, *Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, I. 83-89; *English Historical Review*, October, 1906, p. 774.

suggestions for colonization included in Gilbert's pamphlets of 1565. But this colonization in Ireland went forward very haltingly, and it was not till the very close of the century that the few English settlers had permanently taken the place of the natives.¹ There was also a series of attempts at settlements in the southwestern counties in 1569 and in the northeast in 1567, 1570, and 1573, but the native Irish were too strong and the intruding elements too weak to gain success as settlers.² The most direct parallel to the efforts at American settlement by Gilbert and Raleigh between 1578 and 1588 is to be found in the plantation of Munster, which was begun in 1584. Extensive grants were at that time made to Raleigh, Spenser, and other courtiers, and detailed conditions were published by which these and other broad lands confiscated from the natives were to be occupied by English adventurers and their tenants. But there were many difficulties, the colonization proceeded slowly; in 1592 only two hundred and forty-five English families could be found actually settled there; in 1598 even these were temporarily swept away in the storm of Tyrone's rebellion, and in 1602 Raleigh disposed of his grant in disgust. Munster was provided with a certain number of new settlers, but they were almost lost among the surviving native population.

The English colonization of Ireland that really succeeded, like the successful colonization of Virginia, occurred in the early years of the seventeenth century. In the fall of 1605 Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy, was formulating the first plans for an extensive settlement of the lately forfeited lands in Ulster; and at the same time Gates, Somers, and others were drawing up the petition which led to the grant of the first charter of the Virginia Company; Weymouth had just returned from New England; and the populace of London was laughing at the jests on the Virginia voyagers, on Captain Seagull and the Scotchmen in *Eastward Hoe*. The year 1606 saw the first settlement of County Down and the continued occupation of Antrim by Scotchmen,³ and the departure from London on December 30 of the first colonists of Virginia. In the years immediately following, while successive expeditions were taking out the small and unfortunate groups of early victims to the diseases, dissensions, and massacres of Virginia, steps were being taken for the plantation of Ulster on a large scale. In May, 1611, the first settlers of Ulster proper began to arrive and take up their lands. Emigration now went on to both countries alike. Ulster having

¹ Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, I. 385, etc.; Bonn, *Kolonisation*, 280-287.

² Bagwell, II., chaps. xxv.-xxxI.

³ George Hill, *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, 229, etc.; *The Montgomery Manuscripts*, 54, etc.

been at least partially populated, new plantations were carried out in Wexford, Longford, Leitrim, and Westmeath, and several parts of the old Munster settlement were recolonized, while to Virginia were added New England, Maryland, the Bermuda Islands, and other American settlements.

A bond between Virginia and Ireland is also to be found in the men who had a common interest in both. The Carews, Grenvilles, Courtenays, and Chichesters who planned a great colonizing expedition from Somerset and Devon into Ireland in 1569 were the same men who were interested in the earliest attempts to colonize America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had been a captain in Ireland in 1566 before he presented to the queen his first address advocating colonization in America; he returned to Ireland in 1567 in an unsuccessful attempt, along with Sir Henry Sidney, to make a settlement on Lough Foyle; some years later he went again to Ireland in connection with a similar scheme for a settlement in Munster, and remained in military service in that province as colonel in the final campaign of the Desmond rising. All this occurred before he made his first voyage to America in 1578, and he was still again in Ireland between his return and his departure on his last and fatal voyage of 1583.¹

Raleigh's career had begun in Ireland, and when he abandoned his rights in Virginia in 1589 it was to return with new interest to the effort for the development of his estates in Cork and Waterford. Two years afterward, when this like the rest of the Munster plantations failed, it was again to an American project, the exploration of Guiana, that he turned. Sir John Popham took a deep interest both in the plantation of Munster and in that of Virginia. Sir Francis Bacon was similarly interested in both countries, submitting plans for the settlement of Ireland, and as solicitor-general helping to draw up the charter of 1609 for Virginia. He was also a member of the royal council for Virginia. His valuation of the settlement of Ireland was the higher of the two. In his *Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland*, presented to King James on New Year's day, 1609, he treats the colonization of Virginia as a somewhat visionary scheme, that of Ireland as a serious reality, the former being "an enterprise in my opinion differing as much from this as Amadis de Gaul differs from Caesar's Commentaries". At the same time he goes on to recommend the establishment of two councils for the Irish plantation, one to sit in London, the other in Ireland, similar to the two councils for Virginia; and long afterward he speaks of the plantations of Ireland and of Virginia as two of the greatest glories of King James's reign.²

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, article on Gilbert.

² Spedding, *Lord Bacon's Letters and Life*, IV. 123; VII. 175.

Other similarities existed. In the colonization of Ireland as of America, organized and chartered companies are not unknown. In 1611 the East India Company purchased certain lands near Dundaniel on the southern coast of County Cork, where they erected iron-works, built dwellings for 300 workmen, cut down woods, established a ship-yard, and within the next two years spent £7,000 and built two vessels of 500 and 400 tons.¹ In 1609, after prolonged negotiation between the Privy Council and the officers of the city of London, an agreement was entered into by which the whole county of Derry in Ireland was handed over to the city, to be colonized under its control and to its profit. In order to carry out this work the "Honorable Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster within the Realm of Ireland" was formed by the court of mayor and aldermen of the city, the Wardrobe in the Guildhall was set apart for its meeting-place, and a charter of incorporation granted it by the crown, May 29, 1613.² The society proceeded immediately to divide the land among the twelve city companies for sale and settlement, reserving to itself only the possession of the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine, their contiguous lands, and the woods, ferries, and fisheries.³ But this was scarcely a genuine trading company; it existed, indeed still exists, only as an intermediary between the government and the settlers. The distant commerce that lay at the basis of the other companies which carried out schemes of colonization had no place in the relations between England and Ireland, and such companies could therefore hold here hardly any appreciable place.

On the other hand, both in Ireland and in Virginia we hear much of groups or combinations of men or "consortships", formed to carry out independent settlements. It was an associated group of twenty-seven volunteers from the southwestern counties of England, under the headship of Sir Peter Carew, who in 1569 petitioned the queen for a grant of the southwestern counties of Ireland. During the colonization of Munster in 1586, we hear of "nineteen men who desire in one consort with the writer, Henry Ughtred, to plant the counties of Connollo and Kerry"; of the gentlemen of one association of Cheshire, Lancashire, Somerset, and Dorset; and of another of Hampshire and Devon.⁴ In connection with the plantation of Ulster "consorts of undertakers" are authorized, and the name of

¹ *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1611-1614*, pp. 170, 369, 381.

² *A Concise View of the Origin . . . of the Governor and Assistants . . . commonly called the Irish Society* (London, 1822); *Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Irish Society, May 4, 1891*.

³ *Concise View*, p. 38.

⁴ *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1586-1588*, pp. 51, 242, 243.

an individual, when it appears, is often used to represent such a group.¹ The corresponding process in Virginia is described as follows in the *Records of the Virginia Company*:

The Collony beinge thus weake and the Treasury utterly exhaust, Itt pleased divers Lords, Knights, gentlemen and Cittizens (greived to see this great Action fall to nothings) to take the matter a new in hand and at their pryvate charges (joyninge themselvs into societies) to sett upp divers particularr Plantacions.²

From this time forward a prominent part in the work of settlement in Virginia was taken by "Captain Samuel Argall and his associates", "Hamor and his associates", "Martin and his associates", "the Society of Smythe's Hundred", "the Society of Martin's Hundred", "Captain John Bargrave and his associates", "William Tracy and his associates", "the company of John Smith of Nibley", and a number of other groups of adventurers.³ Indeed, the agreement made with the Virginia Company under which the Pilgrims from Leyden sought the New World was a typical instance of these arrangements. In the fall of 1617 two representatives of this body came to London and entered into communication with the company. After long negotiations, the final grant under which the momentous voyage of the *Mayflower* was made was that to "John Pierce and his associates, their heirs and assignes", completed February 12, 1620.⁴

Some lesser analogies between the settlement of Ireland and of Virginia are noticeable. The statute *quia emptores* was suspended for the settlers in Ulster, and new manors and subtenancies could be created, as was true for Virginia and the other American colonies;⁵ there were much the same privileges of export and import for a certain period of years free of duty;⁶ the local division called a "precinct", not apparently in use in England, but rather widely spread in the southern colonies of America, was used in a similar technical sense in the north of Ireland. There is the same complaint of the low character of many of the colonists. A Presbyterian minister who came to Ulster at the beginning of the settlement says:

From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of them, generally the scum of both nations, who for debt, and breaking,

¹ *Ibid.*, 1611-1614, pp. 315, 317; Commission of July, 1609; George Hill, *Summary Sketch of the Great Ulster Plantation*, p. 18, etc.

² *Records of the Virginia Company* (1906), I. 350.

³ *Ibid.*, 347, 404, 439, etc.; Kingsbury, *Introduction to Records*, p. 95; Brown, *First Republic in America*, 245, 249, 256, etc.

⁴ Brown, 252, 262, 271, 341, 387, etc.

⁵ *Articles concerning English and Scotch Undertakers*, sect. 11; Lord Belmore, *Two Ulster Manors*, p. 66.

⁶ *Articles*, etc., sects. 14, 15; *Articles between the King and the City of London*, sect. 15.

and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God.¹

So Sir Thomas Dale describes those whom he took over with him in 1611 as "sutch disordered persons, so prophane, so riotous, so full of mutinie and treasonable intendments, as I am well to witnes in a parcell of 300 which I brought with me, of which well may I say not many give testimonie beside their names that they are Christians, besides of sutch diseased and crased bodies".² Fortunately for both settlements we have reason to know that they contained also far better elements. There is the same tendency in both colonizations to introduce that compulsion in order to secure colonists to which men so readily turned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³

Eventually the colonization of Ireland and of the American colonies became rival movements. This opposition had been felt by some from an early period. In 1605 Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote to the Earl of Salisbury of the absurd folly or wilful ignorance of those who run over the world in search of colonies in Virginia and Guiana whilst Ireland is lying waste and desolate.⁴ Later, in speaking of the proposed colonization of the north of Ireland, he says, "My heart is so well affected unto it that I had rather labour with my hands in the plantation of Ulster than dance or play in that of Virginia."⁵ At first the greater proximity of Ireland to Scotland and England was a point overwhelmingly in its favor; and in the second and third decades of the century, while hundreds were going to America, Irish immigration might count thousands. But there came a time when this proximity was looked upon as a disadvantage, and those emigrants who wanted to leave England at all wished to get entirely away from the mother-country. Puritans and Churchmen successively emigrated, but emigrated by preference to New England or Virginia, where the hostility of the dominant party in England had less effect than it might have in Ireland. Colonists for Ireland were never abundant. The plantations which were carried out just after that of Ulster, in the period from 1615 to 1630, and which it was intended to establish on the mountain slopes of the southeast and in the forests and bogs along the Shannon, had increasing difficulty in finding settlers.⁶ When Wentworth

¹ Rev. Andrew Stewart, in Hill, *Summary Sketch*, p. 18.

² Sir Thomas Dale to Lord Salisbury, August 17, 1611, in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 508.

³ Brown, *First Republic in America*, 248, 296, 346, 375, etc.

⁴ *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1603-1606*, p. 326.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1608-1610, p. 520.

⁶ Bonn, *Kolonisation in Irland*, I. 353-357.

in the years immediately following 1630 formed plans for still another plantation, to be located in Ormond, Clare, and Connaught. It soon became evident that no English settlers were forthcoming, and Wentworth's political downfall only anticipated the certain failure of his colonizing policy.

In fact the settlement of Ireland as well as of America was necessarily limited by the amount of available population in England at the opening of the seventeenth century. A wide-spread opinion existed then that England was overpopulated, and this opinion is apparently still generally held. A tract printed in London in 1609, *A Good Speed to Virginia*, says:

God hath prospered us with the blessings of the wombe, and with the blessings of the breasts, the sword devoureth not abroad, neither is there any feare in our streetes at home; so that we are now for multitude as the thousands of Manasses and as the ten thousands of Ephraim . . . we are a great people and the lande is too narrow for us.¹

When James offered to allow his Scottish as well as his English subjects to take up lands in Ireland he explained that "There be no want of great numbers of the country people of England who with all gladness would transport themselves and their families to Ireland and plenish the whole bounds sufficiently with inhabitants."² The desirability of drawing off surplus population is frequently used as an argument for the plantation both of Ireland and of Virginia, and large numbers of emigrants are freely counted on. The Spanish ambassador Zuñiga learns in March, 1606, that the new company is planning to send 500 or 600 men to Virginia at once, and a few months later hears that the company will send 2,000 men; soon afterward 3,000 are talked of, then 1,500 more, with a plan of an early increase of the numbers to 12,000.³ In the colonization of Munster in 1586, similarly, 4,200 persons were planned for during the first year, 21,800 during the first seven years.⁴

Yet there is much to throw doubt on the correctness of this common impression of the existence of a large surplus of population in England. Overpopulation is entirely a relative term and can mean nothing more than either an excessive number of persons out of employment or a disproportionately rapid increase of population. It is very doubtful whether the latter of these conditions, at least, existed. Nothing is more untrustworthy than contemporary estimates of population. Dependent on the subjective attitude of the

¹ Reprinted in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 297.

² Hill, *Summary Sketch of the Great Ulster Plantation*.

³ Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 46, 100, 102, 147.

⁴ *Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, 1586-1588*, p. 243.

person giving the estimate and his dwelling-place and opportunities for making a judgment, such a large movement as the increase or decrease of national population is quite beyond the capacities of an ordinary observer. No general statistics exist, so we are driven to indirect means of judgment. It is evident that great difficulty was found in obtaining settlers for the new colonies in both Ireland and Virginia. The plantation in Munster just referred to, instead of the anticipated 4,200 in the first year, had reached in five years only the number of 536. In 1592, at the end of seven years, instead of the 1,500 families required as a minimum by the conditions of settlement, there were but 245.¹ Of all the southern and central plantations of Ireland we hear the same story; the speculators who took the large tracts were forbidden to dispose of them to native Irish owners or tenants, but they were not successful, or at least were only partially and tardily successful in finding English or Scotch settlers, and thus largely failed to conform to the conditions of their grants. In Ulster, except in the shires nearest Scotland, the same was largely true. Every effort was made by the officials in formulating the terms of the contracts with the "undertakers" to secure British settlers and to exclude the Irish, but reports of 1619, 1622, 1624, and 1632 show great numbers of Irish tenants and a correspondingly small number of English and Scotch immigrants—not one-third of the number called for by the requirements.² The king was deeply disappointed, and from December, 1612, wrote a series of letters to the authorities in Ireland complaining bitterly of the failure to introduce any large body of English settlers in Derry and the other Ulster counties. Finally in 1635 the Irish Company of London was prosecuted in Star Chamber for having failed to fulfil the terms of its charter, and was proved not to have sent over as many settlers as required, and to have allowed the natives to outnumber the new-comers in many districts. It was thereupon condemned to pay a fine of £70,000 and to lose its lands.³ It was only into those counties which lay nearest to Scotland and which were in a specially favorable position in other respects that population flowed from the larger island in anything like an abundant stream; into all others it was a slender and slow-flowing current, till it practically ceased about 1630.

The settlers sent to Virginia were for a long time but few. A careful computation gives the following figures of those who left England for Virginia: 1606-1609, 300; 1609-1618, 1,500; 1618-

¹ Bonn, *Kolonisation*, I. 303-304.

² *Ibid.*, 334-342.

³ Gardiner, *History of England*, VIII. 59, 60.

1621, 3,570; so that in the fifteen years in which Virginia was the only American colony there were altogether but few more than 5,000 emigrants from England thither. The devices that were proposed to secure colonists, some of which indeed were adopted, suggest the same paucity in the supply. In 1611 Sir Thomas Dale, writing home to Lord Salisbury and appealing for a supply of 2,000 men, says that he has "conceived that if it will please his Majestie to banish hither all offenders condemned betwixt this and then to die, out of common Gaoles, and likewise so continue that grant for 3 yeres unto the Colonie, (and thus doth the Spaniard people his Indies,) it would be a readie way to furnish us with men."¹ The company, as a matter of fact, followed this policy to a limited extent through the whole period of its existence, but at this time convict emigration played but a small part compared with the extent to which it was later carried.² Yet the company repeatedly asked the mayor of London for vagrant boys and girls of the city to be sent to the colony, and in 1621 had a bill introduced into Parliament which would have required each parish in England to send at its own expense a certain number of its paupers to Virginia.³

The most destructive forces that were keeping down population in England at this time were three: warfare, death penalties inflicted by the law, and pestilence. It is true that England was in 1607 at peace, and destined to remain so for the next seventeen years, but peace was recent and had been preceded by a long warlike period. The generation that could be counted on for purposes of emigration was that which had been growing up in the past, and this could not be replaced immediately. It is true also, as frequent experience has shown, that national warfare does not necessarily deplete population. But the warfare of Elizabeth's time was particularly destructive to life. The small body of English troops which according to the treaty of 1585 England bound herself to keep up in the Netherlands was like a leak in one of the Dutch dikes. Badly selected, badly equipped, badly fed, the soldiers died in Holland and Zealand almost faster than they could be recruited in England.⁴ Those who were in France in 1591 and the succeeding years were the victims of an only slightly less fatality; those in Ireland perhaps of a greater. The naval expeditions were even more fatal than land campaigns. The sailors and soldiers on board the vessels returning from the

¹ Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I. 506.

² J. D. Butler in *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, II. 12-33.

³ *Records of the Virginia Company* (1906), I. 270, 431, 479, 489, 583, etc.

⁴ *Leycester Correspondence*, Camden Society, 167, 285, 338, 374, 384, 389, etc.; Motley, *United Netherlands*, I., chap. vi.

Armada fight "sickened one day and died the next" of ship-fever, until "many of the ships had hardly men enough to weigh their anchors." On the Portugal expedition of 1589 about 20,000 men embarked, less than 9,000 returned. Of 1,100 gentlemen volunteers on the expedition 700 died.¹ The subsequent expeditions of 1595, 1596, 1597, 1599, and 1601 were only somewhat less destructive to life. In 1598 Elizabeth ceased to pay the English troops in the service of the Netherlands, but they still remained there in the service of the States and were constantly recruited in England. Indeed the peace between England and Spain signed in 1604 made no change in their position except that the king made a barren and ineffective promise that he would try to persuade the Englishmen in the Netherlands service to return and would discourage others from going there.² English troops were kept in the cautionary towns in Holland and Zealand by the government till 1616, and English recruits were as a matter of fact obtained by the Dutch government. To these must be added those obtained for the archduke's service, in accordance with the permission given by the treaty. In 1610, the third year of the colonization of Virginia, there were 4,000 English troops in the Netherlands to be sent to the war in Cleves.³ Thus notwithstanding the generally peaceful policy of James, there was still a steady drain of English population for military purposes going on, as well as the necessity for recuperation from the larger losses of Elizabeth's time.

The losses by legal execution (although impossible, from the records now accessible, of statistical statement) can be roughly estimated, or at least can be discovered to have been considerable. In the years from 1608 to 1618, which cover the first decade of the settlement of Virginia, the court of jail-delivery of the county of Middlesex, which does not include the city and liberties of London, sent to execution 704 persons, an average of seventy a year. The number for that county for the whole of James's reign, so far as recorded, was 1,003, an average of about forty-five a year.⁴ In the county of Devon in the year 1598, a chance year, at the Lent assizes seventeen persons were hanged, at the autumn assizes eighteen, at the four quarter-sessions thirty-nine, making altogether seventy-four persons executed in the year. In the year 1596, forty persons were executed in the county of Somerset.⁵ To these are to be added 229

¹ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., cxxiii, No. 75; *Cal. St. Papers, Dom., 1581-1590*, p. 534; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, II. 355, etc.

² Winwood, *Memorials*, II. 27.

³ Gardiner, *History of England*, II. 100, 183; I. 219; Motley, *United Netherlands*, IV. 228.

⁴ Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, II. xvii-xx.

⁵ Hamilton, *Devonshire Quarter-Sessions*, 30-31.

Catholic recusants executed or allowed to die in prison under Elizabeth, and twenty-four under James;¹ and executions connected with special occurrences such as the rebellion of Essex and the Gunpowder Plot. When it is realized that, in each of the fifty-two shires of England and Wales, four times a year the justices of the peace and twice the justices of assize; and in each of the numerous chartered towns the corresponding judicial authorities were all busily applying a severe criminal code, it will be recognized that a check to overpopulation was being applied closely analogous to war and pestilence.

Yet there can be no doubt that the plague was the most destructive of all causes of the depletion of population at that time. At intervals approximating ten years this enemy, ill-understood, unprepared for, weakly opposed, invaded England and raised the death-rate for one or more years to many times its usual height. In 1593, in 1603, in the period from 1606 to 1610, and in 1625, London suffered losses that can be measured with considerable exactness; and during these and other years we have many glimpses of the ravages of the plague in other cities and in the rural parts of England. In the year 1593 there were 17,844 deaths in London and its immediate suburbs, of which 10,662 were attributed to the plague. Deaths from all other causes together were therefore but 7,182, and this was a larger number than usual. According to Stow, "There died in London and the liberties thereof, from the 23rd day of December 1602 to the 22nd day of December 1603, of all diseases 38,244, whereof of the plague 30,578."² The usual death-rate, according to these figures, was more than quadrupled; and there is other testimony to indicate that this is rather within than beyond the facts, another estimate, including some outlying districts, giving 42,945 deaths, whereof of the plague about 33,347.³ During the years from 1606 to 1610, the initial years of the settlement of Virginia, the plague was constantly active, though not nearly so destructive as in 1593 and 1603. The deaths specifically from the plague were as follows: 1606, 2,124; 1607, 2,352; 1608, 2,262; 1609, 4,240; and 1610, 1,803.⁴

The last serious visitation of the plague in London in this period was in 1625, in which year there were 54,265 deaths, of which 35,417 were attributed to the plague.⁵ In the middle of the summer the deaths from plague numbered more than 4,000 a week. In certain parishes where a maze of narrow streets, lanes, and alleys,

¹ Dodd-Tierney, *History of the Church of England*, III. 159-170; IV. 179-180.

² *Annales*, p. 857.

³ Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, I. 478.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 494.

⁵ *London's Remembrancer*.

lined with tenements, was filled with a crowded mass of the poorest of humanity, the deaths ran up to astonishing numbers; as in the case of St. Giles, Cripplegate, from which there were buried 3,988 persons during the year, 2,338 of them having died of the plague. The population of London and its suburbs in 1607 was probably about 225,000, the mortality in ordinary years being between 7,000 and 9,000, a proportion of about one-thirtieth, which was raised in more than one plague year to one-fifth or one-sixth.¹

The ravages of the plague in London were probably greater in degree than they were elsewhere, but not different in kind. Sometimes in entirely separate years, sometimes just preceding or succeeding the great London epidemics, we hear of the same desolating attacks on cities, towns, and villages scattered through all England. To estimate the effect of disease on population we must also add to the plague, technically so-called, other prevalent and fatal diseases, spotted fever, smallpox, flux, influenza, measles, and jail-fever or the "pinning-sickness", all of which were exercising their full powers of destruction at this time.²

In view of all these conditions it is small wonder that early colonization could not command a very large body of emigrants from England. Indeed such material as it had to work with was provided rather by the displacement and disturbance of population in England than by its actual growth in numbers. This displacement was one of the most marked characteristics of the time. Economic and political causes had so far altered the equilibrium of large elements in the population that they were easily removable. Religious causes were to have the same effect in later times, indeed had already by the date of the settlement of Virginia begun their work. It was to this mobility of population that not only the possibility of colonization but the rapid growth of London was due. In an occasional favorable year the baptisms, which were practically the same in number as the births, exceeded the number of deaths, as in 1580 when the baptisms were 3,568, the deaths 2,873; but any slight access of the plague or other disease reversed the conditions, as in 1579 when there were 3,370 baptisms and 3,406 deaths; while a bad plague year made the deaths preponderate overwhelmingly over the births, as in 1578 when there were 3,150 christenings and 7,830 deaths, or in 1625 when in the city and suburbs 6,983 persons were christened, but 54,265 died.³ During a long period the deaths in London must have much exceeded the

¹ Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, I. 471-474.

² *Ibid.*, chaps. vi.-x.

³ *Ibid.*

births, yet the population of the city during the same period was increasing. Obviously this was from the constant flow of outsiders into it; foreign immigrants, English adventurers, restless or evicted, occupationless, and often criminal vagabonds. It was this disproportionate and abnormal growth of London and perhaps of some other large cities and towns, the "infinite increasing greatness of this city", that gave contemporaries the impression that England was teeming and suffering with a superabundance of population.

Bacon in 1606 saw the conditions more fairly and expressed them in a speech in Parliament on the proposed union between England and Scotland:

I must have leave to doubt, Mr. Speaker, that this realm of England is not yet peopled to the full. For certain it is, that the territories of France, Italy, Flanders, and some parts of Germany, do in equal space of ground bear and contain a far greater quantity of people, if they were mustered by the poll. Neither can I see that this kingdom is so much inferior unto those foreign parts in fruitfulness, as it is in population; which makes me conceive we have not our full charge. Besides, I do see manifestly amongst us the badges and tokens rather of scarceness, than of press of people; as drowned grounds, commons, wastes, and the like; which is a plain demonstration, that howsoever there may be an overswelling throng and press of people here about London, which is most in our eye, yet the body of the kingdom is but thin sown with people.¹

The more closely conditions in England in the years just preceding and contemporary with the foundation of Virginia are studied, the more natural does it seem that such a settlement should have been made, that it should have taken some such form as it did and suffered the difficulties it actually experienced. The whole movement was a natural, almost an inevitable one. But this naturalness does not diminish its significance. The grant of the charters to the Virginia Company, the settlement at Jamestown, the propaganda carried on in England in its interest, the activity of the company, the public discussion of the project, the attitude of the king toward it, make the whole movement one of the most important of its time. The subject of colonization was now for the first time, and for all subsequent time, made one of popular interest. In the years between 1606 and 1620 many pamphlets were issued and numerous sermons preached on the subject; appeals for support and statements of plans were made to the general government, to town authorities, to the London companies, to churches, and to individuals; the members of the company were numbered by hundreds, the number of investors large and small rose to thousands; general collections were taken up and lotteries were carried on for its ex-

¹ Spedding, *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, III. 312.

penses; it was the subject of discussion in the Privy Council, in Parliament, in the court of aldermen of London, and in the councils of various trading bodies. There must have been few persons in England who took any interest whatever in public questions who failed to become somewhat familiar with the subject of colonization; and all later similar movements were carried on in the light of this familiarity.

The influence of the Virginia project on the political movement of the day was by no means insignificant. It worked itself into the rising conflict between King and Parliament, giving occasion for defining the differences of political views between the royal and the popular party; and the Virginia Company, while falling a victim to the hostility of the former, strengthened and gave unity to the latter.

Lastly, it influenced the literature of the time; not only the literature of voyages and travels, of practical proposals and patriotic or religious appeals, but the higher forms of imaginative writing. Bacon's essay "On Plantations" under its classic terms and general observations scarcely conceals his specific views and criticisms of the Virginia project as it was being carried on. In Drayton's "Ode to the Virginian Voyage" the familiar expressions of the devotees of colonization are put into the service of no mean poetry:

And the ambitious vine
Crownes with his purple masse
The cedar reaching hie
To kisse the skie,
The cypresse, pine,
And usefull sassafras.

.
Thy voyages attend,
Industrious Hackluit,
Whose reading shall inflame
Men to seeke fame,
And much commend
To after-times thy wit.

Three excellent poets joined to immortalize the Virginian captain and the reckless adventurer in *Eastward Hoe*; and the changes are rung on "the Virginian continent", "Virginian priests", "Virginian princes", and "the noblest Virginians" in Chapman's mask played before the king by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court in 1613. The sights and sounds of the sea, the shipwreck, the boasting and roustering, the grace, the charm, and the high imagination of the *Tempest*, and much more that belongs to the literature of that time and of all time, are not without a close connection with the earliest voyages to Jamestown. EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

SOVEREIGNTY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: AN HISTORICAL STUDY

It is the purpose of this paper to learn, if possible, from contemporary material just what ideas were in men's minds during the American Revolution when they thought of Congress, of the Union, of the states and their governments, of the Confederation, and of independence, and, further, to learn their true reasons for obeying Congress or their state governments. Then with some definite conclusions based upon facts and not general impressions, I wish to examine again the much-mooted question as to whether there was an American national state in the Revolution, and whether Congress or the state governments exercised the sovereign power. As we all know, this question derives its importance from the long and bitter historical controversy over state sovereignty, nullification, and secession. Personally, I believe that the solution, either in favor of state sovereignty or of Congressional sovereignty during the Revolution, has little or no bearing in establishing the legal right of nullification or secession,¹ but so many able writers² have laid such stress on proving the Continental Congress sovereign that the truth is worth a search.

Since the earliest time claimed for the existence of an American national state is the time of the assembling of the First Continental Congress, I begin with a consideration of that. Story speaks³ of this Congress as coming from "the people, acting directly in their primary, sovereign capacity, and without the intervention of the functionaries, to whom the ordinary powers of government were delegated". The facts are that delegates from two colonies⁴ were chosen by the legislatures,⁵ elected by the people in the ordinary

¹ That question can be settled by studying what the Constitutional Convention thought it had done and actually did, and to what the people of the states or the people of the nation (as one pleases) bound themselves when they accepted a Constitution which provided that the Constitution and laws made in accordance therewith should be the law of the land, enforceable in the courts, and that the government thereby established might operate directly upon every individual. By accepting this they left themselves nothing but the right of revolution.

² Some of these are Lieber, Story, Pomeroy, Hare, Bancroft, Lincoln, Von Holst, Fiske, Burgess.

³ Joseph Story, *Commentaries*, fourth edition, I. 140.

⁴ Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.

⁵ Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, I. 416, 607.

way for ordinary purposes of law-making. The delegates from Massachusetts, a third colony, were chosen by the lower house duly elected, with no special instructions to choose delegates to the Continental Congress.¹ Georgia was not represented at all, and in only six colonies were there special conventions or provincial congresses of the nature Story imagines them all to have been.

He adds to this false premise the assertion, "The Congress thus assembled exercised *de facto* and *de jure* a sovereign authority; not as the delegated agents of the governments *de facto* of the colonies, but in virtue of original powers derived from the people."² Such a statement could come only from one who had not read the instructions of the delegates, or the journal of this Congress's proceedings. Four delegations were instructed to procure the harmony and union of the empire,³ to restore mutual confidence, or to establish the union with Great Britain. Three were instructed to repair the breach made in American rights, to preserve American liberty, or to accomplish some similar end. Two were to get a repeal of the obnoxious acts, or determine on prudent or lawful measures of redress. Three were simply to attend Congress or "to consult to advance the good of the colonies".⁴ North Carolina alone bound her inhabitants in honor to obey the acts of the Congress to which she was sending delegates.⁵ When the Congress met, it restricted its proceedings absolutely to statements of the grievances and appeals for relief. The delegates in no way went beyond their instructions, as a careful examination of their journal will show.⁶ Conservative feelings ruled, and the restoration of union and harmony with Great Britain was the prevalent desire. It is manifestly wrong, therefore, to look at the First Continental Congress as coming together because of a national feeling, because of a desire to form a national state, and therefore to ascribe to it governmental powers. It was called because a joint appeal for relief would naturally be more effective than any single petition. The colonies sending delegates to the First Continental Congress no more coalesced into a national state by that

¹ Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, I. 421.

² Story, *Commentaries*, fourth ed., I. 140. Burgess too, *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, I. 100, says that this Congress "was the first organization of the American state." From the first moment of its existence "there was a sovereignty, a state, not in idea simply, or upon paper, but in fact and in organization."

³ See *Journals of Congress*, I. 15-24. My references to the *Journals*, throughout the article, are to the edition by Mr. W. C. Ford.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶ This is Mr. Ford's opinion (*ibid.*, 6) with which any candid reader of the journal must agree.

act than did the colonies which sent delegates to the Albany Congress or the Stamp Act Congress.

But let us give those who argue along this line the benefit of a doubt, and assume that it was the Second Continental Congress which in their opinion exercised *de facto* and *de jure* a sovereign authority.

Before coming to any conclusion as to the right or wrong of this view we must examine in a historical spirit the question what powers the constituents of the delegations meant to give them, what the Continental Congress thought of its own powers at any time during its existence, what the people of the colonies thought, and to what extent they recognized by their actions the sovereign authority attributed to Congress by Story and others.

Three of the delegations to the Second Congress were chosen by the regular legislatures,¹ three by the lower houses of the legislatures,² and seven by provincial congresses or conventions of town or county delegates.³ Of these delegations three were merely to represent, or attend, meet, and report,⁴ two to join, consult, and advise,⁵ six to concert and agree or determine upon,⁶ while Georgia's delegates were "To do, transact, join and concur with the several Delegates".⁷ Maryland and North Carolina, from the first, and Georgia and New Jersey⁸ later, bound the state and people to abide by the resolutions of Congress,⁹ though doubtless all felt more or less this obligation.

The delegates were ~~to~~ exercise these powers for the purpose of "restoring harmony" or "accommodating the unhappy differences" with Great Britain,¹⁰ to obtain a "redress of American grievances," a "re-establishment of American rights," or "a repeal of offensive acts".¹¹ Some delegations were "to preserve and defend our Rights

¹ Delaware, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. See *ibid.*, II., Instructions to Delegates.

² South Carolina, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

³ Georgia was not represented at first, but later a provincial congress sent delegates.

⁴ New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

⁵ Connecticut and Rhode Island.

⁶ Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Maryland, Delaware (also "to report"), and New York. See also Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, II. 379.

⁷ Not sent until September 13, 1775; see *Journals of Congress*.

⁸ February 14, 1776.

⁹ For all the above facts see *Journals of Congress*, II., Instructions to Delegates.

¹⁰ So in the cases of South Carolina, New York, Delaware, Massachusetts, and Georgia.

¹¹ Rhode Island, South Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

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and liberties"¹ or "for advancing the best Good of the Colonies,"² and three were instructed to no definite purpose.³ Although eight of these colonies sent new instructions before January, 1776⁴ (and this date is important, as will be presently shown), yet only two changed the character of their instructions, Maryland leaving out the binding clause,⁵ and Connecticut making the object sought, defense, security, and the preservation of rights. It is absurd to say that all these legislatures and conventions were hypocritical, saying what they did not mean, and if we seek honestly to know the wishes of the majorities in each representative body we shall examine these instructions, remembering, moreover, that these bodies were for the most part representative not of all the people,⁶ but of the most radical, those who would be the first to think of independence and the formation of a new state.

Remembering these instructions and the length of time they remained unchanged, let us examine the next point made by Justice Story and others in his wake. He says:⁷ "The Congress of 1775 accordingly assumed at once the exercise of some of the highest functions of sovereignty. They took measures for national defence and resistance", raised an army and navy, established a post-office, raised money, emitted bills of credit, and "contracted debts upon national account," authorized captures and condemnation of prizes. Let us see what Congress thought and what men of that time thought of the nature of these acts, for this *idea* in men's minds is of importance.

If the instructions to Congress meant anything, the delegates came together unauthorized by the people to act as a national government. They were to keep the councils of the colonies united while the English government was being forced to yield what men thought their rights.⁸ In attempting to accomplish this end open war developed,⁹ and the Congress gradually did assume all these

¹ Georgia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

² Connecticut.

³ Virginia, North Carolina, and New Jersey.

⁴ Delaware, October 21, 1775; Maryland, December 9, 1775; New Hampshire, August 23, 1775; North Carolina, September 8, 1775; Massachusetts, November 10, 1775; Connecticut, October, 1775; Pennsylvania, November 3, 1775.

⁵ *Journals of Congress*, III. 441; IV. 58.

⁶ All of their acts were repudiated by the Loyalists, who were no insignificant part of the population.

⁷ Story, *Commentaries*, fourth ed., I. 151-152.

⁸ *Journals of Congress*, IV. 136, last paragraph.

⁹ It must be remembered, however, that it was the New England colonies that began the war, and that the other colonies assembled in Congress were most reluctantly dragged into the struggle.

powers which Story enumerates, but the striking thing is that it did all these things at a time when¹ the majority of Congress would vote repeatedly for addresses, to the king, the inhabitants of Great Britain, the people of Ireland and of Jamaica, which asserted, "We have not raised Armies with ambitious Designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States,"² and assured the king that they most ardently wished the former harmony with Great Britain, vowing their allegiance to him³ and that they would cheerfully bleed in defense of him in a righteous cause. As late as October in 1775, reconciliation is a common sentiment⁴ and the royal post-routes were still in operation.⁵ Even late as January 15, 1776, Samuel Adams could not head off a motion to explain to the people that reconciliation was the desire of Congress.⁶ In the middle of February, 1776, James Wilson argued with great sincerity that many of the steps thus far taken by Congress could be accounted for rationally only upon the supposition that their object was the defense and re-establishment of their rights, and could not be so accounted for if their aim was an independent empire.⁷ I do not believe the majority of Congress to have been hypocrites drawing long faces and pretending a loyalty they did not feel. As James Wilson said, "Those Protestations of Loyalty and Expressions of Attachment ought, by every Rule of Candour, to be presumed to be sincere, unless Proofs evincing their Insincerity

¹ *Navy*.—Congress recommends (July 18, 1775) the states to establish. *Journals*, II. 189. First Continental vessel, October 13, 1775. Fleet provided October 30, 1775. Zubly seconds motion for fleet October 7, 1775, but the previous day asserts that the man who would suggest independence would be torn to pieces like De Witt. *Journals*, III. 483.

Indian Commissioners appointed July 12, 1775.

Post-Office.—A committee to establish post-routes appointed May 29, 1775, and Postmaster-General decided upon July 26; but side by side with the Continental routes, the British postal system existed undisturbed as late as October 7, 1775; see *Journals of Congress* on those dates.

Treasury.—Congress borrows for Continental uses June 3, 1775, uses money first on June 10, and pledges the twelve colonies for redemption of bills of credit June 22, 1775.

Army.—First provision was June 14, 1775. General decided upon, June 15. Organization planned June 16, 1775. Suggestion comes from Massachusetts. *Journals*, II. 78.

² *Ibid.*, 155. July 6, 1775, *ibid.*, IV. 143. See also *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, I. 482; Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, III. 794, 795.

³ July 8, 1775, *Journals*, II. 160; July 28, 1775, *ibid.*, 139, 155, 198, 217; IV. 137, 142.

⁴ See *ibid.*, III. 481, 482, 489. *Life of Belknap*, 96-97.

⁵ *Journals*, III. 488.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 57; also February 13, 1776, *ibid.*, 37.

⁷ See his convincing argument on this subject, *ibid.*, 142-143.

can be drawn from the Conduct of those who used them."¹ If they were honest it seems axiomatic that the members of the Continental Congress could not regard themselves, or be regarded by the men who read their papers, as the sovereign head of a united people, when they and the people wished to be loyal subjects of the British king, and acknowledged his sovereignty.

In the very "Declaration on Taking Arms,"² Congress showed the desire and expectation of reconciliation. Just as non-importation and non-exportation were not illegal in the colonial view, but a peaceful means of forcing the repeal of obnoxious laws,³ so armies and loyalty were not incompatible.⁴ There is no doubt, as Trevelyan suggests, that many American revolutionists were like the Puritan country gentlemen at the beginning of the struggle against Charles I., who held that to bear arms against the Crown was consistent with the duty of a loyal subject; and loyal subjects they were bound to remain.⁵ The attitude of men to the warlike measures is perhaps most strikingly shown in the seemingly paradoxical position of Zubly, Georgia's delegate (October 6, 7, 1775), who seconded a motion for preparing a plan for an American fleet, though on the previous day he had said that if any one proposed to break off from Great Britain, he would inform his constituents. "I apprehend", he added, "the man who should propose it would be torn to pieces like DeWitt."⁶ The idea of loyalty to the British king and a co-existent desire for an American national state are incompatible, therefore if Congress was doing seemingly sovereign acts, it was merely in the capacity of a party committee⁷ leading a rebellious faction in the empire in an attempt to force the concession of its rights. This liberal faction happened to have its greatest strength in America, and the committee therefore acted in the interests of American Whigs only.

But there came a time when the contemplation of a series of

¹ *Journals*, IV. 137.

² *Ibid.*, II. 139, 155. They assure all the subjects of the empire that they "mean not in any wise to affect that union with them". See also David Humphreys, *Miscellaneous Works*, 271.

³ *Journals*, II. 205; IV. 138.

⁴ See how the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga are explained. *Ibid.*, II. 167, 171. Such was the spirit as to opening ports and allowing privateers. *Ibid.*, 201; IV. 231.

⁵ Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, part II., vol. I., p. 112.

⁶ *Journals of Congress*, III. 483, 486.

⁷ Its work of this kind is best seen in its measures against the Tories, *ibid.*, 280; IV. 25, 49. In this light Congress seems to be only a convention of delegates representing the Whig party in America, not all the American people. The Loyalists held this view throughout the war.

ministerial errors so embittered the colonists against the mother-country that Americans changed the banner under which they were fighting, and in place of liberty merely they were aiming at liberty and independence. They had used the word "union" and the expression "united colonies"¹ a great deal during the earlier struggle, when they simply meant united efforts for the attainment of concessions² which no one colony singly could hope to wrest from the powerful British government. Now they continued the struggle for independence with the same general idea of united effort, no longer of colonies, but of states independent and sovereign in all governmental matters, but leagued to overthrow the power of England, and to command the respect of other world-powers. To attempt united action by a clumsy system of correspondence was impracticable, and the Continental Congress, in which were assembled representatives of the sovereign states, was a convenient centre of intelligence and a source of advice which would keep their forces united.³ As the Maryland convention expressed it, "the best and only proper exercise [of the powers of Congress] can be in adopting the wisest measures for equally securing the rights and liberties of each of the United States, which was the principle of their union."⁴ To Congress was yielded a temporary and indefinite authority for war purposes, but its permanent relation with the states was to be determined by future agreement.⁵

In thus unifying the councils and action of thirteen colonies at first and states later, Congress did many things that seem at first view the acts of a national government, but an analysis of some of these more deceptive actions will clear our understanding of their character. There are instances of dissensions between colonies being referred to Congress to settle, but, since nothing would weaken the colonies' military efficiency as would intercolonial quarrels, it

¹ The use of the word "colony" had significance too, and the retaining it showed how men clung to the idea of preserving the empire. As late as November, 1775, Adams could not get "colony" struck out of a report though the committee "were as high Americans as any in the house". *Works of John Adams*, III. 21, 22.

² Note the distinction in the "Declaration on Taking Arms." They assure all subjects "that we mean not to dissolve that Union [i. e., the national union] . . . which we sincerely wish to see restored," but in the same document "Our Union [i. e., for the purpose of getting concessions] is perfect." July 6, *Journals*, II. 154, 155. See also II. 87-88, 198, 217; III. 321, 477, 488; IV. 142, 146.

³ Note, for example, *ibid.*, II. 60, 74, 85, 183, 188, 189, 192, 212; III. 278, 279, 323, 363; IV. 21, etc.

⁴ Scharf, *Maryland*, II. 273-277.

⁵ Note that North Carolina and Pennsylvania provide in their constitutions for delegates as long as it shall be necessary. Poore, *Constitutions*, North Carolina, xxxvii.; Pennsylvania, sect. 11.

was as important for Congress to try to reconcile these differences as to direct the armies or provide a naval force. That this is not perverting the logic of such action may be plainly seen in the case (September 30, 1775) where Congress is asked to settle the dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania "until the matter shall be determined by the King and Council, to whom both sides have submitted the dispute."¹ Congress urged the people of the two colonies not to endanger the union, but it refused to take any measures that would seem an assumption of sovereignty.²

Again, the states called upon Congress, the assembling-place of all of the states, to assume responsibility which the state did not dare assume alone, but which was necessary for the common defense.³ Again the colonies asked Congress about establishing new governments,⁴ and much has been made of the fact that Congress recommended the establishment of such forms as seemed best; but the advice cannot be twisted into a sovereign command, for the thing is to be done "during the continuance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the colonies."⁵ A body regarding itself as sovereign does not speak thus. Later, when affairs were nearer a climax (May 10, 1776), Congress recommended the formation of permanent governments, but it is noticeable that in this case the states acted at their leisure,⁶ and Maryland resented the interference of Congress⁷ and refused to obey. Congress was again rebuffed when it ordered the committee of observation of Baltimore to seize Governor Eden's secretary. The committee acted without the authorization of the Maryland council of safety, and was severely reprimanded for obeying "other than those intrusted with the proper authority by this Province".⁸ Congress was constantly steering between the Scylla of sovereignty, and the Charybdis of inefficiency.

It was in Congress that independence was resolved upon, and

¹ *Journals of Congress*, III. 283, 287, 295, 453, 487. Congress evidently was not looked upon as having sovereign authority.

² *Ibid.*, IV. 283.

³ New Jersey asks, June 24, 1776, about seizing Governor Franklin, *ibid.*, V. 473. Sometimes the approval of Congress is asked for more selfish ends. *Ibid.*, II. 25; III. 274. As to seizing Dunmore, there was a significant dispute. *Ibid.*, 482.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 77; III. 298.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 319, 326.

⁶ Delaware and Pennsylvania acted in September, 1776; Maryland in November, 1776; North Carolina in December, 1776; Georgia in February, 1777; New York in April, 1777.

⁷ Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, V. 1588. Note also the attitude of Duane, *Journals of Congress*, VI. 1075; and of Wilson, *ibid.*, 1075-1076.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 286; Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, V. 1564, 1566, 1590.

that, says Von Holst, in destroying the bonds between the colonies and England, "threw down the walls which had hitherto prevented the political union of the thirteen colonies. They were, in fact, thrown together so as to constitute them one people."¹ But was that viewed by contemporaries as an act consolidating the several colonies, and by whose sanction did they regard it as taking effect? It was declared during the debate upon the resolution² "that if the delegates of any particular colony had no power to declare such colony independent, certain they were the others could not declare it for them, the colonies being as yet perfectly independent of each other". Declare independence before these delegates were authorized to that end, and the middle state delegates "must retire" and "their colonies might secede from the union".

This assertion was not disputed³ and Congress waited until, with the exception of New York, all the delegations were instructed favorably or had large powers and were sure enough of subsequent sanction to vote for the resolution. The action of the twelve colonies did not bind New York until her own convention approved, and at least seven of the states⁴ showed by their subsequent resolutions giving to the Declaration the binding force of law within their states that they did not recognize the power of Congress to legislate for them even in a matter so vital to all as the separation from Great Britain.

If there were any doubt as to what the Declaration implied when it said "that these United *Colonies* are . . . Free and Independent *States* . . ." and "*they* have full Power to levy War", etc., that doubt would be dispelled by reading the resolves of the state conventions or assemblies in approving the Declaration. The Pennsylvania convention passed a resolve approving, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, of Congress's resolution, declaring "this, as well as the other United States of America, free and Independent," and declared "before God and the world that we will support and maintain the freedom and independence of this and the other United

¹ Von Holst, *Constitutional History of the United States*, I. 8.

² By Wilson, Livingston, Rutledge, or Dickinson. *Journals of Congress*, VI. 1088. See also Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, IV. 739.

³ Indeed it was clearly affirmed in the case of Maryland. *Ibid.*

⁴ New York, *ibid.*, fifth series, I. 1391; Rhode Island, *Colonial Records*, VII. 581; Connecticut, *State Records*, I. 3; Pennsylvania, Force, *American Archives*, fifth series, II. 10; Maryland, *ibid.*, III. 88-89; also *ibid.*, fourth series, VI. 1507; New Jersey, *ibid.*, 1648; Virginia, Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence*, 273.

States of America."¹ The Connecticut assembly approved of the Declaration, and resolved, "that this Colony is and of right ought to be a free and independent State."² The "walls" were evidently not down in the opinion of these contemporary state legislators and they thought it their sanction which gave validity to the resolution of independence.³ This preservation of state identity, and belief in the state's freedom to do its will politically, appears frequently during the debate on the Articles of Confederation.⁴

While discussing the land question, Wilson of Pennsylvania said that his state had no right to interfere in those claims, "but she has a right to say, that she will not confederate unless those claims are cut off,"⁵ and Huntington of Virginia denied Congress the right to limit the bounds of his state and asserted that the consequence of such an attempt would be that Virginia would not enter the Confederation.⁶ Witherspoon, August 1, 1776, conceived of the colonies as individuals come together to make a bargain with each other.⁷ That this bargain was thought of as a treaty between sovereign states, there is good contemporary evidence aside from the articles themselves. "I daily expect the Treaty of Confederation", wrote Governor Cooke of Rhode Island.⁸ Indeed the Confederation seemed to some merely a league which the states formed for the war.⁹ If it were not formed then, Sherman feared it never would be formed¹⁰; some did not see the necessity of it¹¹ even for that pur-

¹ Force, *American Archives*, fifth series, II. 10. See also *Journals of Congress*, V. 690, where the "thirteen independent states of America" are to have initials on the seal.

² *Records of the State of Connecticut*, I. 3.

³ Significant also is Madison's assertion in 1782, that the Crown rights had not devolved upon Congress, an idea "so extravagant that it could not enter into the thought of man." *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1878, p. 147.

⁴ *Journals of Congress*, VI. 1081. These debates were after the Declaration of Independence, it must be remembered. Hopkins of Rhode Island asserts, "The safety of the whole depends upon the distinctions of Colonies."

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1077.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1083. Franklin thought that if all the colonies would not enter, it had better be formed by those inclined to it. John Adams, *Works*, IX. 373.

⁷ *Journals*, VI. 1103 (but see Adams's answer, 1104). Sherman thought as did Witherspoon. *Ibid.*, 1081.

⁸ Force, *American Archives*, fifth series, I. 377. See also Randolph's idea, Madison's *Writings*, ed. Hunt, III. 37.

⁹ *Journals of Congress*, VI. 1079. Note the same idea in Jefferson to Marbois, *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, October, 1906, p. 77. The first draft of the Articles of Confederation contained a clause, "The said Colonies unite themselves so as never to be divided by any Act whatever," but this was early struck out of the draft and does not appear later. Evidently none wished to bind the league of friendship so firmly as this.

¹⁰ August 25, 1777. *Life of Sherman*, 106.

¹¹ Force, *American Archives*, fifth series, I. 672.

pose. The agreement of the states to any kind of confederation seemed at times almost desperate, and after all a league of sovereign states was all men would concede.¹

The articles as finally adopted furnish us with an admirable measure of the depths or rather shallows of national feeling and of the intensity or rather weakness of the contemporary desire for a state. We cannot discuss the character of the Confederation here, but it is a common judgment among political scientists and historians that there was less national unity after its adoption than before it.² As Professor Burgess expresses it, "the American [national] state ceased to exist in objective organization." The subjective existence, the "idea in the consciousness of the people" which he declares to have remained, is just what I believe that the facts here submitted show not to have existed. Though the whole logic of the situation seems to us now, and seemed to a few leaders then, to point to the necessity of the formation of a national state, yet the vast majority of men refused to see it,³ and hugged the delusive phantom of independent and of sovereign statehood for each of the thirteen colonies. Individual interests might be sunk temporarily in order to accomplish by military union a great individual desire, but the affections and the impulses of obedience centred in the state governments.

However dependent the states might be upon each other for military strength to meet the assaults of England, facts, too numerous to be gainsaid, can be cited to show the opinion of state legislatures, state conventions, and individuals in the states as to the actual political independence and sovereignty of the state. To mere assertions in state constitutions that the state is independent and sovereign⁴ we need give little attention, but powers granted in constitutional conventions and acts of sovereignty done by state governments have greater importance. South Carolina specifically endowed its

¹ In this connection it is important to note the contemporary conception of a confederation. Franklin's plan of confederation provided for a league even though the colonies remained part of the British Empire. Bringing about reconciliation was one of the functions of his confederation, and of course the organ of united action, the Congress, could not have sovereign powers if it existed within the British Empire. *Journals of Congress*, II. 195, 198; III. 301; IV. 149. The Rhode Island assembly instructed its delegates to promote a confederation at a time when it would not instruct for independence. *Ibid.*, 353.

² Pomeroy, Von Holst, Burgess, Lieber, *et al.*

³ Burgess, *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, I. 101.

⁴ Fisher Ames, *Works*, I. 113. "Instead of feeling as a nation, a state is our country." See also Austin's *Gerry*, I. 407-415, quoted by Von Holst, I. 29, and Rives, *Madison*, II. 177.

⁵ Poore, *Constitutions*: Connecticut, I. 257; New Hampshire, II. 1281, art. VII.; Massachusetts, I. 958, art. IV.

government with the power to make war, conclude a peace, enter into treaties, lay embargoes, and provide an army and navy.¹ Other states specified some of these powers and implied the rest.²

That these powers were implied is proven by the exercise of them by the government established. Virginia ratified the treaty with France³, and her diplomatic activity was so great that she established by law a clerkship of foreign correspondence⁴. William Lee was sent to France by Governor Henry and was given power under the state seal to obtain arms or borrow money of "his most Christian Majesty."⁵ Franklin speaks of "three several states" negotiating with France for loans and naval and war supplies.⁶ He complains that they "seem to think it my duty . . . to support and enforce their particular demands."⁷ In fact the states seem to have regarded the minister sent by Congress to be their particular minister as well as that of other states. Embargoes were laid⁸ and ports thrown open to the world by the enactments of state legislatures,⁹ sometimes at the suggestion of Congress, but often not. Patrick Henry, who had talked of all America being "thrown into one mass" and who was not a Virginian but an American—when he was seeking to increase the power of Virginia in the First Continental Congress, by securing proportional representation—this same eloquent Henry actively negotiated with Spain in 1778 for a loan and for the approval of Spain to the erection of a fort on Virginia's border, promising in return "the gratitude of this free and independent country, the trade in any or all of its valuable productions, and the friendship of its warlike inhabitants."¹⁰ The whole correspondence is in the tone of one not doubting the independence and sovereignty of his state.

Besides these assumptions of sovereignty in dealing with other

¹ Poore, *Constitutions*, II. 1625-1626.

² See *ibid.*, Pennsylvania, II. 1545, sect. 20; North Carolina, II. 1412, XIX.; Maryland, I. 825, XXXIII.; Delaware, I. 274, 275; Massachusetts, I. 965.

³ See Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France*, IV. 155.

⁴ Hening, *Statutes*, IX. 467. To be filled by a person learned in the modern languages.

⁵ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I. 328-329. Mazzei also was sent to Italy with a like commission. Hunt, *Madison*, 30.

⁶ Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, III. 192, 153. Maryland and Virginia are especially mentioned.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 192. Later the English government was curious to know whether Congress or the states individually had the right to negotiate. *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-1789*, I. 574.

⁸ *State Records of Connecticut*, I. 12, 63, 71. Hening, *Statutes*, IX. 530.

⁹ Virginia, February 16, 1776. *Journals of Congress*, VI. 1072.

¹⁰ Clark MSS., vol. 58, p. 103, library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

nations, the states gave other proofs that they allowed Congress to exercise no function which they did not themselves have greater right to exercise. True, Congress organized a Continental navy, but nine of the thirteen states also fitted out navies of their own¹ and they were able to tax their citizens for supporting the establishment, while Congress could only beg the states to support its navy. Nor were the state fleets very helpful to the Continental fleet, for as Mr. Paullin says², "The commander of a state vessel or the master of a privateer, for aught either could see, subtended as large an angle in maritime affairs, as an officer of Congress, which body was to them nebulous, uncertain, and irresolute." As to privateering some of the states established state privateering, while some adopted the Continental system or adapted state laws to it.³

In the organizing of armies the story is the same. Congress could only urge the patriotic to volunteer and then bemoan its unfilled ranks. It must turn to the states for a support which was never more than half-heartedly given and see with chagrin the state armies filled by drafts and by tempting bounties outbidding what Congress could offer and in defiance of the urgent appeals of Congress to stop this ruinous rivalry.⁴ The sufferings of the Continental troops at Valley Forge were not due to the poverty of America, but to the fact that the states would not exert themselves in taxing for the army's support.⁵ Not only were armies organized by states, but they were used for state ends, and Virginia in the case of the expedition of George Rogers Clark actually carried on war without the knowledge of Congress, at her own expense, and for her own aggrandizement.⁶ Much of the early war in the South was carried on without the aid or advice of Congress.

If Indian affairs were regulated by Congress, so were they by the states. Congress established post-routes, but so did little Rhode Island;⁷ and we must remember that whatever acts of sovereign nature Congress recommended, it was the states that enforced these acts—declaring an embargo, sanctioning the seizure of provisions for the army, and pledging the only revenues, raising the

¹ Paullin, *History of the American Revolution*, 152. Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Massachusetts.

² *Ibid.*, 152.

³ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁴ *Journals of Congress*, VI. 944-946. Hening, *Statutes*, X. 17, 18.

⁵ Yet Congress was constantly urging, in vain and without power to compel this most necessary obedience. *Journals*, III. 458; IV. 339; and many other instances in the *Journals*. See index, under Bounties, etc.

⁶ Hening, *Statutes*, IX. 552.

⁷ *Colonial Records of Rhode Island*, VII. 352.

only taxes, keeping social order, protecting property, and administering justice.

No one was more conscious of this jealous retention of state sovereignty than the members of Congress themselves.¹ In matters where the interests of an individual state were seriously involved the opposition of the delegates of that single state was enough to cause Congress to refrain from passing a recommendation.² If Congress desired in the interest of all to pry closely into the affairs of a state, an apology was sure to accompany the resolution.³ On committees to consider any important measures Congress thought it necessary to have one member from each colony.⁴ Even in the case of recalcitrant members of its own body, Congress was never forgetful that the member was there in the capacity of a diplomat from a sovereign state.⁵ Limitations upon a delegate's instructions were also duly regarded⁶ and no delegate dared make any important proposition in Congress without first being requested to do so by his state, in the form of a proposition by one sovereign state to the other sovereign states assembled by their delegates in Congress.⁷

These are only a few of the many facts which go to show the truth of Randolph's assertion as to Congress: "They have therefore no will of their own, they are a mere diplomatic body, and are always obsequious to the views of the states".⁸ John Adams, too, described them as "not a legislative assembly, nor a representative assembly, but only a diplomatic assembly."⁹ Only in that view was it reasonable for each state to have but one vote in Congress.¹⁰ Because of the same idea in men's minds, the delegates from all the states except New Hampshire and Georgia were elected by the state legislatures,

¹ Notice their attitude in regard to raising Continental troops. *Journals of Congress*, V. 470, 521.

² *Ibid.*, IV. 279; II. 125; V. 481. Sometimes the resolution was passed in the form of a harmless hint which the state could carry out or not. *Ibid.*, 463; South Carolina delegates to Rutledge.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 167. Sometimes it resisted appeals to interfere. *Ibid.*, 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 262, 488; IV. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 357; and *Secret Journals*, April 10 and 11, 1778.

⁶ *Journals*, VI. 1074.

⁷ See suggestion of army, navy, independence, etc.

⁸ Madison, *Writings*, ed. Hunt, III. 181. Mason had a like view. "Under the existing Confederacy, Congress represents the states", etc. *Ibid.*, 101. It was this fact and the rise and fall of enthusiasm for the union which handicapped the work of Congress, and explains much of its so-called sloth and incompetence.

⁹ *A Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* (1787).

¹⁰ Madison thought this reasonable only while "the Union was a federal one among sovereign states." Madison, *Writings*, ed. Hunt, III. 44. The idea was that "a little Colony has its all at stake as well as a great one." J. Adams, *Works*, II. 366.

as provided in the new state constitutions. Men thought of the Continental Congress as Europeans later thought of the Congress at Laybach (in 1821) to which the members of the Holy Alliance sent representatives who assumed in no wise any sovereign power over the participating nations. Like it, Congress was an advisory body having no recognized sovereign power but a considerable coercive force exercised through the other states and due to the generally recognized fact that success for each depended upon the unity of all.¹

Yet with all the pressure of a common peril to induce obedience to Congress, there are numerous examples of disobedience by states and state officials, when state interests conflicted with the general interest, and in such cases Congress was helpless.² "So long as the expenses were to be paid by the Continent, the Congress could direct the details and the results, but when the cost was to be paid by the state, recommendations from the Congress carried weight only so far as they fell in with the expediency of the local authorities."³ The very formation of state governments with constitutions prepared the way for a decline in the influence of the Congress.⁴ The strong men preferred to serve in state governments rather than to serve in Congress,⁵ and on the other hand, as Hamilton pointed out, "Each State in order to promote its own internal government and prosperity, has selected its best members to fill the offices within itself, and conduct its own affairs."⁶ It is noteworthy that a recommendation of Congress must first be approved by the state authorities be-

¹ The inhabitants of Savannah express the prevalent idea. Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, II. 1544. Not to wish success of the general cause was "Toryism", a stigma which neither individuals nor states cared to have fixed upon them. See Rush's view, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXVII. 135.

² Connecticut and Pennsylvania. *Journals of Congress*, IV. 93; III. 321; V. 469. Note especially the famous Olmstead Case, when Pennsylvania set at naught a decision of the Commissioners of Congress. Congress, "not wishing to endanger the public peace of the United States", proceeded no further. Jameson, *Essays*, 17-22. When a state did obey a request of the Congress which bore hard upon them, Congress commended them for "additional proofs of their meritorious attachment to the common cause." *Journals of Congress*, IV. 99. In a careful study of Maryland's relations with Congress by Mr. F. B. Keeney in my seminary it was shown that out of eighty resolutions of Congress asking Maryland to do certain things forty-five were not heeded by the Maryland convention, and in every controversy between the state and Congress the latter was obliged to yield.

³ Mr. Ford's preface to the *Journals of Congress* for 1776, p. 8.

⁴ *Journals*, IV. 8. One should note too the greater hurry and success in making the state constitutions, and how much more ready men were to yield large powers to them than to grant such to Congress in the Articles of Confederation.

⁵ Washington's *Writings*, ed. Sparks, V. Appendix, 508-509.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 509.

fore a state administrative officer would obey.¹ Finally, it is significant that confidence in state issues of money exceeded that in the Continental bills, indicating a firmer belief in the perpetuity of the states than in the Congress.

Up to this point we have been studying historically the ideas which men had during the American Revolution as to the nature of Congress, the state governments, and the powers of each. If the ideas and wishes of men were what the submitted facts and arguments seem to show, there could have been no common will demanding the creation of a national state. But this is the assertion made by the exponents of the sovereign Congress. A consciousness of nationality no doubt there was, because geographical position, laws, manners, history, and prevailing language² all combined to that end, but it is a mistake to confuse the idea of nationality with that of the state. National consciousness may exist, as it did in the minds of the people of Germany and Italy, before a national state was created. The people dwelling in the loosely confederated states of Germany before 1866 were people of the same race;³ their economic interests were quite as unified as were those of America in 1776, and their several governments were alike in character, but Germany had no central government endowed with sovereign powers, and there was no common will demanding the creation of a national state. This I conceive to have been the condition in America until the trying experiences of the period of the Confederation⁴ taught a majority of Americans, what a few had long seen, that the whole logic of the situation demanded the creation of a national state. Even then it was only with a grudging hand that the essentials of sovereignty were granted to the government created by the Federal Constitution, and in so dubious a manner, that men have disputed ever since as to whether a national state actually did then come into existence.

After all has been said for the view here maintained, there still remain some vexing facts, and some utterances of contemporaries hard to reconcile.⁵ Most of these will be explained, however, if we

¹ *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, VII. 512. *Journals of Congress*, IV. 285-286. ✓

² Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, 295.

³ Their race elements were more unified than those of America.

⁴ Added of course to the lessons in unity learned in the Revolutionary army, and the fact that America's isolation from the rest of the world must have given citizens of the several states thoughts of a common destiny.

⁵ Wilson, in *Journals of Congress*, VI. 1105. Rush, *ibid.*, 1081. It is to be noted that the large-state men urged the new idea of a national state most strongly, because it was an argument in favor of proportional representation.

reflect that there had to be a dawn of the idea of a national state, and its light naturally touched the highest peaks first—the men capable of noble conceptions—men like Bismarck in Germany or Cavour in Italy—Washington, Hamilton, Wilson, and Madison, and it is in their writings and acts that we find the most advanced views of the powers of Congress.

● CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE.



THE SHARPS RIFLE EPISODE IN KANSAS HISTORY

THE Kansas struggle was indeed the prelude to the Civil War. The first armed conflict between the North and the South began, not at Fort Sumter in 1861, but on the Wakarusa and at Lawrence in 1855. The desperate strife for the possession of this virgin soil was the necessary introduction to the awful carnage of the sixties. Many leaders on both sides foresaw with remarkable clearness that an impending crisis was at hand and that Kansas would be a decisive factor in the approaching conflict. Senator Atchison of Missouri, writing in September, 1855, to his Southern friends who were gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the battle at King's Mountain, fervently solicited their aid, saying that "the [Kansas] contest . . . is one of life and death, and it will be so with you and your institution if we fail . . . the stake the 'border ruffians' are playing for is a mighty one . . . in a word, the prosperity or the ruin of the whole South depends on the Kansas struggle."¹ Horace Greeley, but a few months earlier, with equal prophetic vision, wrote his celebrated "Rising Cloud" editorial,² predicting that the great battle between Freedom and Slavery was at hand; that the little cloud hovering over a handful of people in the far West foreshadowed the coming storm; that the distant rumble of the tempest could already be heard, and that the mischief there brewing was not alone for Kansas. No wonder that both sides in this great controversy threw themselves into the contest with such impetuous intensity, such determination and abandonment, often forgetting or ignoring the most vital principles of right action, and yet rising to such lofty exhibitions of heroism, courage, patience, self-sacrifice, and suffering as to move every section of the nation to proffer aid and sympathy. "Bleeding Kansas" became a familiar cry in every hamlet; its echoes reverberating across the Atlantic aroused the compassion of Europe. Lady Byron, sending sixty-five pounds to Mrs. Stowe, requested that the money be spent, not in the purchase of arms, but for the relief of those who had "resisted oppression at the hazard of life and property".³

¹ Letter of September 12, *New York Tribune*, November 2, 1855, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, April 12, 1855.

³ *Ibid.*, November 14, 1856.

It is the purpose of this article to deal with only one phase of this dramatic chapter—the output, source, and distribution of Sharps¹ rifles, “Beecher Bibles”, and other arms furnished to Kansas emigrants during the free-state struggle. The New England Emigrant Aid Company was accused by politicians and pro-slavery partizans of having initiated the policy of arming. A large portion of the press and the non-resistance, Garrisonian abolitionists joined in the cry of condemnation. “Sharps Rifles” became a by-word for dispute and controversy. It absorbed the attention of the United States Senate. Congress appointed committees to discover how, when, and by whom arms were sent to Kansas. It vexed the national executive, and when Thaddeus Hyatt, W. F. M. Arney, and Edward Daniels called on President Pierce, demanding protection for Kansas settlers, the committee was given a cold rebuff and informed that “Bibles rather than . . . Sharps rifles” should have been sent to Kansas.² State political conventions likewise denounced the policy; such a convention at Lexington, Missouri, in 1855, charged the New England Company “with recruiting armies and hiring fanatics to go to Kansas”.³ But Sumner warmly defended the Emigrant Aid Company on the floor of the Senate.⁴

The officers of the company also entered a general denial. Its secretary, Thomas M. Webb, in reply to an inquiry from Sumner, wrote that “the company had never sent, or paid for sending guns, cannon, pistols or other weapons to Kansas . . . The company had sent saw mills, grist mills, various kinds of machinery, also Bibles and a great variety of religious, literary and scientific books.”⁵ Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer, and Anson J. Stone, assistant treasurer, both testified before a Congressional investigating committee that the company had never employed any of its capital for firearms.⁶ A few men openly favored arming the colonists, among whom Henry Ward Beecher stands as the most celebrated. He is reported in the *New York Tribune* as saying that “he believed that the Sharps rifle was a truly moral agency, and that there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far as the slaveholders of Kansas were concerned, than in a hundred Bibles. You

¹ Erroneously spelled “Sharpes” and “Sharp’s”. One Christian Sharps was the inventor of the gun; and “Sharps” is the correct form.

² *New York Tribune*, September 3, 1856.

³ *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, p. 288.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 537.

⁵ Manuscript Letter-book of New England Emigrant Aid Company, March 14, 1856.

⁶ *Report of the Special Committee on the Troubles in Kansas*, Serial 869, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., House Report 200, pp. 878, 880, 886.

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might just as well . . . read the Bible to Buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharps rifles."¹ From this date Sharps rifles became popularly known as "Beecher Bibles".

As a rule free-state advocates did not speak so frankly. The question of arms forced itself before the Cleveland convention, assembled in June, 1856, to devise means for Kansas relief; but the sentiment expressed by the majority was opposed to such a policy. Dr. Vincent of Chagrin Falls, Ohio, did take the position that Kansas farmers needed "rifles and revolvers"; and Colonel Nichols, a Kansas representative, insisted that protection of life and property was the first great need, that "men will not plow when they expect to be shot in the furrow, they will not build while the incendiary stands ready to apply the torch". But C. W. Younglove of Cleveland, in opposition to such views, said "that Ohio looked to the ballot box rather than to the cartridge box as the remedy for the troubles in Kansas"; while D. Wright of Albany "wanted to hear no talk" about sending armed men to the territory.² It however seems probable that those favoring armed resistance to domination of the border ruffians generally remained silent, but worked all the more vigorously to secure such ends. At any rate the various Kansas aid committees, shortly after the adjournment of this convention, began issuing to the thousands of individuals contributing aid a handsome lithographed certificate, probably designed by William Barnes of Albany, which contained in a conspicuous place the following significant clause from the Federal Constitution: "A well regulated Militia being necessary to the Security of a FREE STATE the Right of the People to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed." Thus in spite of presidential proclamations, indignant politicians, enraged Missouri slaveholders, demagogues, theorists, timid but well-meaning citizens, and the strenuous effort of regular troops, detailed to intercept arms sent across the territorial borders, a large supply was constantly passing into Kansas.

Before detailing how these arms were secured, and how and by whom sent to Kansas, it will be well to recall some historical facts, well known, but essential to this entire subject. Stephen A. Douglas, able, ambitious, unscrupulous, startled the nation in January,

¹ *New York Tribune*, February 8, 1856, p. 6.

² These quotations are from a pamphlet, loaned by Hon. William Barnes, describing the proceedings of the Cleveland and Buffalo conventions of June and July, 1856, pp. 3-4.

1854, by proposing to apply squatter sovereignty to the Kansas-Nebraska country, a territory already consecrated to freedom by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In May his bill became a law. The abrogation of the Missouri Compromise was complete; Slavery had scored another great triumph; the opposition was paralyzed. But Eli Thayer of Worcester, Massachusetts, came forward as the man of the hour. He would checkmate the pro-slavery programme by colonizing this new territory with free-state men. To accomplish this end he at once chartered the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, later rechartered as the New England Emigrant Aid Company, with an authorized capital stock of one million dollars. He secured the assistance and co-operation of many of the ablest men of New England and New York, among the most active being Amos A. Lawrence, Edward Everett Hale, Dr. Samuel Cabot, J. M. S. Williams, Horace Greeley, C. J. Higginson, George L. Stearns, Dr. S. G. Howe, and John Carter Brown.

While the company afforded no direct pecuniary aid to the emigrant, it widely advertised the advantages of the new territory; it organized the emigrants into companies, securing for them mutual aid and protection; travel rates to those going under the auspices of the company were reduced one-half; it established, in advance of emigration, town-sites, such as Lawrence, Topeka, Oswatomie, Manhattan, Hampden, and Wabaunsee, and at these points erected sawmills, grist-mills, school-houses, and churches. These company towns at once became the great free-state centres in the territory. Opposition to the Douglas measure was universal throughout the North, and the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa furnished a larger proportion of free-state settlers than any other section; yet it was this New England company that supplied the plan and the organization and gave the direction and inspiration to the whole free-state movement; and when the prairies of Kansas were swept by fire and sword, it was to the Boston society that the afflicted pioneers first turned for protection, comfort, and material relief.

Dr. Charles Robinson, S. C. Pomeroy, and Charles H. Branscomb were employed to serve the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas. Pomeroy was the head representative and the purchasing agent for the company. Robinson, however, soon developed as the real leader in general affairs. He was well fitted for such grave responsibility, for he had been through the California troubles, and was by nature shrewd, cool, determined, and an able judge of men and of the future. While other leaders had important and often more picturesque parts, it was the mind of Robinson

that shaped the free-state programme; it was Robinson that stood as the chosen leader of the band of men and women as heroic as the founders of Plymouth and as brave as the farmers who stood in line at Lexington. In August, 1854, the present town-site of Lawrence was established. During that fall seven companies were sent from New England; by June of the following year eleven more entered the promised land. These companies consisted each of from ten to more than two hundred persons. These early settlers were sober, industrious, God-fearing; they generally came unarmed, interested only in peaceable husbandry and in the establishment of a free state.

The easiest approach to the territory was by steamboat through Missouri. As boatload after boatload of detested Yankees and Northern settlers passed up the tawny river, the naturally hospitable Missouri slaveholder was surprised, astounded, then disturbed; and as the volume of Northern emigration swelled in numbers, his soul was filled with fury and bitter hatred. Even at the present day different sections of the Union seriously misjudge each other; but in 1854 an impassable gulf intervened between free and slave sections. They could never fairly comprehend each other's motives. To the slave-owner the "peculiar institution" was God-ordained; it was inextricably bound up with his whole industrial and social system. By what principle did these "pauper" laborers and abolition fanatics dare to approach the borders of western Missouri and disturb the already unstable equilibrium of a slave community? Had it not been agreed that Nebraska should be a free state and that Kansas should be a slave state? Was not this a fair proposition? If threats and bluster would not deter these Northern interlopers, then more serious measures must be employed. In June, 1854, before a single Eastern colony had set foot on Kansas soil, the *Platte County Argus* declared that

they [Northern emigrants] must be met, if need be, with the rifle. We must meet them at the very threshold and scourge them back to their caverns of darkness. They have made the issue, and it is for us to meet and repel them, even at the point of the bayonet.

Prompt steps were taken to put this programme into practice. In October, 1854, an unsuccessful effort was made to drive Robinson and his associates from Lawrence.¹ In November the first territorial election was held. Seventeen hundred and twenty-nine² armed Missourians crossed the border and elected Whitfield delegate to Congress. In the meantime Reeder was appointed governor.

¹ Frank W. Blackmar, *The Life of Charles Robinson* (Topeka, 1902), p. 118.

² Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas* (Boston, 1885), p. 41.

The census taken under his direction in February, 1855, gave the total number of voters in the territory as 2,905.¹

On March 30, 1855, occurred the election for members to both branches of the territorial legislature. This election was of supreme importance. A committee appointed by Congress to investigate it reported that with a fair election the free-state party would have had a majority in both branches.² But unprincipled leaders, at the head of a motley, unwashed mob of ruffians, drunk with bad whisky and armed with cannon and every variety of small arms, overran the border and turned impending defeat into a glorious victory, electing to the legislature every pro-slavery candidate save one. Out of a total of 6,307 votes,³ 4,908 were cast by residents of Missouri. The upholders of slavery were jubilant; the friends of freedom dismayed.

The second Missouri invasion left Kansas prostrate and completely in the hands of the pro-slavery power. According to the dominant crowd at Washington, squatter sovereignty was working successfully. But the free-state settlers indicated no intention of giving up the field. Robinson, prompt in action, boldly proposed to repudiate the "bogus" legislature, arm the free-state people, and defend the sacred rights of the citizens of Kansas. On April 2, only three days after the election, Robinson wrote to Eli Thayer,⁴ describing very completely the Missouri outrages, and appealed for arms:

Our people have now formed themselves into four military companies, and will meet to drill till they have perfected themselves in the art. Also, companies are being formed in other places, and we want *arms*. Give us the weapons and every man from the North will be a soldier and die in his tracks if necessary, to protect and defend our rights. . . .

Cannot your secret society send us 200 Sharps rifles as a loan till this question is settled? Also a couple of field-pieces? If they will do that, I think they will be *well used*, and preserved. I have given our people encouragement to expect something of the kind, and hope we shall not be disappointed. Please inform me what the prospect is in this direction.

If the Governor sets this election aside, we of course must have another, and shall need to be up and dressed.

In great haste,

Very respectfully,

C. ROBINSON.

To Hon. Eli Thayer, Worcester, Mass.

¹ Serial 869, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., House Report 200, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, 34.

³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴ Blackmar, *Life of Robinson*, pp. 131-133.

On April 9 Robinson wrote an almost identical letter to Edward Everett Hale,¹ one of the most active members of the Emigrant Aid Company, strongly urging that two hundred rifles and two field-pieces be sent at once to Lawrence. But, not satisfied with the uncertainties of correspondence, he now despatched George W. Deitzler, who was in his employ as clerk of the Emigrant Company, with a second letter to Thayer again asking for rifles. Mr. Deitzler, who later attained the rank of brigadier-general during the Civil War, described the result of this mission in a letter written for the "Old Settlers' Meeting" in 1879, in which he tells of his appointment by Robinson and his trip to Worcester and Boston, and how he got the desired Sharps rifles:

Within an hour after our arrival in Boston, the executive committee of the Emigrant Aid Society held a meeting and delivered to me an order for one hundred Sharps rifles and I started at once for Hartford, arriving there on Saturday evening. The guns were packed on the following Sunday and I started for home on Monday morning. The boxes were marked "Books." I took the precaution to have the (cap) cones removed from the guns and carried them in my carpet sack, which sack would have been missing in the event of the capture of the guns by the enemy. . . .

I have not referred to this transaction from any motives of personal vanity, but simply to revive a feeling of gratitude toward Mr. Thayer and his associates for the kind and patriotic assistance rendered by them to the free state people from the beginning to the end of the great struggle which terminated, happily, in the overthrow of American Slavery, and to show how promptly they gave attention to the business which took me to Boston. Those rifles did good service in the "border war." . . . It was perhaps the first shipment of arms for our side and it incited a healthy feeling among the unarmed free state settlers, which permeated and energized them until even the Quakers were ready to fight.²

The Boston end of this transaction appears in the following letter from the secretary of the New England aid society which has but recently come to notice:³

Dr. Charles Robinson,
Dear Sir:

No. 3 Winter St.
BOSTON, May 8th 1855.

Mr. Deitzler presented himself at this office on Wednesday last, with a letter from Mr. Thayer relative to a certain business intrusted to him; no one in this *village* having received any advices.

We were busily occupied in getting ready for special meeting No. 2,

¹ MS. private letters in possession of Edward Everett Hale.

² Charles S. Gleed (editor), *The Kansas Memorial, a Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879* (Kansas City, Mo., 1880), pp. 184-185.

³ From MS. Letter-book of New England Emigrant Aid Company, vol. I., p. 146.

called by special invitation to see if we could raise funds for more Mills; still considering the exigencies of the case we ventured to lend a helping hand to help forward the movement, although by so doing we pushed out for the time being, as we apprehended would be the case, our legitimate business. I eventually arranged, with the aid of Dr. Cabot, so as to take the risk of ordering, in all one hundred machines, at a cost of about three thousand dollars, taking our chances hereafter to raise the money. I shall obligate myself to the subscribers to return these in due time or a satisfactory equivalent therefore, should they on trial be approved and meet with purchasers. You will therefore govern yourself accordingly and deliver them to none but trustworthy individuals. . . .

I am free to say, had your letter [a letter received after the arrival of Deitzler, describing some of the factious conditions in Lawrence] arrived forty-eight hours earlier, myself and others would have been little, if at all disposed to exert ourselves, as we have done, at so much expense of time and money, to procure machines for the improvement of Lawrence. Rather we should have seconded the suggestion of one of our most influential coadjutors, which was to advise you and other friends to quit L., abandon it to its impending fate, and seek a location at another spot, where more harmony and good will would be likely to prevail. . . .

We shall await with much interest further intelligence from you in relation to the matters herein referred to. Please telegraph us the result of the election at the earliest moment, and write us the details before the intelligence becomes stale. Hoping that all will yet come out right, I remain,

Yours truly,

THOMAS H. WEBB.

This first shipment of rifles soon reached Kansas. A correspondent for the *Milwaukee Sentinel*,¹ writing from Lawrence, May 23, states that intense excitement was produced in the minds of pro-slavery people by the arrival "of five boxes of *books*, which, on being opened, proved to be, instead of books, one hundred of Sharps rifles". Threats and imprecations were loud and long. The Emigrant Aid Company was denounced as trying to overawe Western men. Even James H. Lane, who had but recently come to Kansas and was still in sympathy with the pro-slavery element, urged sending the rifles back to Massachusetts.² They never went back. The very name "Sharps rifle" was to become a term to sober the border ruffian and give him serious pause. This breech-loading rifle was a new invention and extremely effective:³ in comparison, the Missourian was poorly armed, carrying either a squirrel-rifle, a heavy buffalo-gun, or a clumsy army musket. This difference in

¹ Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1898), p. 128.

² *New York Tribune*, June 15, 1855, p. 6.

³ The Sharps rifle "is one of the very oldest successful guns of the breech-loading class, and the first in which a vertically sliding breech-block was employed." E. H. Knight, *American Mechanical Dictionary*, s. v. Rifle.

armament probably explains why the free-state bands, though usually outnumbered, were invariably victorious in all open fighting.

Several other letters have been found in reference to this first shipment of arms, but give little additional information. The following extract from a letter written July 15, 1855, by Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company, to Franklin Pierce, however, shows how thoroughly this rich Boston merchant had entered into the Kansas struggle. He boldly tells the President that since the government had given no protection to the settlers in Kansas and since "they must defend *themselves*; and therefore many persons here who refused at first (myself included) have rendered them assistance, by furnishing them the means of defense."¹

But Robinson was not satisfied with one hundred rifles, and stirred up his kinsman, Lawrence, who on July 20, 1855, writes to the secretary, Thomas H. Webb: "When farmers turn soldiers they must have *arms*. Write to Hartford and get their terms for one hundred more of the Sharps rifles at once."² Here is the beginning of the second installment of rifles. About the same time James B. Abbott was sent from the territory on a mission similar to the one which carried Deitzler to Boston. These letters tell the story:³

LAWRENCE, July 26, 1855.

Mr. Thayer—Dear Sir: The bearer, J. B. Abbott, is a resident of this district, on the Wakarusa, about four miles from Lawrence. There is a military company formed in his neighborhood, and they are anxious to procure arms. Mr. Abbott is a gentleman in whom you can place implicit confidence, and is true as steel to the cause of freedom in Kansas. In my judgment the rifles in Lawrence have had a *very good* effect, and I think the same kind of instruments in other places would do more to save Kansas than almost anything else. Anything you can do for Mr. Abbott will be gratefully appreciated by the people of Kansas. We are in the midst of a revolution, as you will see by the papers. How we shall come out of the furnace, God only knows. That we have got to enter it, some of us, there is no doubt; but we are ready to be offered.

In haste, very respectfully yours, for freedom for a world,

C. ROBINSON.

Upon the above letter appear the following two indorsements, which tell their own story:

OFFICE OF THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY,
No. 3 Winter street, BOSTON, Aug. 10, 1855.

Dr. Charles Robinson, within mentioned, is an agent of the Emigrant

¹ William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence* (Boston, 1888), p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, 96.

³ *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, vol. I.-II. (Topeka, 1881), p. 222.

Aid Company, and is worthy of implicit confidence. We cheerfully recommend Mr. J. B. Abbott to the public.

C. H. BRANSCOMB, *Secretary pro tem.*

BOSTON, August 11, 1855.¹

Dear Sir: Request Mr. Palmer to have one hundred Sharps rifles packed in casks, like hardware, and to retain them subject to my order. Also to send the bill to me by mail. I will pay it either with my note, according to the terms agreed on between him and Dr. Webb, or in cash less interest at seven per cent. per annum.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

Mr. J. B. Abbott, care of A. Rogers, Hartford, Conn.

A second letter to Abbott is as follows:

BOSTON, August 20, 1855.²

My Dear Sir: This installment of carbines is far from being enough, and I hope the measures you are taking will be followed up until every organized company of trusty men in the Territory shall be supplied. Dr. Cabot will give me the names of any gentlemen here who subscribe money, and the amount—of which I shall keep a memorandum, and promise them that it shall be repaid either in cash, or in rifles, whenever it is settled that Kansas shall not be a province of Missouri. Therefore, keep them in capital order, and above all, take good care that they do not fall into the hands of the Missourians after you once get them into use.

You must dispose of these where they will do the most good, and for this purpose you should advise with Dr. Robinson and Mr. Pomeroy.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

Mr. James B. Abbott, care of A. Rogers, Hartford.

Among the Lawrence papers can still be found the identical memorandum above mentioned giving a full list of these subscribers; the memorandum is indorsed in the handwriting of Mr. Lawrence as follows:

Money received from various persons to make up the sum expended by me for rifles for the defense of the Kansas settlers. \$2,670 or thereabouts. Aug. 24, 1855.

The list of subscribers, in the writing of Dr. Cabot, is as follows:

Dr. Cabot	240	Henry Lee	50
Cunningham Bro.	100	P. S. Crowell	25
Wendell Phillips	100	Gerrit Smith	250
J. M. Forbes	300	W. R. Lawrence	100
J. Bertram	100	Calvin Hall	50
G. Howland Shaw	100	L. B. Russell	25
Sam A. Eliot	100	E. R. Hoar	25
Theo Lyman	100	Sam Hoar	50
		A. A. Lawrence	955

¹ *Ibid*, 223.

² *Ibid*.

In the same collection is also a brief note dated September 25, 1855, from J. M. S. Williams, another very prominent director of the company, in which he says he "encloses a check for one hundred dollars for the Kansas 'Books'".

Abbott, after securing the order for one hundred rifles from the officers of the Emigrant Aid friends, proceeded to Hartford, Providence, and New York City for the purpose of getting one hundred additional guns, but could raise only enough funds to purchase seventeen rifles.¹ The entire lot was hurried to Kansas, to be used if need be in the October election for delegates to the Topeka Constitutional Convention.² These rifles were intended only to defend the rights of the settlers against Missouri interference. On August 10 Lawrence had written Robinson, approving resistance to bogus laws, but counselled that no resistance should be made to the federal government,³ a policy consistently followed by Robinson and the Boston society throughout the entire struggle.

Major Abbott spent several weeks in New York City. On August 18 he wrote Amos Lawrence:

I came to this city yesterday and have seen some of the gentlemen to whom I have letters. They all seemed to favor the measure after a little *hesitation* and I doubt not we shall be able to get something here that will not only strengthen the hearts but the hands of our friends in Kansas.⁴

Greeley, Field, Priestly, Elliot, and Perkins are named as giving assistance. But he seems to have especially interested Frederick Law Olmsted, the well-known writer of antislavery literature, whom he appointed "Acting Commissioner" to raise funds for the Kansas cause, sufficient in amount to purchase another hundred Sharps rifles. Olmsted secured only about four hundred dollars, which, on the advice of a veteran army officer, he invested in a howitzer and some ammunition.⁵ The gun left New York in October; it reached Lawrence in December at the beginning of the Wakarusa war. On May 21, 1856, at the sacking of Lawrence, this gun was carried off by Captain H. T. Titus and his South Carolina men. Captain Samuel Walker, of the Lawrence guards, pledged himself to its recovery within six months' time. Well did he keep his promise. On August 16 he stormed Fort Titus, captured its commander, and then extorted from Governor Shannon a stipulation

¹ *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society*, I.-II. 221.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lawrence, *Life of Lawrence*, pp. 99-101.

⁴ Amos A. Lawrence Collection of MS. letters.

⁵ *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society*, I.-II. 224.

that the howitzer, which had not yet been retaken, should be exchanged for his distinguished prisoner.¹ During the troubles in southeastern Kansas, some years later, the howitzer was brought into prominent service, and in 1861 was carried by Lane into Missouri.² The gun is now on exhibition in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, and is known as the Abbott Howitzer.

The next phase of the rifle question comes under the direction of Dr. Samuel Cabot, perhaps the most active Boston director of the Emigrant Aid Company. He rarely missed attending the weekly executive committee meetings of that organization. The executive committee seems to have appointed him as a special committee on "rifles" during the summer of 1855, but the only notice found is in a letter by Webb to Lawrence, dated January 29, 1856,³ stating that "Dr. Cabot is treasurer of the Rifle fund." He was a man of few words, but active and influential; he was in thorough harmony with the policy of arming the prairie colonists and devoted much of his professional time to this service. A very few of Dr. Cabot's papers still exist, and are now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The most important number in this collection is a small account-book, which contains no comments; all accounts are in the writing of Dr. Cabot, and on one cover, in pencil, also in the hand of Dr. Cabot, appears the single but significant word "Rifles". This account-book was clearly intended for personal use, hence some of the memoranda are indefinite; but the main features are clear and complete. The name of every donor, with amount given, is listed. The first collection was made in August, 1855, the last one September 18, 1857. About \$12,500 passed through Dr. Cabot's hands for the defense of the free-state people in Kansas. The bulk of these contributions came from New England, a few from New York state, and \$2,500 from the Kansas National Aid Committee. Under expenditures, it appears that the largest sums were paid to Palmer and Company, agents for Sharps rifles; the various items, including a draft for \$2,500 to Pomeroy, aggregating about \$8,000 and good for about 325 rifles. Of the remainder, one thousand is paid to A. A. Lawrence on the previous rifle account, and the balance is expended for revolvers, bowie-knives, ammunition, and general expenses.

One of the bills of account of the Sharps manufacturing com-

¹ *Ibid.*, 226.

² *Ibid.*, 224.

³ Amos A. Lawrence Collection.

pany is still preserved among the Cabot papers.¹ This bill was drawn on S. C. Pomeroy, purchasing agent of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas; but the rifles listed in it were for a long time in the hands of the "enemy". Along with four breech-loading cannon, these rifles were originally placed in the care of David Starr Hoyt, of Deerfield, to be conveyed by him to Kansas Territory.² While he was on board the river steamboat *Arabia*, a letter written by Hoyt to his mother, announcing his successful departure from St. Louis and describing how his precious guns were safe in the hold of the vessel, fell into the hands of the captain of the *Arabia*. The letter was read by the captain to the passengers, many of whom were border ruffians, and created intense excitement. A mob took possession of Hoyt and his companion, William B. Parsons, and voted to throw them into the Missouri River, but were persuaded from this course by Charles Keurney of Westport. When the boat tied up at Lexington, it was surrounded by a thousand armed Missourians. Hoyt was ordered by the leaders of the mob to sign a surrender of the arms, but although repeatedly threatened with death, he positively refused; the arms were then forcibly removed. All that Hoyt could show S. C. Pomeroy, whom he met some hours later in Kansas City, was a schedule indorsed "Taken from D. S. Hoyt the following described property, to be delivered to the order of Wilson Shannon, Governor of Kansas Territory, or his successor in office". The guns, however, were useless, as Dr. Calvin Cutter had carried the breech-blocks to Kansas by a different route, an action characterized by the border ruffians as a "d—— Yankee trick".

Hoyt at once returned to St. Louis, libelled the *Arabia*, and collected the full value of the arms given up by the officers of the boat

¹ "Hartford, Ct., March 19, 1856.

Gen'l Sam'l C. Pomeroy,			
To Sharps Rifle Manufacturing Co.,			Dr.
For 100 Carbines,	@ \$30	3,000.00	
Less 10 %		300.00	
			2,700.00
" 29 Sharps Primers	@ \$1 1/8	32.62	
" 20 Bullet Moulds (Box 50 c)	@ \$1	20.50	
" 10 Boxes	@ \$2	20.00	
			\$2,773.12
By draft on S. Cabot, Jr., 1 day sight	\$1,286.56		
" this amount allowed as agreed	200.00	1,486.56	
			\$1,286.56 "
Balance due			

The bill also contains a complete list of the numbers of each rifle.

² A full account is given in "David Starr Hoyt", by William B. Parsons, *Kansas Magazine*, II. 42-45.

at Lexington. Several weeks later the brave Hoyt was treacherously murdered near Fort Saunders by his inveterate enemies, but the rifles continued to make history. The Boston gentlemen were naturally anxious to secure possession of this property, but felt a little awkward and embarrassed. "If we were not officers of the Emigrant Aid Company we could get them by suit," wrote Lawrence, "but whether we can do so by proxy remains to be seen." In 1857 Governor Geary signed an order for these arms, but it was only after a lengthy suit, brought in 1858-1859, in the name of the law firm of Knox and Kellogg, St. Louis, that the company's agents finally recovered them.¹

Probably owing to the recent foray of John Brown into Missouri, the company seemed loath to forward these rifles to Kansas, finally doing so on the solicitation of Martin F. Conway, who had taken Pomeroy's post as the general Kansas agent. Only one paragraph of his letter, March 10, 1859, in reference to this matter need here be inserted:

I am not absolutely sure that we shall have no further use for arms in Kansas, though the probability is in that direction. This skin hunting business may engender a strife with Missouri. We cannot tell what [a] day or an hour may bring forth in this matter. But even supposing Kansas out of the question, the arms had better be here than in Boston, or even in St Louis, for if they are needed against the Slave Power, I take it that the first point of need will be South and Southwest of us.² I shall therefore, dispatch an order for them. I do not see how they would be in greater danger here than in St Louis.³

Thus these rifles were finally brought to Kansas. John Brown's raid into southwest Missouri had invited retaliatory raids into Kansas. Hence after several urgent requests these particular rifles were transferred in 1860 to James Montgomery and employed by him in the Fort Scott troubles.⁴

Eli Thayer probably gave more money for arming Kansas settlers than any other person: according to his own testimony he contributed \$4,500 "for the purchase of rifles and cannon".⁵ Only a portion of his expenditures have been traced; the Cabot account shows a donation by Thayer of five hundred dollars. In 1855 he sent two cases of Millbury rifles to Kansas, containing forty guns, and valued at one thousand dollars.⁶ At a public meeting, February 9, 1856, in the city hall of Worcester, Thayer assisted in raising

¹ See Cabot Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² Probably referring to the secret efforts of the Emigrant Aid Company to inaugurate antislavery colonization in Texas.

³ Cabot Collection.

⁴ See Montgomery letters, Cabot Collection.

⁵ Eli Thayer, *The New England Emigrant Aid Company* (Worcester, 1887), p. 46.

⁶ Letter of T. W. Higginson, Cabot Collection.

money for the purchase of twenty-three Sharps rifles, he himself contributing ten of this number.¹ The minutes² of the executive committee of the free-state party at Lawrence reveal still further activity by Thayer in this business. But it is impossible to catalogue all the arms furnished directly or indirectly by the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company. Enough has been given to show the great activity of the members of this organization and the large scale on which arms were furnished to the free-state people.

Through the efforts of Thayer a Connecticut Kansas colony was organized in New Haven, including many Yale graduates; and it started west on March 31, 1856. A few days before, a farewell service was held in North Church, Henry Ward Beecher delivering the address. Professor Benjamin Silliman presided at this meeting, and at its conclusion stated that no provision had been made for properly equipping the party with arms: he therefore appealed to the audience to provide fifty rifles. Beecher promptly responded, agreeing to give \$625, which would pay for half the number, if the other half should be given by those present.³ The full amount was soon secured. On the following day the senior class of Yale College purchased an extra rifle for Hon. C. B. Lines, the leader of the party. On the day of departure Beecher was again present and presented each man in the company with a Bible and a Sharps rifle.

"We gratefully accept the bibles," said the leader of the colony, "as the only sure foundation on which to erect free institutions. . . . We . . . accept the weapons also, and, like our fathers, we go with the bible to indicate the peaceful nature of our mission and the harmless character of our company, and a weapon to teach those who may be disposed to molest us (if any such there be) that while we determine to do that which is right we will not submit tamely to that which is wrong." "We will not forget you," said [Mr.] Beecher. . . . "Every morning breeze shall catch the blessings of our prayers and roll them westward to your prairie home."⁴

The combined stupidity and criminality of Pierce, in permitting the sacking of Lawrence and the wide-spread reign of murder and pillage in the territory, created a passionate feeling of indignation throughout the North. The ashes of Lawrence, the outpost of freedom, and the blood of the fallen in Kansas must be avenged. "Money, Sharps rifles, recruits", was the angry cry. The *New York Tribune*, on the suggestion of a subscriber, announced that it would receive one-dollar subscriptions for Kansas relief; in a very

¹ Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade* (New York, 1889), p. 176; *New York Tribune*, February 15, 1856.

² *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society*, VII. 525.

³ Gleed, *The Kansas Memorial*, p. 122.

⁴ Spring, Kansas, p. 165.

brief time over \$22,000 was subscribed, most of it in dollar sums.¹ Aid committees sprang into existence in almost every Northern village. These in turn were consolidated into state committees. How far all these organizations furnished arms cannot at present be determined. The committees in Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin were exceptionally active. No account has been found of the expenditures of the Wisconsin committee. The Kansas Committee of New York published a full report, and according to this report \$643.37 was expended for Sharps rifles. In the secretary's minutes of April, 1856, of that organization there appears a letter to Pomeroy stating that the committee had purchased twenty-five Sharps rifles, thus corresponding with the treasurer's report.

The Kansas State Committee of Massachusetts had been gradually evolved from a subcommittee of the Emigrant Aid Company. As it developed, it finally came under the efficient management of George L. Stearns. This committee raised over \$48,000 and a large amount of clothing for Kansas sufferers. The treasurer's report of this committee is among the Emigrant Aid Company's papers, and records the fact that five thousand (\$4,947.88) dollars was expended for two hundred Sharps rifles. But these rifles never reached Kansas: they were consigned to the National Committee and by them transported to Tabor, Iowa. Before they could be taken to Kansas, Geary, with the co-operation of the free-state leaders, had established peace, and such military bands as were not incorporated into the state militia were either disarmed or driven from the territory.

John Brown now entered as an applicant for the Tabor rifles; his fighting on the border had given birth to plans destined to bear final fruit at Harpers Ferry; but his application was refused by the National Committee lest he might use them in another expedition into Missouri.² Brown, however, had strong sympathizers at Boston, and, on the demand of the officers of the Massachusetts Kansas Committee, which had originally furnished these arms, the Tabor rifles were restored to the Massachusetts committee³ and then turned over by its president to John Brown. In due season, these two hundred Sharps rifles, originally intended for the defense of the free-state people in Kansas, were carried by Brown to the neighborhood of Harpers Ferry⁴ and there captured by the Maryland militiamen.

The organization of the Kansas National Aid Committee came as

¹ *New York Tribune*, January 23, 1857.

² Serial 1040, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Report 278, pp. 245, 247.

³ *Ibid.*, 226-249, *passim*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 51, 236-237.

a climax to the various state efforts to aid the free-state cause. The movement for a national committee was general, but exceptionally vigorous in Ohio; final organization was effected at Buffalo in July, 1856. Thayer and Barnes planned the details of this committee; Thaddeus Hyatt was chosen president; and the committee had headquarters in Chicago, with Harvey B. Hurd as secretary and Horace White as assistant secretary. At the only general meeting of the committee, held in New York City, January, 1857, it was reported that two thousand emigrants and fifty tons of clothing had been sent to Kansas; and that the committee had raised and expended ninety thousand dollars in the direct aid and support of the free-state cause.¹ The men composing the two thousand emigrants were generally armed, many of these arms being furnished by the National Committee; but since no printed report was ever made of its expenditures, it is impossible to give details. Fortunately there exists the testimony of Horace White, given before the Harpers Ferry Congressional investigating committee, in which he states that the National Committee expended about ten thousand dollars for arms.² This then must be accepted as the amount spent by the Chicago organization for arming purposes.

At least one free state furnished arms direct from its arsenal for fighting in Kansas. Iowa had sent many of her sons to the territory and, being so near the border, was materially interested in the conflict. Governor Grimes had also written President Pierce that Iowa could not remain indifferent to the treatment of the free-state people in Kansas. In the spring of 1856 pro-slavery warriors patrolled the Missouri River and excluded Northern emigrants from that great highway. Emigration was now forced to follow the wagon-road through Iowa and Nebraska; and in August, 1856, some five hundred persons had collected in southwestern Iowa, preparatory to crossing into Kansas. This is the so-called "Jim Lane Army"; for though Lane had only a small part in collecting these men, he understood thoroughly the art of self-advertisement, and by means of Eastern newspaper correspondents was given credit for the "whole thing". Thaddeus Hyatt and Dr. S. G. Howe, on behalf of the National Committee, forced Lane from his assumed leadership,³ not even permitting him to accompany the party into the state. Richardson had gathered an army of border ruffians to intercept these emigrants from Iowa; and while most of the incoming free-state men carried arms,

¹ *New York Tribune*, January 27, 1857.

² Serial 1040, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Senate Report 278, p. 247.

³ *New York Tribune*, August 11, 1856; see also *Transactions of Kansas Historical Society*, VIII. 308-309.

there was a large need for an extra supply. Robert Morrow of Lawrence, one of the leaders, now applied to Governor Grimes for additional arms; and his own statement tells what was accomplished:

[The Governor] said if I could get them without compromising him I could do so. I had letters to some good friends of Kansas; they got the keys to the arsenal, and in the night we loaded up three wagons with 200 stands of arms, and they were put into Colonel Eldridge's train and brought into Kansas.¹

Geary in the meantime had been made executive of the territory. He promptly ordered out five hundred regulars, dispersed Richardson's army, and captured two hundred and forty free-state men under Eldridge, who claimed to be *bona fide* settlers and were set free by the Governor and permitted to keep their individual arms; but the other implements of war, enumerated in the following report by the United States marshal,² he retained:

Three boxes of navy-revolver pistols, all new, viz.: 6 six- and 5 five-shooters; 12 Colt's, navy size; 24 Colt's, navy size; 4 boxes fixed ball cartridges; 1 bag caps; a small lot rifle cartridges; 1 box, 10 Sharps rifles; 145 breech-loading muskets; 85 percussion muskets; 115 bayonets; 61 common sabres; 2 officers' sabres, 1½ kegs of powder; 61 dragoon saddles; 1 drum.

The party had also started with a field-piece, but on hearing of the approach of Cooke's dragoons buried the cannon in a well, where it remains to the present day. While the party was loath to give up these arms, its members had no intention or desire to resist Uncle Sam. A year later Governor Denver, rather against his will, was persuaded to restore this entire capture of arms to Eldridge and his men.

Very little has been found as to the arming of parties from Missouri and the South. Nearly all the pro-slavery fighting men came from western Missouri, which had long been the frontier, and whose inhabitants invariably possessed arms of some sort. The following extracts from W. M. Paxton's *Annals of Platte County* explain how some of the pro-slavery men secured arms for the invasion of Kansas:

Nov. 27, 1855. Liberty Arsenal was surprised and taken by sixty pro-slavery men, who took a large supply of arms and ammunition. Two wagon-loads were brought to Platte City and hid under the Baptist church, then just finished.³

May-20, 1857. A squad of thirty five men was raised in Platte, and crossed at Delaware, taking two brass six-pounders. They were organized as Missouri militia, and armed by the state. They went to Lawrence by way of Franklin.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 305.

² *Ibid.*, IV. 608.

³ W. M. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, p. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

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When Jones and Atchison attempted to destroy Lawrence in December, 1855, their army of fifteen hundred invaders was partially equipped from the state armories at Independence and Lexington. Colonel J. M. Buford, who left Montgomery, Alabama, in April, 1856, with three hundred followers, came to Kansas unarmed. On leaving Mobile the members of the party were presented each with a Bible, intended as a rebuke to Beecher. Buford originally intended to have his men go armed, but gave up the plan in deference to President Pierce's proclamation of the previous February.¹ Each man carried only a revolver and a bowie-knife. The expedition reached Kansas late in April; and, under the pro-slavery administration of Shannon, Buford's men were promptly enrolled as members of the Kansas militia, armed, and paid from the territorial treasury.² Companies formed in Missouri were equipped in like manner from the Kansas armory. It was these troops that sacked Lawrence and later established themselves at Franklin, Fort Saunders, Hickory Point, and Bull Creek. During August and September they were driven from these fortified stations by armed free-state bands. But the arms issued to the Buford and Missouri companies were never returned. Geary seems to have suspected as much and called on Cramer, inspector-general, to report the disposition of territorial arms; the awkward position of the inspector is seen from his report, dated Lecompton, K. T., October 2, 1856, of which a portion reads:³

As I have stated to your Excellency a short time since, the arms were received here upon the eve of an outbreak, and were furnished the different corps of the militia in a hurried and informal manner, and the captains of the different companies never appeared at my office to give bond according to law. . . .

A large portion of the arms issued to the militia have been captured by the insurgents, though what number I have not been able to ascertain. . . .

Hoping the above may be satisfactory under the present circumstances, I respectfully submit it.

THOMAS J. B. CRAMER,

Inspector General, Kansas Militia.

His Excellency John W. Geary.

A tabulation of the arms furnished to free-state settlers in Kansas, so far as can be ascertained, is as follows:

¹ Walter L. Fleming, "The Buford Expedition to Kansas", *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, IV. 174-175.

² *Ibid.*, 182-183.

³ *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society*, IV. 592.

Date	Furnished By	Articles	Cost
May, 1855	New England Emigrant Aid Co.	100 Sharps rifles and ammunition	\$3,000.00
August, "	New England Emigrant Aid Co.	100 " " " "	2,670.00
" "	Abbott	17 " " " "	425.00
Sept., "	Olmsted	1 howitzer " "	400.00
" "	Thayer	40 Millbury "	1,000.00
1855 and 1856	Cabot Account ¹	Sharps rifles, revolvers, etc.	12,443.63
Feb., 1856	Thayer and others	23 Sharps rifles	575.00
March, "	Beecher " "	51 " " "	1,275.00
" "	Thayer " "	4 breech-loading cannon	1,330.00
April, "	New York Kansas Committee	25 Sharps rifles and ammunition	643.37
July and August, 1856	National Kansas Committee	Arms and ammunition	10,000.00
August, "	T. W. Higginson ²	Arms	364.38
" "	parties		
" "	Massachusetts Kansas Committee	200 Sharps rifles	4,947.88
Sept., "	State of Iowa	200 muskets (value estimated)	4,000.00
Total,			\$43,074.26

The above list is far from complete. It probably contains some duplication; but it is under, rather than above, the true amount. Arms were furnished from Wisconsin and also probably by associations in Ohio; the town of Grinnell, Iowa, raised sufficient funds to purchase fifteen rifles;³ similar reports were announced from other centres, but not on evidence sufficiently definite to be here included. The total amount raised for arms by the various Northern associations must have exceeded fifty thousand dollars. To this amount should then be added the value of arms carried to Kansas by private individuals; but the determination of such amounts does not come within the limits of this paper.

An examination of all the data herein given shows how extensively every section of the North was involved in supplying arms to the free-state forces in Kansas. In recent years various persons have been credited with the first honors in this business, but there is only one association that can claim first place—the directors and officers of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. These officers under oath denied that the company had ever sent arms to the territory.⁴ Technically, this was probably true, as none of the funds subscribed for the company's stock was thus expended; but practically the company was directly responsible for arming Kansas emigrants. It was the company's agent, Robinson, who applied to its chief director for arms; it was the company's executive committee

¹ From Cabot account-book.

² From personal account-book of Colonel T. W. Higginson.

³ *New York Tribune*, July 16, 1856.

⁴ Serial 869, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., House Report 200, pp. 884, 886.

that voted to send the first hundred Sharps rifles sent to the territory; evidence is all but conclusive that these first hundred rifles were partially paid for from donated funds already in the hands of the company's treasurer; it was through the company's agents that these and other arms were purchased, and on them the bills were drawn; and finally the arms were consigned to the company's agents in Kansas and distributed under their supervision. Moreover it was the officers and friends of the company that supplied more than half the arms sent to Kansas, and sent them out in such season as to afford the maximum of protection to those fighting for the free-state cause; many of the arms sent out by other organizations either never reached the territory, or arrived too late to be of real service.

Were the New England Emigrant Aid Company and other organizations justifiable in sending arms to Kansas? Rather, would any other course have been weak and cowardly? The New England company probably understood the exact conditions in Kansas better than did even the administration in Washington. Each week scores of letters from every important point in the territory came to the Boston office, and the most important were carefully read to the directors by Secretary Webb at the weekly executive meeting. The gentlemen that constituted this directorate were sober, honest, patriotic men; they could hardly be called abolitionists. They had induced their friends and neighbors to go to Kansas; when the crisis came, they stood by their compatriots with manly courage and openly informed the President at Washington that they had sent arms to Kansas.¹ The policy adopted by the New England Emigrant Aid Company was indorsed and followed a year later by every Kansas aid committee in the North. The arming of the free-state settlers was not an act of aggression, but purely a measure for protection and defense. The winning of Kansas was a great and important victory for Freedom. Here the slave power received its first stunning defeat, a defeat in which Sharps rifles were decisive factors.

W. H. ISELY.

¹ Lawrence, *Life of Lawrence*, p. 95.

THE ATTITUDE OF THADDEUS STEVENS TOWARD THE CONDUCT OF THE CIVIL WAR

FROM July, 1861, to his death in 1869 Thaddeus Stevens was the leader of the Republican majority of the House of Representatives. He was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House throughout the war, and his attention was therefore largely devoted to questions of taxation and finance, of revenues and appropriations. These subjects in time of war offer a large field of study in connection with Stevens. But the purpose of this paper is not to consider Stevens's contributions and services on these lines, but rather to bring into review his career and opinions in relation particularly to the more distinctly constitutional, political, and party issues which the war presented.

There are three salient aspects about which the political movements and controversies of the Civil War may best be organized and studied: first, the relation of the war to slavery; second, the relation of the war to the Constitution; third, the effect of the war upon the political status of the seceded states and their relation to the Federal Union. These, together with the increased war powers of the President, present the essential issues and phases of the struggle in which the student of war politics will be most concerned. I shall attempt to summarize or bring into brief review Stevens's record upon these salient features of the war.

Stevens recognized as clearly as any man then in public life the seriousness of the great conflict in which the country was engaged, and in the councils of the nation he constantly insisted upon promptness, energy, and determination of purpose. To him it was perfectly clear that the slaveholders were trying to destroy the Union to save slavery; he would, therefore, destroy slavery to save the Union. The Southern states had violated the Constitution to gain their independence; Stevens would give them none of the benefits of the Constitution in the war that it was found necessary to wage upon them. These states had of their own free will repudiated the Constitution and withdrawn from the Union. He would no longer recognize them as sister states under the aegis of law, but having subdued them as a belligerent enemy he would hold and govern them as conquered provinces. These principles of action he laid down in the

beginning, and in the pursuance of them he was clear, consistent, and undeviating from first to last. Firm of purpose and clear of vision, he had no manner of doubt as to the course the nation should pursue in the varying phases of the struggle for the Union. No one need to have been left in doubt as to his policies and plans, for among the membership of the national House he stood pre-eminent as a man with the qualities that a public man most needs in such a time—dauntless courage, a conscience of his own, opinions of his own, and a will of his own. He encountered no superior in intellectual combat, and in the fight he was appointed to endure he well fulfilled the canons of the strenuous game—he never flinched, he fouled no man, and he hit the line hard. An unconquerable fighter, he seemed made for a time of war, a time of storm and stress, and, his enemies themselves being the judges, he stood foursquare to all the winds of opposition that came. These characteristics, together with the times in which he lived and the problems which he faced, make Stevens one of the most memorable figures in our Congressional annals. I proceed to notice his war career with reference to the three aspects of the war to which I have referred—slavery, the Constitution, and the status of the states.

The evidence is conclusive that it was not the original purpose of the nation in the Civil War to interfere with slavery. If it had been but a hundred days' war, it would probably have ended with slavery intact. Hostile intention against slavery was specifically disclaimed. Mr. Lincoln disclaimed it on behalf of the executive, and the two houses of Congress disclaimed it on behalf of the legislative branch of the government.

At the beginning of the war, two days after the battle of Bull Run, Congress passed almost unanimously, in both Houses, the famous Crittenden resolutions setting forth the objects of the war. These resolutions recited, in substance, that the war was not prosecuted for the purpose of subjugating the Southern states—that is, of overthrowing their state governments and reducing them to provinces; nor for the purpose of interfering with slavery in the states, but to defend and maintain the Constitution and the laws, and to preserve the Union with all the equality and rights of the several states unimpaired. The war should accomplish these ends and no more. This resolution voiced at the time the public opinion of the country, and almost the unanimous opinion of the Republican party. President Lincoln represented this opinion, and in a conservative spirit he attempted at first to conduct the war without interfering with slavery, on the assumption that the status of the states and their relation to the Union had not changed.

But the war made all the difference in the world. The events of but a few short months of war wrought a decided change in the purpose and temper of Congress and the country. It was seen that slavery was a source of strength to the Rebellion. Conservative Union men were being rapidly and radically convinced that if the national government did not interfere with slavery, slavery would seriously interfere with the national government and the success of its arms. This change in policy and purpose is indicated by the fact that when the Thirty-seventh Congress came together again in its regular session in December, 1861, and an attempt was made to reaffirm the Crittenden resolution which had received such universal approval but a few months before, it was decisively rejected. It was rejected by a party vote upon the motion of Stevens, who had thus considerable satisfaction in seeing that at least his own party had now come to his position in asserting its freedom from a doctrinaire impediment to the conduct of the war, and that the nation was now to feel free to strike at slavery or to do whatever else would seem best calculated to promote the success of the national cause.

The events of the war had, however, made no change in the purposes and opinions of Stevens. His principles were settled, his mind was fixed from the beginning. When the Crittenden resolution had been offered in July, he objected to it and withheld his vote. He was one of four in the House who were not ready to subscribe to its doctrine. He was one of the more pronounced and radical—may we not say more far-seeing?—antislavery men who believed that the Rebellion must result in the destruction of slavery. He would not embarrass the government nor prevent its dealing a blow in opposition to slavery when occasion should arise. He wanted the government to have a free hand, an unrestricted liberty, in the conduct of the war, and he did not wish Congress to commit itself to a doctrine from which it would subsequently have to recede. He believed in the beginning what Lincoln came to believe in the midst of the war, that, in this national crisis, Congress and the President, representing the sovereign nation, had the right to take "any step which might best subdue the enemy."¹ He wanted the rulers of the nation to indulge no scruples nor lay down any generalities that would interfere with the most vigorous prosecution of the war.

Time clearly vindicated Stevens's leadership in this respect. A fortnight had not gone by after the passage of the Crittenden resolution defining the objects of the war and giving an implied promise that slavery would not be interfered with, before slavery had become a subject of sore discussion in Congress. It came up in connection

¹ *Life and Writings of B. R. Curtis*, I. 348.

with the first Confiscation Act, August 3, 1861. To this measure Stevens gave his earnest support. This was the beginning of war legislation concerning slavery. It aroused opposition, because a section of the law required that owners should forfeit the slaves whom they allowed to be used in arms against the United States or to labor in forts or intrenchments, or whom they should employ in any naval or military capacity against the national government.

In the debate on confiscation, August 2, 1861, Stevens voiced his deep opposition to slavery and his purpose to strike at that institution whenever occasion offered. He said:¹

God forbid that I should ever agree that the slaves should be returned to their masters and that you should rivet again the chains which you have once broken. I do not say that this war is made for that purpose. Ask those who made the war what its object is. Do not ask us. I did not like the Crittenden resolution because it looked like an apology from us in saying what were the objects of the war. Those who made the war should explain its objects. Our object is to subdue the rebels.

In this discussion Stevens predicted the arming of the blacks and said that he was ready to act for it, "horrifying to gentlemen as it may appear; that is my doctrine and it will be the doctrine of the whole people of the North before two years roll round."

After the rejection of the Crittenden resolution in December, 1861, Stevens wished to bring his party and the administration to higher and more aggressive ground upon slavery and emancipation. He would speak out the whole truth whether the nation would hear or forbear. On December 3, 1861, the first day of the regular session of the Thirty-seventh Congress, Stevens introduced a joint resolution, for enactment into law, containing two propositions: the first was to strike for general emancipation as the best means of crushing the Rebellion; the second, to make full payment for losses to loyal owners by this policy. His resolution asserted that slavery had caused the Rebellion and that there could be no peace and Union while that institution existed; as slaves are used by the rebels for supporting the war, and as by the law of nations it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power, therefore the President should be directed to declare free and to direct our generals in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters or aid in quelling the Rebellion.

His speech of January 22, 1862, on these resolutions shows him

¹ In order to avoid excessive length of quotation, I have throughout this article omitted many sentences from Stevens's speeches without sign of omission and have even in some cases used abridged phrases, without, I trust, ever misrepresenting in any degree his meaning.

to be one of the earliest, boldest, most outspoken, and, I think, most influential of the antislavery advocates who were seeking to direct the war to antislavery ends. Stevens knew that Congress and his party were not yet ready to follow in the line of his proposals, and that the public sentiment of the country did not sustain his radical policy. But he wished to educate that sentiment and to lead his party in the direction which he clearly saw would ultimately be found to be essential. He felt that the national government in the conduct of the war so far had been weak, timid, vacillating, ineffective, without appreciation of the formidable task before it. The country needed a tonic; the administration needed nerve and a stiffened spine. Stevens would infuse more energy into the prosecution of the war, and not be afraid to employ the means at hand. He did not think it a time for honeyed words and conciliation. He was not a representative of peace and good will; he was a representative for war; the business of war was to conquer, and in the war now forced upon the nation he stood for firm, unyielding, uncompromising force. It seems reasonable to say that in energizing the war power of the nation and leading it to lay hold of every possible weapon for overcoming resistance to the national authority there was in the national forum no stronger personal force than Thaddeus Stevens. A review of his speeches will give one a high appreciation of their educational influence in this direction.

He was bitter and unsparing in his denunciation of the Southern leaders for their course, and he sought to arouse the resentment and war spirit of the nation to crush the South. Yet he manifested a better conception of the Southern spirit and character and of the consequent nature of the task before the country than that possessed by his opponents and critics. Dismissing all hope of reunion by voluntary concession from the South, he wished to have it clearly recognized, as it should have been, that from the Southern standpoint the separation was final, and that the Confederate States would consent to reunion only through the exhaustion of war. Stevens saw that the task could be accomplished only by the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of money. He recognized that the Southerners were proud, haughty, obstinate, and that their training had led them to believe that they were born to command. They had declared that they would suffer their country to become a smoking ruin before they would submit. Stevens would accept the issue. He said:

It were better to lay waste the whole South than to suffer the nation to be murdered, better to depopulate the country and plant it with a new race of freemen, than to suffer rebellion to triumph. There should

be no negotiation, no parley, no truce until every rebel shall have laid down his arms and submitted to the Government.

He was among the first to see that this would not be done until the South was wholly exhausted :

Let us not be deceived. Those who talk about peace in sixty days are shallow statesmen. The war will not end until the Government shall more fully recognise the magnitude of the crisis; until they have discovered that this is an internecine war in which one party or the other must be reduced to hopeless feebleness and the power of further effort shall be utterly annihilated. It is a sad but true alternative. The South can never be reduced to that condition so long as the war is prosecuted on its present principles. The North with all its millions of people and its countless wealth can never conquer the South until a new mode of warfare is adopted. So long as these states are left the means of cultivating their fields through forced labor, you may expend the blood of thousands and billions of money, year by year, without being any nearer the end, unless you reach it by your own submission and the ruin of the nation. Slavery gives the South a great advantage in time of war. They need not and do not withdraw a single hand from the cultivation of the soil. Every able bodied white man can be spared for the army. The black man, without lifting a weapon is the mainstay of the war.¹

Stevens would have no regard for the "sympathizer with treason" who would "raise an outcry about a servile insurrection or prate learnedly about the Constitution." He thought a "rebellion of slaves fighting for their freedom was not so abhorrent as a rebellion of freemen fighting to murder the nation." He wished the Northern armies to be "possessed and impelled by the inspiration that comes from the glorious principle of freedom." He thought the North had not shown "the fiery zeal that impelled the South; nothing of that determined and invincible courage that was inspired in the Revolution by the grand idea of liberty, equality and rights of man."

Our statesmen do not seem to know how to touch the hearts of freemen and rouse them to battle. No sound of universal liberty has gone forth from the capital. Our generals have a sword in one hand and shackles in the other. Let it be known that this government is fighting to carry out the great principles of the Declaration of Independence and the blood of every freeman would boil with enthusiasm and his nerves be strengthened for a holy warfare. Give him the sword in one hand and the book of freedom in the other, and he will soon sweep despotism and rebellion from every corner of this continent. The occasion is forced upon us and the invitation presented to strike the chains from four millions of human beings and create them men; to extinguish slavery on this whole continent; to wipe out so far as we are concerned the most hateful and infernal blot that ever disgraced the escutcheon of man; to write a page in the history of the world whose brightness shall eclipse all the records of heroes and sages.²

¹ *Congressional Globe*, January 22, 1862.

² *Ibid.*

This was effective oratory, the oratory of conviction and action. It was spoken at a time when slavery still seemed rooted and grounded in the policy of the President and of Congress and in the public sentiment of the country. Who will say that the voice of Stevens was not a powerful influence in bringing the country and its rulers to the higher plane of emancipation, to a readiness to direct the war for liberty as well as for union?

As the war continued and the administration still seemed conservative and reluctant to pursue an antislavery policy, Stevens repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction. Lincoln's message proposing compensated emancipation Stevens characterized as "the most diluted milk and water gruel proposition that was ever given to the American nation." He urged the passage of the Act (March 13, 1862) forbidding the return of fugitive slaves and he favored every act looking toward antislavery ends. He said he could not approve putting generals who sympathized with slavery at the head of our armies with orders to pursue and return fugitive slaves, nor did he like it to have our forces set to guard the property of rebel soldiers. When asked if he intended his charge against the President and the Secretary of War or only against the generals in the field, he said "I intend it shall apply where it belongs."

I am no sycophant, no parasite. What I think I say. These acts have been perpetrated without rebuke. Let the world determine where the responsibility rests. I believe the President is as honest a man as there is in the world; but I believe him to be too easy and amiable, and to be misled by the malign influence of Kentucky counselors—and the Border State men.¹

He again urged the enlistment of negro troops and advised the administration not to be afraid of the cry of abolitionism, but to follow out the policy of military emancipation suggested by General Hunter's order. He had no hope of success until that policy was adopted. He viewed the matter not only as a question of emancipation or abolition, but as the only means of putting down the Rebellion. For rebuking General Hunter he thought the administration deserved to be driven out, and he denounced it for refusing the liberation and employment of the slaves. He would seize all property of disloyal men as our armies advanced, and he would plant the South with a military colony if the Southerners would not otherwise submit.

We come now to the attitude of Stevens toward the Constitution; the constitutionality of war measures; and the effect of secession and war on the status of the seceded states.

The antislavery policy advocated by Stevens and men like him

¹ *Congressional Globe*, July 5, 1862.

was one of the apologies for party opposition to the war. The anti-slavery men were accused of wishing to make the war entirely subservient to abolition, and of being unwilling to see the Union restored with slavery as it was. They would not be quiet but were obtruding their opinions everywhere, with the result that while in July, 1861, the nation was united, the Union forces were now divided, since those who wished to prosecute the war solely for the purpose of restoring the Union were alienated and estranged.¹ A large body of conservative men in the North, chiefly among those who had opposed the Republican party and Mr. Lincoln's election, looked upon the antislavery programme both as a perversion of the Constitution and as an entire departure from the original and legitimate objects of the war. Under the leadership of adroit and able men, these conservative Democrats and Constitutional Unionists became a compact party of opposition whose opinions and purposes may be summarized as follows:

(1) In the first place they accepted the Crittenden resolution as their war platform, and they would have it clearly recognized that the primary and sole object of the war was to save the Union. It was not to interfere in any way with slavery. Any act or policy tending to turn the military forces of the government from mere union-saving to abolitionism, or toward emancipation as a means of union-saving, was unconstitutional, a perversion of the object of the war, and it ought to be resisted.

(2) In the second place the war must be so conducted and ended as to preserve the equality of the states. The Union was based on this equality and it must be preserved. There must be no conquest or subjugation or interference with statehood or with the rights of the states, their governments, or their domestic laws. Whoever should attempt by Federal authority to destroy any of the states, or to establish territorial governments within them, was guilty of a high crime against the Constitution and the Union. The Union as it was must be restored and maintained under the Constitution as it is; and any person proposing peace on any other basis than the integrity of the states was as guilty a criminal as he who would propose peace on the basis of a dismembered Union. The Southern states must not be reduced to provinces or territories, nor the Southern people regarded as alien enemies; but the constitutional relation of the states to the Union was to be recognized as being undisturbed and the constitutional rights of the Southern people should be fully maintained. To prosecute hostilities beyond these limits or in a spirit of

¹ Diven of New York, *Congressional Globe*, January 22, 1862.

conquest would destroy state equality, subvert the Constitution, and prevent the Union.¹

(3) In the third place, a corollary to this view, the constitutional limits set to congressional and executive power must be the same in war as in peace. Secession, rebellion, and war had made no change as to the power that Congress could exercise within the states, be they the states of the Confederacy or the states of the Union. The President's powers were not increased. Therefore his executive orders, his proclamations, his military emancipation, his suspension of *habeas corpus*, his arbitrary arrests, must all be tested by the terms and canons of the Constitution as in times of peace. "The Union as it was; the Constitution as it is," was the maxim of the party.

In the view of these constitutionalists, the Union was to be saved only by, through, and under the Constitution—nothing more nor less. They idealized the Constitution. To them the Constitution was identical with the nation. Without it there could be no Union. The Constitution gone, the republic is dead. The war was for the preservation of the Constitution and for that alone; it was against the Constitution and because it was binding on all that the Southerners were rebels. These conservatives denounced the antislavery advocates as being indifferent as to whether or not their policies were in harmony with the Constitution, and this fact made the hated abolitionists—as they called all antislavery men—as guilty criminals as the secessionists themselves.

In the view of this party almost everything that the President or Congress proposed or did, for the effective and vigorous prosecution of the war, was unconstitutional. Confiscation of slave property was unconstitutional; retaining fugitive slaves within our lines was unconstitutional; the military emancipation of Fremont and Hunter was unconstitutional; the use of slaves as contraband was unconstitutional; Lincoln's plan of compensated emancipation was unconstitutional; enlistment of negro troops was unconstitutional; the Emancipation Proclamation was unconstitutional; the draft was unconstitutional; the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* was unconstitutional; military arrests were unconstitutional; suspending or in any way reinstituting state governments at the South was unconstitutional; Lincoln's appointment of military governors and his beginnings of reconstruction were unconstitutional. No exercise of power was constitutional except what was unmistakably granted by a strict construction of the Constitution interpreted as in times of peace. Instead of the war's having made all the difference in the

¹ Pendleton's resolutions, *Congressional Globe*, July 31, 1861.

world, it had made no difference at all. The Southern states and the Southern people were to have all the rights, privileges, immunities, and benefits of the Constitution. They were not bound by its provisions in the conduct of the war, but their opponents were to be restrained from every aggressive act of power not within its specific limits. This was a fearful handicap for the national government. Such a policy would have led to a passive and harmless war—almost purely defensive in its operations. Carried to its logical conclusion, no invasion of the Southern states nor subduing of the Southern people would have been possible under it, and it is very problematical whether the Constitution and the Union could have been saved for the South under its operation.

To this party and its constitutional view Thaddeus Stevens was diametrically opposed. He was its constant and stout antagonist. He derided these sticklers for the Constitution and in unsparing terms he denounced all their works and ways. They and he were at the antipodes of the political world, and they had but little bowels of mercy for one another. Stevens wished to establish a legal basis for the conduct of the war that would give the nation a chance to fight, and in the first discussion on slavery and the war to which I have referred (August 2, 1861) he laid down the legal and proper premises for that fight. He brushed theories aside, looked at the facts, and saw things as they were, and he sought a basis of action best calculated to bring the result desired. He took the bold ground that in the contest for its life the nation was not bound by the limitations of the Constitution. The war had abrogated the Constitution—not where it was respected and could be enforced by ordinary civil processes, but with respect to hostile confederated states that had rejected and repudiated the Constitution, trampled it under foot, and were resisting its restoration by organized armies. The people of the Confederate States were public belligerent enemies, and the nation in its effort to overcome them was bound only by the laws of war and the law of nations. The Constitution had no right to intervene if it stood in the way of the laws of war in dealing with the enemy.

Who says the Constitution must come in in bar of our action? It is the advocates of rebels, of rebels who have repudiated the Constitution, who have sought to overthrow it and trample it in the dust. Sir, these rebels who have disregarded and set at defiance that instrument are, by every rule of municipal and international law, estopped from pleading it against our action. Sir, it is an absurdity. There must be a party in court to plead it, and that party to be entitled to plead it in court, must first acknowledge its supremacy, or he has no business

to be in court at all. . . . They can not be permitted to come in here and tell us that we must be loyal to the Constitution.¹

When he was asked how members of Congress who had taken an oath to support the Constitution could violate it in their action, whether rebels complain of it or not, he replied that they do not violate it when they are operating against men who have no rights to the benefits of the Constitution. The law of nations was plain upon this point, the law established in the days of Cicero, "*Inter arma silent leges.*" "This is a law that has been in force to the present time, and any nation that disregards the law is a poor pusillanimous nation which submits its neck to be struck off by the enemy."

Stevens admitted that the Constitution, while it was in force for the South, did not authorize Congress to interfere with slavery in the states. While the Constitution and laws were supreme no one would attempt it. But when the Constitution had been repudiated and set at defiance by armed rebellion the case was different.

There were not [he said] three thousand abolitionists, properly so called in the United States. Before this war the parties were bound together by a compact, by a treaty, called a Constitution. They admitted the validity of municipal laws binding on each. This war has cut asunder all these ligaments, abrogated all these obligations. Since these States have voluntarily thrown off that protection and placed themselves under the law of nations, it is not only our right but our duty to knock off every shackle from every limb.

He who wishes to re-establish the Union as it was cannot escape the guilt of attempting to enslave his fellow-men. The "Union as it was and the Constitution as it is", is an atrocious idea; it is man-stealing. The Southern States have forfeited all rights under the Constitution which they have renounced. They are forever estopped from claiming the Constitution as it was. The United States may give them those rights if it choose, but *they cannot claim them*. If a disgraceful peace were made leaving the cause of this rebellion and the cause of future wars untouched and living, its authors would be the objects of the deepest execration and of the blackest infamy. . . . All this clamor against radicals, all this cry of the "Union as it was", is but a persistent effort to re-establish slavery and to rivet anew forever the chains of bondage on the limbs of immortal beings. May the God of Justice thwart their designs and paralyze their wicked efforts.²

Stevens believed that in an emergency in order to "snatch the nation from the jaws of death" Congress was authorized to declare a dictator. It was a fearful power, and he hoped the necessity for it would never arise. But the safety of the people is the supreme

¹ *Congressional Globe*, August 2, 1861.

² *Ibid.*, January 22, 1864.

law, and rather than see the nation perish, rather than see it dishonored by compromise, concession, and submission, rather than see the Union dissevered, he was ready to apply the dictator's power.

It will be seen that Stevens's constitutional position, or extra-constitutional position, was consistent, straightforward, and outspoken. He blinked nothing, but always looked the constitutional issue squarely in the face. He made no pretenses and would resort to no forced construction to justify a course already predetermined. This is seen still more clearly in his attitude toward the admission of West Virginia.

The Constitution clearly provides that no state shall be divided except by its own consent. When Virginia seceded, the people in the western counties of the state, wishing to remain loyal to the Union, assumed to form a state government and choose state officers and a state legislature. They elected Senators and Representatives to Congress, who were admitted to their seats. They claimed to be the people of Virginia, constitutionally competent to give its consent to the formation of a new state within the borders of the Old Dominion. This people, having given its consent to the division of the old state of Virginia, immediately erected itself into the new state of West Virginia. Nobody consented except those within the limits of the new state. That is, the new state consented to the division of the old. And when the new state had been admitted according to prearrangement, Mr. Pierpont, pretending to be the governor of the state that pretended to be Virginia, was to move over to Alexandria and keep up the pretense of being the gubernatorial head of Old Virginia, with an official body that Sumner afterward called the "common council of Alexandria." As Stevens said after the war, "all the archives, property, and effects of the Pierpont Government were taken to Richmond in an ambulance." This was the government recognized during the war as the legitimate constitutional government of Virginia.

There were distinguished members of Congress who sought to find ground in the Constitution, or in the fictitious construction of that instrument, for this process by which Virginia was divided and West Virginia admitted. It was not the way of Thaddeus Stevens. To Stevens the proceedings, or the arguments based upon them, were all ridiculous and absurd. He was opposed to giving seats in the House to members from Virginia after the secession of that state, for "We know," as he said, "that members have been elected to this House by only twenty votes and those

cast under the guns of a fort. Now, to say that those gentlemen represent any district is a mere mockery.”¹

Stevens was willing to accomplish the end in view, the dismemberment of Virginia and the admission of the new state, the sufficient ground for the act being that it would weaken the enemy and help the national cause. But he recognized that the legal ground for the proceeding was, not the Constitution, but the laws of war. “We may admit West Virginia,” he said, “not by any provisions of the Constitution but under our absolute power which the laws of war give us. I shall vote for this bill upon that theory and that alone; for I will not stultify myself by supposing that we have any warrant in the Constitution for this proceeding.”

He regarded it as mockery to claim that the legislature of Virginia had ever consented to the division of that state. The majority of the people of Virginia, organized as a political community, was the state of Virginia. That state had changed its constitution and its relation to the federal government from that of one of its members to that of secession. The act was treason, but so far as the state corporation was concerned it was a valid act and governed the state. “A small number of the citizens of Virginia—the people in West Virginia—assembled together, disapproved of the acts of Virginia and with the utmost self-complacency called themselves Virginia. Is it not ridiculous?”

That seems more straightforward than to stretch the Constitution by a forced and fictitious construction while claiming to respect its provisions. To a layman it seems like better law, sounder sense, and more correct political science, if the United States was to be regarded as a nation and not a mere congeries of states.

This view of the character of the state and the effect of secession he maintained consistently on all occasions. He looked upon the Southern states as public enemies. We were at war with an acknowledged belligerent, with a foreign nation, and since such a war had annulled all former compacts existing between them neither could claim as against the other the aid of the Constitution. Stevens held that the Southern states, having committed treason, renounced their allegiance to the Union, discarded its Constitution and laws, organized a distinct and hostile government, and by force of arms having risen from the condition of insurgents to the position of an independent power *de facto*, and having been acknowledged as a belligerent both by foreign nations and by our own government, the Constitution and laws of the Union were set aside as far as they were concerned, and that as between the two belligerents they were under

¹ *Congressional Globe*, December 2, 1861.

the laws of war and nations alone. If the rebel states were still in the Union and under the Constitution, as some contended, he saw no reason why they should not elect the next President of the United States. If the rebels declined to vote, then one hundred loyal men who, as his legal opponents contended, still continued to be "the state," might meet and choose electors. The few loyal men around Fortress Monroe or Norfolk, or Alexandria, and a few cleansed patches in Louisiana, being one thousandth part of the state, might choose electors for the whole state. It was such reasoning that seemed like a mockery of constitutional law and political science to Stevens.

As to the minority who were loyal to the Union within a seceded state, he would regard them as citizens of that state and subject to its conditions. They must migrate or bear the burdens and penalties of their domicile, although in dealing with persons he would distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. The states were at war with the nation. The idea that a few loyal citizens are the state and may override and govern the disloyal millions, he was unable to comprehend. "If ten men fit to save Sodom can elect a governor and other state officers against more than a million Sodomites in Virginia, then the democratic doctrine that the majority shall rule is discarded and ignored."

The position of Stevens was vigorously assailed by Mr. Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, in a notable speech in the House, February 5, 1864. Blair held that Stevens's policy of confiscation could only be effected by the extermination of our whole kindred race in the South. The world would expect them to shed the last drop of blood rather than to submit to such spoliation, with no alternative but to die as paupers. Europe would be justified in intervening to put down such an innovation on the code of humanity and to arrest barbarities in defiance of the law of nations. It was frenzied altruism tending to promote "amalgamation of repugnant races in the name and by the charm of equality."

Blair held that the Southern states were indestructible; that their status was like that of Missouri, whose state organization had remained loyal to the Union. All that was needed was to drive out the rebel power that was holding the state government in duress. Our army and navy were crushing the life out of the usurpation, vetoing what Blair called the "assumption of Stevens that the state governments in the rebel states are as perfect now as before the rebellion, and being subsisting states, capable of corporate action, they have as states changed their allegiance from the United States to the Confederate States." In this undeniable fact, as Stevens had

stated it, Blair maintained that the secession doctrine was "absolutely recognized, with more distinctness than Calhoun ventured to urge it."

Here the majority of disloyalists in a State [said Blair] have the right admitted to over-ride a minority of loyal men and make them forswear their allegiance to the Union. No man, North or South, ever asserted the secession cause so boldly in the forum as the gentleman from Pennsylvania. He founds the rebel government upon the will of a majority of the people; proclaims that the minority, though loyal to the General Government (which has a right to the allegiance of all) must abandon the states or subscribe to their authority; insists that the usurpation has established independent states endowed with all the immunities and rights of an independent nation carrying on a legitimate war. This is the secession, abolition, absolute-conquest doctrine which the gentleman has broached in defiance of national and State Constitutions, the law of the civilized world and of all humanity.¹

On May 2, 1864, during the discussion in the House on the Wade-Davis plan of reconstruction, Stevens had occasion to refer to these criticisms. He restated his position that the South was only a belligerent, with such rights only as the laws of war might accord. The fact of their being rebels as well as belligerents put them in a worse predicament and only extended our rights and justified the *summum jus* of martial law. In urging again a general scheme of confiscation he said the country should decide whether this was an unjust war, and whether the enemy was obstinate and ought to bear the burden of the war.

Stevens pictured in vigorous language the suffering and destruction of the war, which he denounced as unjust and as deserving of punishment. "If we are not justified", he said, "in exacting the extreme demands of war then I can hardly conceive a case where it would be applicable. To allow them to return with their estates untouched, on the theory that they have never gone out of the Union, seems to me rank injustice to loyal men."

Stevens replied with special vigor to Blair, "whose speech", he said, "contained the distilled virus of the copperhead." He recognized that selling estates in perpetuity as the result of attainder for treason was forbidden by the Constitution; conviction for treason could work no such consequence. What he contended for was the forfeiture of the property of rebels as enemies. Blair had said that Stevens had "treated with scorn the idea that States held in duress by the rebel power have a right to look to our laws and Constitution for protection." Stevens replied:

This is a false statement of my position. If the armies of the Confederate States should overrun a loyal state and hold it in duress,

¹ *Congressional Globe*, February 5, 1864.

that state would have a right to appeal to the Constitution for protection. But a state which by a free majority of its voters has thrown off its allegiance to the Constitution and holds itself in duress by its own armies, is estopped from claiming any protection under the Constitution. To say that such a state is within the pale of the Union so as to claim protection under its Constitution and laws is but the raving of a madman.

To escape the consequence of my argument he [Blair] denies that the Confederate States have been acknowledged as a belligerent or have established and maintained independent governments *de facto*. Such assurance would deny that there was a sun in the heavens. They have a Congress in which eleven states are represented; they have at least 300,000 soldiers in the field; their pickets are almost within sight of Washington. They have ships of war on the ocean destroying hundreds of our ships, and our government and the governments of Europe acknowledge and treat them as privateers, not as pirates. There is no reasoning against such impudent denials.

Stevens denied that he was countenancing secession in recognizing the palpable facts of war. The law forbids robbery and murder, but these crimes exist *de facto*. Does the man who declares their existence give countenance to them? If the fiction of equity courts that whatever ought to be shall be considered as existing—if this is true, then the rebel states are in the Union.

If the naked facts, palpable to every eye, attested by many bloody battle-fields, and recorded by every day's hostile legislation both in Washington and Richmond are to prevail, then the rebellious states are no more in the Union *in fact*, than the loyal states are in the Confederate States. Nor should they ever be treated so until they repent and are rebaptized into the National Union.

Stevens congratulated the country that the House had recently passed a resolution (1864) recognizing the Confederate States as a public enemy. That was the doctrine for which he had been contending. The consequences which he had sought to establish would follow as a corollary. "I have lived", he said, "to see the triumph of principles which, although I had full faith in their ultimate success, I did not expect to witness. If Providence will spare me a little longer, until this government shall be so reconstructed that the foot of a slave can never again tread upon the soil of the Republic, I shall be content to accept any lot which may await me."¹

These extracts will serve to make clear Stevens's attitude toward the chief issues of the Civil War. Those whom he opposed will not be easily reconciled to honor his memory. As Sumner said, "No one gave to language a sharper bite." His words were words of sarcasm, satire, denunciation. They aroused resentment and often left a bitter sting. His antagonists dreaded him, and he has been

¹ *Congressional Globe*, vol. 65, pp. 2042-2043, May 2, 1864.

spoken of as a man of hate and vindictive vengeance. But there is testimony to show, from party friend and foe alike, that he was a man of deep and tender humanitarian feelings. He desired fair play and a square deal for all mankind. The punitive measures which he favored did not spring from personal feelings. It was the cause that he hated or loved. He loved justice; he entertained a deep hatred of slavery and secession, and he believed that a just punishment, as well as mercy, should be visited upon those whom he considered as the guilty authors of his country's woes. In this he was but human, a natural man begotten of passionate times, and he probably represented to a large degree the feelings of a majority of his fellow-countrymen. He deplored the compromising errors of the fathers, and his great purpose was to write the law of justice and human equality into the Constitution of his country; and he would feign no fraternal, sentimental regard for those who, as he thought, sought to violate, obstruct, or pervert these great principles of government.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.

DOCUMENTS

1. *The Catholic Mission in Maryland, 1641.*

THE two documents which follow were discovered among the Barberini MSS. in the Vatican Library by Dr. Arnold O. Meyer of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, and by him communicated to the REVIEW. The designation of their place is: Cod. Barberini lat. 8690, "Colonia e Inghilterra, Carlo Rossetti 1641, II. 107, 37", foll. 173-175. The writer of the letter, Mgr. Carlo Rossetti, titular archbishop of Sardis and later of Tarsus, was at the time of its writing pontifical representative in London, and as such figures largely in the contemporary history of Catholicism in England. Not many days after the date of the letter, on September 27, he was made extraordinary nuncio at Cologne. The letter was apparently addressed to either Cardinal Francesco or Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who were nephews of the reigning pope, Urban VIII., and who in a sense occupied jointly a position analogous to that of cardinal secretary of state. The "relation" which is enclosed with the letter exists also, it appears, in other copies. One, perhaps to be regarded as the original and differing slightly from this, is in the Vatican Archives, "Nunziatura d'Inghilterra", and it is understood that a paragraph from it is to be printed (under the number 19 D) in Father Thomas Hughes's forthcoming *History of the Jesuits in North America*. Another is in the Archives of the Propaganda. Much of the same information as is presented in this relation is also to be found in the extracts from the Annual Letters which accompany the *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam* published by the Maryland Historical Society.

I.

[fol. 173r] 7 sett. 41

Eminentissimo e Rmo. Do. prōn Colmo.¹

Il libro d'Henrici Spilmani de non temerandis ecclesiis² Lundini in 8°. di cui già hebbi comandamento da V. E. s'è finalmente trovato, e la settimana seguente penso poterlo havere per inviarlo all' E. V. Qui congiunta le mando una relatione dell'Isola di Mariland, haven-

¹ I. e., Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Domino Patrono Colendissimo.

² Sir Henry Spelman, *De non Temerandis Ecclesiis: a Tracte of the Rights and Respect due unto Churches* (London, 1613, and other editions).

done procurato la notitia da Londra da persone indifferenti, e ben'informate di quelle parti d'Inghilterra. S'intende ancora che quei P. P. Cappuccini habbiano havuto qualche fastidio, e che l'Ambasciatore del Re xp̄mo insistesse grandemente per la loro sodisfattione, e dicono che la Città sia piena di dolianze, e di mormorazioni [fol. 173v.] contro il parlamento, perch' in tanto tempo non habbia pigliato provvedimento a i bisogni del Regno. Et io in tanto resto facendo all' E. V. profundissima riverenza.

D. V. E. Rma¹

humiliss^{mo}: divotiss^{mo}. Servo oblig^{mo}:

CARLO ROSSETTI.

GANTE 7 7mbre 1641

II.

[fol. 174r.] Quae regio modo Marilandia vulgo nuncupatur, ea pars est peninsulae, quae ad oram Americae inter Oceanum ad Orientem, et inter Sinum Cheasapeak ad Occidentem, paulo ultra Virginiam iacet.

Haec per Anglos primum inventa, neque per Principem aliud [*sic*] Christianum aut alicuius Ministros occupata, cum adiacentibus insulis intra limites praedictos constitutis, et iis etiam, quae posthac reperientur in Oceanum ad decem Leucas orientem versus Dño Cecilio Calvert Baroni Baltamor in remunerationem obsequii a parente Regi Iacobo cui a Secretis erat, fideliter praestiti, in haereditatem perpetuam cum iure absoluti proprietarii a Ser^{mo}. Rege Angliae Carolo, salvo tamen supremo dominio et fidelitate Regiae suae M^{ti}. debita per magnam Chartam ante annos novem data concessa et confirmata est.

Itaque sub finem anni 1633 Dominus Leonardus Calvert primam eo Coloniam deduxit et totius regionis pro fratre Gubernator constitutus est. Cum eo missi sunt Barone rogante duo ex Societate Jesu sacerdotes cum uno coadiutore temporalis [temporalis] quibus annis subsequentibus accessere alii quattuor sacerdotes ex eadem Societate cum altero coadiutore temporalis [temporalis]. [fol. 174v.] Sed Sacerdotibus duobus cum utroque laico morte sublati, nam tertius in Angliam rediit, tres iam dumtaxat sacerdotes ibidem supersunt, nec praeter eos alios [alius] ullus Sacerdos, sive saecularis sive regularis vixisse in Colonia hactenus notum est.²

¹ *I. e.*, Di Vostra Eminenza Reverendissima.

² Fathers Andrew White and John Altham *alias* Gravener came out with the first settlers. Five other Jesuit priests had since come to the province: Fathers Philip Fisher *alias* Thomas Copley, John Knowles, Ferdinand Poulton, John Brock *alias* Morgan, and Roger Rigby. Of these Fathers Knowles, Poulton, Altham, and Brock had died, the latter on June 5 of this same year, 1641. The three priests remaining were Fathers White, Fisher, and Rigby. The two lay coadjutors, who had died, were Thomas Gervase and Walter Morley. (Information kindly furnished by Rev. Professor Edward I. Devitt, S.J., of Georgetown University.)

Colonia porro universa nondum quadringentas personas¹ numerat inter quas centum circiter Catholicam fidem profitentur, reliquae ad heterodoxos spectant; e quibus paulo amplius quam quadraginta ab erroribus quos imbiberant rescipiscentes [resipiscentes], ad Catholicae Ecclesiae gremium reductae sunt.²

Barbari regionis incolae a Colonia remotius habitant. Litterarum omnium rudes, idiomate utuntur proprio, sed ob dialectorum varietatem ad discendum perdifficili, quo evangelii praedicatio vel maxime impeditur. Profectum tamen aliquod usque est, et magno labore connectus Cathechismus.³

Gens si quae alia inops plane est, et misera. Impuberes nudi penitus, estate vero magis adulti viri eoque [?] ac foeminae puellae aliqua ad modestiam ex parte contexti incedunt. Ex venatione victum quotidianum quaerunt ideoque vix stabili loco consistunt. Non carent quidem vitiis nec vitiorum [fol. 175r.] occasionibus, paucioribus tamen quam alii solent Barbari laborant. Ad mansuetudinem videntur propendere, passionesque et motus animi mire moderati. Ubi nullum intervenit periculum vitae, iniuriam et contemptus egregie patiuntur.

Nulla inter eos Idola, quibus singularem aliquem cultum ac venerationem impertiant, neque ulli sacrificuli: sunt tamen qui superstitiosius quaedam colunt, sed deridentur ab iis, qui prudentiores vulgo habentur. Obscuram aliquam notitiam Dei agnoscere videntur, sed quo eum modo venerari debeant prorsus nesciunt. De immortalitate animae atque alterius vitae statu nihil intelligunt.

Sunt inter eos qui insigni aliquo a reliquis secernuntur et Imperatorum Regumque loco habentur, quibus supremum ius competit. Unicuique Regi unum fere oppidum cum terris adiacentibus, Imperatori plura oppida Regesque subduntur.

Inter hos Cathechismo, et Christianae fidei rudimentis prius sufficienter instructi 5^a. [die 5^a.?] Iulii superioris anni 1640, Sacro baptismo solemniter initiati sunt, Imperator Pascatoa,⁴ cum Coniuge, et filia nec dum ablactata (quae paulo post feliciter mortua est) et praecipuus Consiliarius cum filio; filiam alteram septennem in Coloniam prius miserat Imperator ab Anglia [Anglica] Matrona nobili educandam, instruendamque, quae etiam deinde Deo volente baptizabitur. [fol. 175v.] Praeter hos pauci quoque alii intra septennium, ut dabatur occasio, baptismum susceperunt. Quae recenter perferuntur litterae, Imperatorem extremum diem Christianae [sic] obiisse, et complures ad proximum solemnem baptismum se parare nunciant; inter quos unus est Rex Arostanorum [Anacostanorum].

¹An assessment on the freemen, of September 13, 1641, designates one hundred and forty-six persons to be taxed. Johnson, *Foundations of Maryland*, p. 167.

²See *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, pp. 56-60.

³The catechism was found by Father William McSherry in the archives of the Society of Jesus. *Ibid.*, 118.

⁴Pascataway. The ceremony is more fully described in *Relatio Itineris*, p. 74.

Equidem ad praedicandum evangelium, amplificandamque Ecclesiam per infidelium potissimum conversionem, ostium magnum apertum iam est, quod obstruere conantur ii, qui e Societate Mercatoria Virginiae¹ Baroni se opponunt, et Coloniam e manibus et potestate Catholicorum eripere magno molimine connituntur, sed nullo hactenus alio effectum quam quod per exactionem Iuramenti vulgo fidelitatis nuncupati protectionem Catholicorum in eam difficillimam reddidere, quasi Regi et Statui Angliae periculosam. In Comitibus vero quid impetraturi sint nondum certo constat.

Atque hic est tam huius Coloniae, quam Missionis praesens status.

2. Edmund Randolph on the British Treaty, 1795.

OF the following documents, sent to the REVIEW by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, the first three are in the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts. All are in Randolph's handwriting. The fourth and most important, Randolph's letter to the President on the question of ratification, is no longer to be found among the Washington papers in that library, but may be seen only in the form of a copy in a volume of transcripts made for Washington of letters addressed to him by the secretaries of state. For this reason, and also because it is out of its chronological place in that volume of transcripts, it might escape the attention of students.

It may be useful to remind the reader that the Jay treaty, signed November 19, 1794, was received by the President March 7, 1795; that the Senate was convened for June 8, agreed on June 24 to ratify conditionally, and adjourned June 26; that, Randolph alone of the cabinet opposing, the President signed the ratification on August 18; and that Randolph's dramatic resignation occurred on the next day, August 19.

RANDOLPH TO THE PRESIDENT.²

E. Randolph has the honor of suggesting to the President, whether it may not be expedient to take the opinion of the gentlemen *in writing* on the following points: 1. Is not the resolution of the Senate, respecting the treaty between the U. S. and G. Britain, intended to be their final act; or do they expect, that the new article shall be submitted to them, before the treaty takes effect? 2. Does the constitution permit

¹ Perhaps the allusion is to Cloberry and Company, perhaps more generally to those who had had part in the management of the Virginia Company in its last years.

² The original of this note is in the Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, Miscellaneous, 117, p. 272. The President's letter of June 29, asking of the members of the cabinet substantially the questions here suggested, is in Sparks, *Washington*, XI. 31, and Ford, XIII. 59.

the President to ratify the treaty, without submitting the new article, after it shall be agreed to by the British king, to the advice and consent of the Senate?¹

Upon these points E. R. has satisfied himself.² But he knows, that it is contemplated to embarrass the treaty, by objecting to the course, which may be observed in its ratification; and therefore is anxious, that the President be supported in his measures upon it, by the best advice, which is at hand.

Mr. Adet has proposed a conference with E. R. tomorrow morning. The hour proposed is 9 o'clock. Whatever has been lying in his breast, will no doubt then appear.

June 25, 1795.

MEMORANDUM OF FACTS TO BE RECORDED.³

On the 8th of June 1795, Mr. Fauchet wrote to me, among other things, requesting that I would communicate to the President of the U. S. how desirable it would be, that the final vote of the Senate on the treaty with Great Britain should be suspended, until his successor, Mr. Adet, should arrive, and have time to impart his instructions, relative thereto, which he doubtless had. I did communicate Mr. Fauchet's letter to the President, on the same 8th of June; and it did not seem adviseable to take any measures upon that subject then. On Saturday the 13th of June in the evening Mr. Adet arrived and took lodgings in Philadelphia. On Monday, the 15th of June, at 11 o'clock in the morning, Mr. Fauchet accompanied him to my house, and introduced him to me; when he delivered to me a copy of his letters of credence. These were that day shewn to the President, who, having approved them, authorized me to inform Mr. Adet, that he would be received next day at 2 o'clock P. M. I accordingly informed him. On the next day, the 16th of June, I returned Mr. Adet's visit; and as we were walking

¹ On the general subject of the ratification of treaties by the Senate with amendments see Senator H. C. Lodge's article, "The Treaty-Making Power of the Senate," in *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1902, and *Senate Document* 104, 57th Congress, first session. The form followed by the Senate in this case was to give its advice and consent to ratification, "on condition that there be added to the said treaty an article, whereby it shall be agreed to suspend the operation of so much of the 12th article as respects the trade which his said Majesty thereby consents may be carried on, between the United States and his islands in the West Indies, in the manner, and on the terms and conditions therein specified. And the Senate recommend to the President to proceed without delay to further friendly negotiations with his Majesty, on the subject of the said trade, and of the terms and conditions in question." *Executive Journals*, I. 186.

² His own replies, opposing the President's sending to the Senate an article already drawn up, to be approved as a substitute for Art. XII., is in *Letters to Washington*, 117, pp. 274, 275, and in Sparks, *Washington*, XI. 477, 478.

³ The original of this memorandum is in *Letters to Washington*, Miscellaneous, 117, p. 286. Three sentences of it are printed, with omissions and some alterations, in Conway's *Edmund Randolph*, p. 249.

together in the garden at Oeller's hotel, about a quarter before two, he informed me, that he should send me the next day some act of the French government, relative to commerce. I deemed it improper to ask any explanations; as the development was to follow so soon. But I heard nothing from Mr. Adet on the next day which was Wednesday, Thursday, Friday or Saturday. On Sunday, the 21st of June, I received a packet from Mr. Adet, inclosing copies of the commissions of the consul-general, and three consuls, and requesting exequaturs. On Monday the 22d of June I visited Mr. Adet again; and in conversation I referred to some late letters, which I had sent him. He said, that he would answer such as required answers soon. I told to him [*sic*], that I had at first supposed the packet, which I had received the day before, was what he had expressed on the 16th of June his intention of sending to me the next day. He said that it was copying, and gave me reason to suppose, that he should forward it on that day, the 22d of June. Nothing was forwarded to me on that day by him. On Tuesday the 23d of June I accompanied Mr. Adet to the President's room; when a fair occasion offered, in speaking of the Senate, to inform him, that the Senate would rise on the next day, the 24th of June. I told Mr. Swann the same thing on the same day in the President's room. But I have not at this moment received from Mr. Adet any other communication of business, than what is stated above. The Senate rose about 12 o'clock yesterday.

EDM. RANDOLPH.

June 27, 1795.

MEMORANDUM.¹

1. Silence—2. positive declaration—3. qualified declaration.
1. Silence throws a doubt on Pt's [President's] intentions; the effect incidental to an unsettled state of things.

From silence, assent argued—Why not express.

P. must express to B. Govt., else delay—Why not now?

Qu: If form settled satisfactorily.

Is article necessary to be propounded?

May it not defeat immediate adjustment?

2. Positive.

Message.

The resolution of the Senate, by which "they *do* consent to, and advise the Pt. of the U. S. to ratify the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, lately concluded between his B. M. and the U. S. of America," on the condition therein expressed, was yesterday notified to me. It is expedient, that I should inform you, in what sense I understand that resolution. It is, that, as soon as the condition shall be fulfilled, in conformity with the instructions and approbation of the President, his ratification is to take effect, and he may cause the ratification to be exchanged. [I shall therefore proceed upon this idea, unless the con-

¹ Original in Letters to Washington, Miscellaneous, 117, pp. 276, 277.

trary be stated to me; and, if the condition be agreed to, I shall ratify the said treaty.

1st alternative. I shall therefore hold myself free to act upon this idea (construction), unless the contrary be stated to me.

2d alternative. I shall therefore proceed upon this idea, unless the contrary be stated to me; and if the condition be agreed to, I shall ratify the said treaty, should no justifying cause oppose such a measure.

Qu: if necessary to say any thing about further negotiation.

Draft of an article to be added.

Whereas the President and Senate of the U. S. of America have expressed their desire that there be added to the foregoing treaty an article, suspending the operation of so much of the 12th article as respects the trade, which his majesty thereby consents may be carried on between the U. S. and his islands in the West Indies, in the manner and on the terms and conditions therein specified:

It is therefore agreed, that the operation of so much of the said article as is now recited be suspended.

Message.

The resolution of the Senate, by which "they do consent to and advise the President of the U. S. to ratify the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, lately concluded between his B. M. and the U. S. of America," on the condition therein expressed, was yesterday notified to me. I infer from hence, that it is not the expectation of the Senate, that the treaty should be returned to them for consideration; and that as soon as the condition shall be fulfilled in conformity with the instructions and approbation of the President, he is free to cause the ratification to be exchanged. But as I am desirous, when I deliver my final judgment on the treaty, of being assured, that I have truly understood the sense of the Senate; I submit to them whether an article, which shall be in substance the same with the draught now forwarded, will fulfill the condition intended by the resolution.

RANDOLPH TO THE PRESIDENT.¹

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
July 12, 1795.

Sir,

The two questions, which I had the honor of receiving from you on the 29th ultimo, being preparatory to the measures, which appear to me most advisable to be pursued on the late treaty with Great Britain, I shall take the liberty of connecting the whole subject together.

Had the Senate advised and consented to a ratification in an unqualified manner, the President would have had nothing but the merits of the treaty, on which to decide. But as the Senate have annexed a

¹ From a copy at the Department of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Transcripts, XXII. 184-201.

condition, it is proper to be understood in what manner they intended that condition should be executed. That they intended their resolution of the 24 of July 1795, to be a final act; and that they do not expect the proposed article to be submitted to them before the treaty operates, is the plain signification of their words. The further negotiations, which are recommended, are not to precede, but follow the ratification; for these make no part of the condition; and the discussions in the Senate, which are recorded in the Executive Journal, shew, not only, that they were apprised of the distinction between precedent and subsequent negotiations; but that the attempts for precedent ones all failed. It was possible, that some people might hesitate upon the constitutionality of the Senate leaving to the President alone, to see, that their condition was complied with. In answer to this it may be said, the Senate are to advise and consent that the President make the treaty: they are not to make the treaty themselves. When they advise and consent unconstitutionally [unconditionally], they rely on the integrity of the President, that he will not suffer any words to be inserted in the paper, or omitted from it. In this case they rely, that he will strictly follow their advice. If he ratifies without again consulting them, he undertakes for the accuracy with which that advice has been followed. If he ratifies what they did not agree to, their security consists in this; that the treaty will, for that cause, not be the supreme law of the Land; and it cannot be concealed from the world by any official forms, since he must set forth the whole truth of the case in the ratification. The very nature of the power, vested in the Senate, implies, that they are to act upon something not yet complete; the completion of it is reserved to the President. Consequently the Senate may give their advice and consent without the very treaty, which is to be ratified being before them. To this it may be objected, that, according to these positions, the Senate may *now* advise and consent to the general matter of a treaty, which may not be formed for years to come, and thus forestall the judgment of their successors. My answer is, 1. that it is not necessary at this moment to decide upon this objection; because it is not the general matter of a treaty which is consigned to the wording of the President; it is only the simple act of suspending part of an article; which is very little more or less, than striking it out by a pen; and the words which the Senate have used, are apt words in themselves, for which none can be substituted, which can well create ambiguity.—2. If it were necessary to decide upon the objection, I would say, that it can scarcely ever happen, that the Senate will submit to the President to work up the general matter of a treaty in any form, which he shall approve.—3. But still the objection recurs: can they do so constitutionally?—I think not.—How then is this distinguishable from what they have now done? In the circumstance of the amendment being nothing more than (as has been already observed) a mere suspension or striking out; in the inevitable consequence, that if any deviation be made from the

sense of the Senate by the shapes of speech which may be chosen, it will be immediately detected; and in the certainty that the sense of the Senate will be expressed, unless there be a wilfull departure from it; which would amount to a cause of impeachment, would avail nothing in fact, and is not to be presumed.—4. As to the length of time beforehand, which my doctrine would allow to the Senate; the restriction would be this: if the President was once to pass his judgment upon it, whether in the negative or affirmative, the subject would be immediately ended; or if before he had passed his judgment upon it, a future Senate should by a vote of two thirds annul the preceding vote, it would be constitutionally abolished. So that the power of a succeeding Senate need never be supposed in danger. From these considerations, I conclude, that the President may ratify without submitting the new article to the Senate.

If these difficulties shall be cleared away in the President's mind, he will next arrive at the two great and momentous questions: 1. Whether to ratify, as the Senate have advised, or reject: 2. and what line of conduct is to be pursued, in either event.

1. The reasons for ratifying or rejecting have often passed thro' his mind; but as it will aid me in my own conclusions, to bring the principal of those reasons into one summary view, I beg leave to offer this concise statement.

A treaty is the act of two independent nations; neither having a right to dictate to the other; and each determining upon what it will yield or accept, partly from its sense of right; partly upon its own strength, and partly upon the inferiority and actual situation of its antagonist. Compare the U States and Great Britain together; and war from us would appear formidable to her no otherwise, than as it would interrupt her trade and manufactures. These being the only avenues through which G. Britain, as a nation, could have been really wounded by us, she went into the negotiation with no other apprehension of us, unless it might have been, that the supplies for the West Indies would be withholden. To counterpoise this, she calculated upon our aversion to war, founded upon our true policy: she was conscious of her own ability to enter into any commercial reprisals upon us; and understood the temper of our people too well to believe, that they would have *long* foreborne from the fruits of neutrality for the indulgence of national hatred. We know, that at one period the british ministry would have made war upon us:¹ her losses and our sincere neutrality perhaps changed this hostile disposition; but she must have been perfectly persuaded, that we could stipulate nothing in her favour, wch. could relieve her from present difficulties in the war with France.

Under these circumstances, what kind of a treaty could we expect? Not one dictated by ourselves; nor yet one, different from all that have ever been made on such occasions, on principles of compromise and mu-

¹ See Jay to Washington, July 21, 1794. *Correspondence of John Jay*, IV. 33.

tual concession. If the present constitution of the United States, which was the act of sister-states was an affair of accommodation; how could it be expected that two nations, widely alienated from one another, could agree on any other terms?

Let the treaty be reviewed under the following heads: 1. The rights, which we have obtained: 2. the rights, which we have surrendered: 3. the favors which we have gained: 4. miscellaneous matter.

My first purpose was to class the articles of the treaty under these different heads, and thus examine them individually. But *the paper*,¹ which you did me the honor of shewing to me, having gone into this [in] detail, I shall speak of them separately only where I differ from its writer.

1. The rights gained are the posts and compensation for the captures.²

2. The rights surrendered are

1. Satisfaction for the negros. The President will recollect the reasoning contained in the letter to Mr Jay in December last.³ This still strikes me, as unanswerably true; and I will add another reflection of no small weight; that, if the negotiators did not think proper to ascertain who was the first aggressor, every thing dependent upon this idea shou'd have been buried; whereas the U. S. are to be burthened with the debts of individuals, solely because the several States are supposed to have been the first aggressors.

2. The right of sequestering or confiscating the debts, funds etc. of an enemy.⁴ It is a sound principle to prevent such acts: but it will be a subject of great clamor in the house of Representatives; as insinuating the apprehension of fraud in them; as being the symptoms of a desire to enlarge the authority to make treaties; as taking away one of the means of redress; and as influencing the questions now depending in Court, as far as an opinion can go. It is reciprocal, it is true, and important to commercial credit. But I wish the *principle* only had been declared, without stipulating against the *practice*. It would have been sufficiently operative, without being a direct attack upon the House of Representatives.

3. The rights surrendered by the 12th article, need not be spoken of; as it is to be suspended.

4. The rights of the settlers within the precincts and jurisdiction of the posts etc.⁵ I understand this as the paper does—not liable to much exception.

¹ Hamilton's elaborate reply, dated July 9, to the letter of July 3, in which the President (*Writings*, ed. Ford, XIII. 61-63) asks his advice as to ratification in much the same terms as those of his queries to the members of the cabinet. It is printed in Lodge's edition of Hamilton's works, IV. 322-363.

² Arts. II. and VII.

³ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I. 509.

⁴ Art. X.

⁵ In Art. II.

5. The prohibition of our citizens to take commissions from foreign powers.¹ I understand this, as the paper does, liable to no exception.

6. The provision against reprisals, until justice be refused or unreasonably delayed,² will contribute to peace.

7. The prohibition of countenance to foreign privateers etc.³ This I understand as the paper does; liable to no objection.

8. I rank among the rights surrendered the clause respecting provisions being seizable.⁴ *The paper* has not taken into the account, that the *seizor* will be always the judge, whether they are so: that G. Britain has avowed her doctrine on the 8th of June 1793; and that she has again commented upon it in the same way by her late order.⁵

3. The favors which we have gained are

1. The India trade, and the power of supplying Canada etc. with European, Asiatic and domestic articles.⁶

The paper does not touch the great objection, that british vessels come so high up, while our's are admitted only so low down.⁷ It is a disadvantage; but it's value is not very important. It will be played off more against Mr Jay's vigilance, than for any other purpose.

2. The trade to the East Indies.⁸

From the article on this subject we certainly derive two advantages.

1. The conversion of what has been hitherto a favor into a compact; namely, a direct trade from the East Indies to the U. States. 2. the prohibition of higher duties on our exportations than on british exportations. And *the paper* supposes, that every thing else is left upon it's old footing; and the same indulgencies may be granted after the treaty, as before. This is apparently the case. But these doubts occur. 1. whether many American merchants will risque themselves upon the chance of receiving these indulgences in the face of a treaty; and knowing that they *may* be deprived of the opportunity of employing their spare time in going from the East Indies to China etc. with a coasting freight, they may not withdraw from the trade.—2. whether the probability is not greater, that the indulgencies *will* be withdrawn, after such a treaty than before it. For why has the british government expressly stipulated against the continuance of the privilege, if it was intended to leave a discretionary power to enforce the restriction, or not?

4. The miscellaneous matter of the treaty.

¹ Art. XXI.

² Art. XXII.

³ Art. XXIV.

⁴ In Art. XVIII. See Moore, *Digest of International Law*, VII. 675-679.

⁵ The text of the orders of June 8, 1793, is given in Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 300-301, and in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I. 240; that of the orders of April, 1795, was never published. Moore, I. 310.

⁶ Art. III.

⁷ In the former case to the highest ports of entry on the rivers; in the latter, only to the mouths.

⁸ Art. XIII.

1. All our differences are closed. This is a most valuable quality; altho' we have made some sacrifices.

2. The adjustments as to the Mississippi and St. Croix are unexceptionable.¹

3. The *mode* of deciding on the captures² is agreeable to usage in one respect, and more favorable than usual in another. I wish, that the stipulation against *illegal* and *irregular* captures may be found broad enough for full satisfaction to our citizens.

4. The European trade stands upon the footing of reciprocity; not very important in any way. The prohibition of additional tonnage and additional duties deprives the U. S. of the power of discriminating between the british and other nations, is not unreasonable, while we mean to keep peace with Great Britain.³

5. The prohibition⁴ to make treaties, in derogation of the 24 and 25. articles cannot be important to us, as it is to last only during our amity with Great Britain; and while we are her *friends*, we surely cannot wish to assist her *enemies*. It cannot be important to France, because her treaty secures this point; and in any new negotiation, so much of the old treaty may be reserved.

Other articles are too small to require a comment.

Here then I return to the question, whether the President ought to ratify, as the Senate have advised, or reject?

Advantages and disadvantages, depending upon moral reasoning, cannot, like pounds, shillings and pence, be weighed in opposite scales. For want of a standard of certainty, let us bring them together in the following contrast.

1. Advantages.

1. Old bickerings settled; except as to impressments and provisions.

2. Indian wars at an end; at least those countenanced by G. Britain.

3. New opportunities for extending trade in Canada.

4. Posts surrendered.

5. Captures compensated.

6. Gr: Britain interested in securing to us the Mississippi.

2. Disadvantages

1. Loss of negroes.

2. Assumption of debts due to british creditors in certain cases.

3. The lands which may be taken from the U. S. by the indulgence to the british settlers.

4. the *situation* of provisions.

3. Doubtful.

1. East India trade.

2. The European trade cannot be properly called doubtful; but it has no peculiar advantage on our side.

Independent of these pros and cons, arising from the face of the treaty, there are some other considerations, entitled to attention; wch. recommend ratification and dissuade rejection.

¹ Arts. IV. and V.

² Art. VII.

³ Arts. XIV. and XV.

⁴ In Art. XXV.

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Those, which recommend ratification, are

1. that peace, or rather the non-interruption of our Commerce will be secured.
2. that the danger of being thrown into one set of foreign politics by an abhorrence of the outrages of another, will be so far cut up.
3. that it gives some prospect of extending our commerce with the british dominions.
4. that as it is not the interest of the U. S. to be on ill terms with France, lest we thereby throw ourselves too much on G. Britain, so vice versa, the U. S. ought to be on good terms with both. It is at least doubtful, whether it be the interest of the U. S. that there should be only *one* dominant power, or game-cock in Europe.

The reasons, that dissuade rejection, are

1. the latitude of authority, with which Mr. Jay was vested, and his not having exceeded it.
2. The little expectation of obtaining a much better treaty.
3. The possibility of the convulsions of France, re-inspiring G: Britain with her former arrogance.
4. The impression, which the refusal to ratify, will make upon our public, national character; merely because we have not all the advantage on our side. This idea I prefer to the one adopted by *the paper*; which supposes us to be called upon by our professions of neutrality to ratify.
5. The postponement of the surrender of the posts, and its consequences.
6. The exposure of the twenty senators to a general assault:¹ the consequent alienation of them from the Government: the victory to the minority in the Senate; who in conjunction with the majority in the house of representatives, will first be loud in their eulogiums on the President, and afterwards never be satisfied, unless they dictate to him. This reason is however of no consequence, if the President be satisfied, that it is right on other grounds to reject the treaty. It is only one of those little things, which may deserve some respect, where the scale of truth hangs in equilibrio.

To these considerations, stand opposed the opinion of a senator, who, under the signature of Americanus, imagines, that the suspension of the 12th article will suspend the whole of the treaty, except the first ten articles; and the late order, if genuine, for the capture of provisions. That opinion, if true, ought to arrest the ratification; but I cannot, upon any examination, which I have given the subject, discover the principles of it. The last eighteen articles are to expire, only in case the 12th cannot be arranged, before the expiration of two years after the war; and are not affected by any *intermediate* fate of the 12th article.² But the order for capturing provisions is too irreconcilable with a state of harmony, for the treaty to be put into motion during its existence. The

¹ The ratification was carried by a vote of 20 to 10.

² Art. XXVIII.

reasons are mentioned in the paper, and in another part of this writing. And if no expedient could be found for the emergency, it would be my opinion, that the treaty ought to be absolutely broken up; and if new negotiations could not be opened, that other views of our situation should be examined.

It is questionable whether the suspension of the treaty for so just a cause has not some benefits. 1. Before it is compleated, this campaign, if not the war, may perhaps be finished. 2. the passions of the public will have subsided. 3. Possibly some of the captures may have been decided, and some compensation made, in the ordinary course of proceeding, without the intervention of the treaty; so as to satisfy the people, that the british mean to do justice. 4. The subjects, omitted by Mr. Jay, to wit, impressments, and orders against the continuance of the capturing system, may be pressed with effect; tho' not as ultimate. 5. It enables the President, as will be seen under the next head, to bring back to *himself* the treaty, before it is ratified, and thus avoid all risque of censure.

2. The next enquiry is, what step the President will take upon either hypothesis of rejection or ratification. Upon that of rejection, there is but one; namely, an attempt to renew the negotiation.

My plan for the ratification, tho going to the same final object with *the paper*, is different in the means which it uses. It is the following: the actual position of political affairs in Holland: the actual position of our pecuniary affairs there, as communicated to me by the Secretary of the Treasury: the puerile appearance, which it will have, to be shifting ministers about in Europe; convince me, that Mr. Adams' ought not to be drawn over from the Hague to London. If, however, the President shall be pleased to determine otherwise, Mr. Adams's agency will not very materially change the measures, which I propose.¹

I take the liberty then of suggesting: that a personal interview be immediately had between the Secretary of State and Mr Hammond, and that the substance of the address to him be this.

"I know, Sir, that you are acquainted with the late treaty between the U. S. and his britannic majesty; and presume, that you have seen the vote of the Senate, advising a ratification of it upon condition. That treaty being still subject to the negative of the President, is now before him, undetermined as to its fate. The candour which has reigned throughout our proceedings, induces me, with the permission of the

¹ John Quincy Adams, minister to the Netherlands.

² The ensuing paragraphs, containing the proposed address to Hammond, are printed in *A Vindication of Mr. Randolph's Resignation* (Philadelphia, 1795), pp. 30, 31. On July 13, the day after the date of this letter, the President directed Randolph to address Hammond as he proposed, and he at once did so. He then directed him to prepare the memorial which he had mentioned to Hammond, on the provision order, a form of ratification, and instructions to the person who was to manage the business in London. *A Vindication*, p. 31; Conway, pp. 267, 339, 340; Randolph to the President, July 20, in Sparks, *Washington*, XI. 45.

President, to explain to you, as the Minister plenipotentiary of his britannic majesty near the United States, what is the course of his reflection upon this momentous transaction. If his majesty could doubt the sincerity of the President's professions of a desire to maintain full harmony with the british nation; his doubt will vanish when he is told, Sir, as I now tell you, that, notwithstanding after the most mature consideration of the treaty, there are several parts, by no means coincident with his wishes and expectations; yet he had determined to ratify it, in the manner advised by the Senate. He had determined to put his hand to it, without again submitting it, even after the insertion of the new article, to the Senate.

"But we are informed by the public gazettes, and by letters, tolerably authentic, that vessels, even American vessels, laden with provisions for France, may be captured and dealt with, as carrying a kind of qualified contraband. If this be not true, you can correct me.

"Upon the supposition of its truth, the President cannot persuade himself, that he ought to ratify, during the existence of that order. His reasons will be detailed in a proper representation thro' Mr Hammond to his britannic majesty. At the same time, that order being removed, he will ratify without delay or further scruple. Of this also his britannic majesty will be informed in the most explicit and unequivocal terms.

"Now, Sir, the object of my interview with you arises from my recollection of your having expressed to me a wish, that the ratifications should be exchanged here, in order that you might have some agency in closing the treaty. I am thus led to believe, that it may not be disagreeable to you to undertake what I shall now have the honor of proposing to you.

"Supposing that Mr Jay's negotiation would absorb every controversy: that nothing would be left to be done for some time in the ordinary course of residence; or that Mr Pinckney would have returned to London before he was wanted there, he was dispatched as an Envoy to Madrid. He did not commence his journey until the 11. of May last. The Secretary of the Legation, Mr Deas,¹ is the only person remaining in London, as the political agent of the U S. Being desirous of consummating every thing here, as far as we can, it has occurred to me to state in a memorial to you the situation of the business, and the foregoing declaration of the President's purpose to ratify. This, we presume, will be immediately transmitted through you to the british ministry. The reply may be handed to Mr Deas. You will also be furnished with a copy of the form, in which the President means to ratify, when the order is rescinded.

"The President had indeed once thought to order one of our European ministers over to London to supply for this purpose the place of Mr Pinckney: but the most weighty objections render this impractic-

¹ William Allen Deas of South Carolina, who finally carried out the exchange of ratifications.

able. And it may be also conceived, that to send over a fresh diplomatic character, at this stage of the business, would neither be very easy, nor very expeditious.

"It is also contemplated by the President, to propose that, for the purpose of saving delay, the ratifications may be exchanged *here*. For, altho' he does not doubt the constitutionality of the Senate's act, and is advised too, that the proposed article, if agreed to by his britannic majesty, need not be submitted to them before ratification; yet he entertains serious doubts, whether he can himself ratify, without having the very article under his eye, after it shall have been assented to by his britannic majesty. The difference of time in the one form or the other will consist only in a voyage from London to Philadelphia. Provision will be made for the subscription in London of any papers, which *form* may require.

"You will oblige me, Sir, by giving me your sentiments on this statement."

According to Mr Hammond's reply, so will the Government conduct itself.

If the thing can be arranged with him, it is humbly offered to the President, as the best expedient. If it cannot, let us try, whether Deas cannot be so prepared, as to have little more to do than what an automaton would be equal to; that is, the mere delivery of papers, and the receiving of answers. If Deas cannot be substituted, then some of our European ministers must of necessity be sent over; unless some qualified person would go from hence, without eclat, in the character of a mere agent. I have the honor, Sir, to be etc. etc.

EDM: RANDOLPH.

P. S. I forgot to add, as to the order for seizing provisions, a circumstance greatly critical. The reasons, adducted by Mr Adet against the treaty, are all against him. But if this order be tolerated, while France is understood to labour under a famine, the torrent of invective from France and our own countrymen will be immense.

3. *Virgil Maxcy on Calhoun's Political Opinions and Prospects*, 1823.

THE following letter, at present in the possession of the managing editor, is of interest in the paucity of Calhoun's published political correspondence for 1823 and the adjoining years. It is especially so because it shows him at that time pointedly adhering to the position on the tariff which he had taken in his celebrated speech of 1816. The letter thus supplements that which Calhoun wrote directly to Garnett on July 3, 1824 (*Correspondence*, p. 219). The communication of Calhoun to Maxcy on which it is in part based is not in the collection of his letters to Maxcy in the Library of Congress.

Virgil Maxcy was the son of Jonathan Maxcy, successively president of Rhode Island College (now Brown University), Union College, and South Carolina College. He was a prominent politician and lawyer in Maryland, and an ardent supporter of Calhoun. After having been solicitor of the treasury under Jackson, and *chargé des affaires* at Brussels under Van Buren, he was killed in February, 1844, (with Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and others) by the explosion on board the *Princeton*.

TULIP HILL, near ANNAPOLIS
Nov. 16. 1823.

My dear Sir,

I have duly rec^d. your letter and felt certain that your impressions in relation to Mr. C—n's opinions respecting manufactures were founded in misapprehension. Frankness in the avowal of his opinions on all political questions and a readiness to assume the responsibility of defending them, are distinguishing traits in Mr. Calhoun's character. I have since the receipt of your letter had a communication with him on the subject of it. He thinks your mistake in relation to his opinions or rather your impression that he had expressed different opinions from those he entertains on the subject of manufactures, originated in his disapprobation of Mr. Baldwin's project,¹ which he considers violent in degree and altogether unnecessary. He thinks that little need be done to render the principal branches flourishing. For his opinions on this subject he refers such of his friends as feel an interest in knowing the extent of them, to a speech which he delivered in 1816, and which he thinks was republished from the *Intelligencer* into *Niles Register*.² He is surprised at Col. Taylor's³ misapprehension of him as he went over the whole ground with him, and he thought that he, (Col. Taylor) felt disposed to yield to the conclusion, that we ought to make such naval exertions as would enable us to keep open our connexion with our markets, in time of war, or so to modify the industry of the country as in some degree to render us independent in war of foreign markets, for the leading and necessary articles of supply. Col. Taylor appeared to him to prefer the first branch of the alternative. In the conclusion of his letter he desires me to say, that when you arrive at Washington, he will be happy to discuss the subject freely with you, and he concludes his letter in the following strong language, which I, who have known him most intimately for more than 15 years believe to be perfectly sincere: viz. "I may say with truth that I could not be tempted, even by the Presidency, to disguise or conceal my opinion on great points of National policy."

¹ The tariff bill brought in by Henry Baldwin of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Manufactures, in April, 1821. See Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies*, I. 180-199.

² *Works*, II.

³ Doubtless John Taylor of Caroline.

As to newspapers—altho' he may and perhaps ought to, be answerable that those which are devoted to him, shall not rest his pretensions on false foundations—yet it is not reasonable, that he should be made responsible for their exaggerations and extravagances.

I am happy to tell you that the Cr—d ticket is beaten in New York city.¹ Of the ticket opposed to it, 8 of the 10 are C—n's friends and the polls closed with a cry of "Victory for Calhoun" (*and not Adams*) "over Crawford". The impression is rapidly increasing that he will get this powerful state, without whose votes no candidate can be chosen by the Electors. Late information confirms the impression before pretty strong, that N^o. C—a has deserted C—d for C—n, and that Ohio is in a fair way of doing the same by Clay. The effervescence which has been excited in Pa. in favor of Jackson for the purpose of affecting the late Election of Gov. is beginning to subside and Calhoun to come up there again. I could give you sheets of extracts of letters from all parts—even N. England, shewing C—n's rapid increase of popularity—but I have not time. You will soon hear all at Washⁿ. The result of the whole in my mind is this, that no one of the Candidates stands any chance of getting a majority of the votes of the Electors except C—n, and as he is manifestly the second choice of nearly all parts of the Union where he is not first, if the election comes to the house, he is the only candidate upon whom a union or compromise is practicable.

I am with sincere regard yrs.

V. MAXCY.

To the Hon^{ble}. R. S. Garnett,
Loretto, near
Fredericksburgh
Va.

¹ See Hammond, *History of Political Parties in New York*, II. 130-132. Henry Wheaton was the leading member of the successful ticket.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Persia Past and Present. A Book of Travel and Research with more than two hundred illustrations and a map. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages, and sometime Adjunct Professor of the English Language and Literature in Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xxxi, 471.)

THE book is the outcome of a journey made by Professor Jackson in 1903 through Persia. Its plan naturally follows the course of his itinerary, which may be indicated in summarizing briefly the contents of the work. The opening portion (pp. 1-32) carries the reader from New York via Moscow, Baku, Tiflis, and Erivan to the Persian frontier at Julfa, and concludes with a chapter on the land, its history, and our interest in the country, the last section dealing with the influences that Persian art, architecture, literature, and religion have exerted upon the world, and with the indebtedness of the English language to the Persian. In the next section (pp. 33-174) is the account of the journey from Julfa to Tabriz, thence around Lake Urumiah (the Chaechasta of the Avesta) to Urumiah and on past Takht-i Suleiman to Hamadan, the two rival claimants to the site of Ecbatana. As Urumiah is supposed to be the scene of the early labors of Zoroaster, the interest in the great prophet of Iran naturally comes to the front and gives occasion for a chapter (only too brief) on Zoroaster and the Avesta. At Hamadan begin the cuneiform inscriptions with the Ganj Namah inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, and during the next section of the journey (pp. 175-320) this subject is in the foreground. A special chapter is devoted to the inscriptions and the ever interesting story of their decipherment, and we have besides the account of the dangerous climb up the Behistan rock, and of the visits to Murghab (Pasargadae), the tombs of Naksh-i Rostam, and the ruined palaces of Persepolis. Interwoven with this is the description of the Sasanian sculptures of Tak-i Bostan, Kermanshah, and Naksh-i Rostam. Zoroastrianism receives its share in the accounts of the temple of Anahita at Kangavar, and the ruined fire-temple near Isfahan, while the modern aspects of that city are not overlooked. In the remainder of the book (pp. 321-446) the interest centres successively around Shiraz, the home of Hafiz and

Saadi; Yezd, the present stronghold of Zoroastrianism in Persia; and Teheran, the modern capital, with its suburb Rei identified with Ragha. From Teheran the author proceeded to the shore of the Caspian, where he took a steamer at Resht for Baku. His journey thence through Turkestan to Samarkand is to form the subject of another work.

As the subtitle indicates, the book is intended for two classes of readers—the specialist and the man of general cultivation; and the first point that claims recognition is the skill with which these partly diverse interests have been prevented from coming into conflict. For the general reader the work possesses all the elements that go to make books of travel in strange lands interesting reading. It is a story of danger and hardship encountered with courage, and overcome by patience, endurance, and perseverance in the pursuit of an important end—a story told with the utmost modesty, and enlivened with flashes of a humor that must have helped the author in many a situation. Politics and the details of trade relations do not enter into the plan of the book, but thanks to the keenness of Professor Jackson's observations and his unusual power of expressing them in language, the book presents a most vivid picture of the life in Persia both of the traveller and of the people by whom he was surrounded, of the present aspects of the country, and of the monuments of its past greatness. The unusual merit that constitutes the superiority of the book is that the reader is made to see all this through the eyes of one who has studied deeply Persia's history, literature, and religion, and he thus receives the benefits of a truer perspective and a far richer association of ideas than could be given by the description of what any ordinary traveller had seen. In this connection attention may be directed especially to the chapters headed, "Persia, the Land and its History, and our Interest in the Country", "Zoroaster and the Avesta", and "The Rock Inscriptions of the Great Persian Kings", which are models of the popular exposition of the results of scientific study. Another charm of the book is due to the author's love of nature and of literature, both well exemplified in the chapter on "Shiraz, the Home of the Persian Poets." In his enjoyment of the book the general reader may go from cover to cover without inconvenience from the scholarly work, which chiefly settles like a rich sediment in the foot-notes. In these moreover an awakened interest will find a guide to further information. The author fears that the general reader may check at some dozen of pages of discussion of the new readings of the Behistan inscription, but to the reviewer it seems that one would be unwilling to miss this insight into the nature of the main motive to which he is indebted for the production of such an attractive book.

For the scholar the book is valuable both for the richness of its bibliographical references and for its own contributions to the subject. Among these the work at Behistan would alone constitute a memorable achievement. A quotation from Rawlinson will indicate the difficulty and importance of the task: "I will not say much as to the danger

or difficulty of ascending the rock and reaching the upper part of the sculptures which are some 500 feet above the plain. I did not think much at the time of the risk to life and limb, but it must be remembered that Messrs. Coste and Flandin having been deputed to the spot with express instructions to copy the inscription returned *re infecta* declaring the sculptures to be absolutely inaccessible; and I may further add that although there is still something to be copied and much to be verified I have never heard but of one traveller accomplishing the ascent since the period of my last visit." The work of this traveller seems to have amounted to nil, and so after the lapse of more than half a century there remains for Professor Jackson the glory of being the first to give the world a verification of Rawlinson's great work. Three facts stand out clearly from his examination of the inscription: (1) the general accuracy of Rawlinson's work; (2) that there is still information to be gleaned, but to the fullest extent only by one abreast with the work in the subject (the author left the rock convinced that Foy's emendation of Bh. 4. 64: *ārštām* is the actual reading, while it is clear from his account that the most careful observer who was ignorant of this emendation would read with Rawlinson *abaštām*); (3) that this work should be done immediately on account of the disintegration of the rock. It must be a cause of deep regret that time did not permit Professor Jackson to verify the reading of the whole of the Old Persian text, especially as it might reasonably be hoped that the gleanings would prove richest in its least accessible parts.

Next in importance are the descriptions of present beliefs and practices: the detailed account of the Zoroastrian communities at Yezd (pp. 353-400) and Teheran (pp. 425-427, *cf.* also 119, 217, 273, 336-338, 403-404, 406, 413, 438, 440); the account of the Yezidis or devil-worshippers of Tiflis (pp. 10 *et seqq.*); and such legends as the version of the apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy (p. 102) and of Alexander at Hamadan (p. 164). For the archaeologist there is the discussion of the identifications of various sites, especially important being the discussion with regard to Ecbatana; the accounts of diggings in the ash-heaps near Urumiah; the description of the temple of Anahita at Kangavar and of the fire-temple near Isfahan. Besides there are the descriptions of the various monuments, which are sometimes fuller than previous accounts (*e. g.*, p. 210); sometimes correct previous ideas (p. 282, n. 2); and are always valuable on account of their clearness. Finally there are numerous indications (pp. 163, 173, 242, 250, 407, 433) of places where excavations might be made with profit.

Two services of a broader nature to the cause of scholarship must at least be indicated: (1) the value to students of the early monuments of having their attention drawn to the modern conditions of the land; (2) the securing for Iranian studies a broader basis of that popular interest without which no branch of science can long thrive. The services rendered in this line to comparative philology by Max Mueller

are universally recognized, and the present work is admirably adapted to confer similar benefits upon Iranian studies.

The only criticism of the book to be offered here is on the positiveness of the attribution of the monuments at Murghab to Cyrus the Great. Weissbach's ascription of the inscription and relief to the younger Cyrus and his denial of the identity of the tomb with that described by the classic writers are entitled to mention, even if one does not (like the reviewer) believe them the more probable explanations.

In conclusion unlimited praise must be given to the make-up of the book, to the liberality of the index, and the execution of the map and illustrations, many of which are from unpublished photographs taken by the author or his friends.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

Homer and His Age. By ANDREW LANG. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xii, 336.)

THE sturdy champion of Homeric unity has here given the Disintegrationists such a shaking up as they have rarely had before. And for all true believers what a consolation! Against the critics who regard the *Iliad* as the work of four or five centuries and so a medley of old and new, of obsolete and modern, Mr. Lang maintains that it is "the work of a single age, a single stage of culture, the poet describing his own environment." It is an age which has substituted cremation for burial of the dead; which retains bronze for arms while employing iron for tools; which keeps the huge Mycenaean shield now strengthened by bronze plates and has elaborated corselets and greaves. This age, he thinks, is certainly sundered from the Mycenaean prime by the century or two in which changing ideas led to the superseding of burial by burning; or by a foreign conquest and the years in which the foreign conquerors acquired the language of their subjects.

To begin with, Mr. Lang finds abundant *raison d'être* for the long epic in a society like that drawn in the *Odyssey*. There the minstrel "has an opportunity that never occurred again till the literary age of Greece for producing a long poem continued from night to night." True enough: does not Odysseus himself reel off a sixth of the *Odyssey* during one night in hall? Think, too, of poor Penelope's unbidden house-party three years running, with leisure for a dozen *Iliads* and *Odysseys* if Phemius had had a mind to sing them!

And to end with, our author makes as short work of the difficulty of handing down these long poems. They were preserved and transmitted, he declares, not by gilds of rhapsodists but by early written texts. It is interesting to recall how, years before Evans had dreamed of digging at Knossos, Lang had written in his Letter to Homer: "May we discover thee practising a new art and strange, graving Phœnician symbols on tablets of wood, or writing with a reed pen on slips of papyrus?" And now we actually find at Knossos not only thousands of inscribed clay tablets, but earthen cups of Early Minoan time bear-

ing cursive writing with a reed pen in sepia ink; so that S. Reinach infers the possibility of whole Minoan libraries—manuscripts written on palm-leaves, papyrus, parchment, and like perishable materials. Mr. Lang holds that, in an age when people could write and write freely, they did write down the epics; and that the epic texts existed in the Aegean script till Greece adapted to her own tongue the "Phoenician letters" as she did not later than the ninth or eighth century.

In the body of the book Mr. Lang deals first with "Loose Feudalism and the Over-Lord", finding a clear consistency in the character and position of Agamemnon throughout; next with the archaeology of the poems (Cremation, Armour, Bronze and Iron, the Homeric House), in all of which he holds that Homer "gives us an harmonious picture of a single and peculiar age." Yet he has to own that "the whole argument has no archaeological support. We may find Mycenaean corselets and greaves but they are not in cremation burials. No Homeric cairn with Homeric contents has ever been discovered; and, if we did find Homeric cairns, it appears from the poems that they would very seldom contain the arms of the dead." Of the desultory chapters that follow perhaps the most notable is "The 'Doloneia'", in which a very fair case is made out for the much-maligned Tenth Iliad.

Altogether, from frontispiece (Algonquin Braves under Mycenaean Shields) to finis, the book is one for which every Homeric student may well be grateful.

J. IRVING MANATT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte.

Von HANS DELBRÜCK. Dritter Teil: *Das Mittelalter*. (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Stilke. 1907. Pp. vi, 700.)

THE bulky volume in which Professor Delbrück carries his subject through the Middle Ages is printed in large, clear type, and is indexed and furnished with numerous sketch-maps. The author's "framework" of political history is so generous as to make the book of interest to the general reader as well as to the critical scholar. He begins at once with Charles the Great and makes many interesting comparisons between the empire of 800 A. D. and of the Roman era, *e. g.*, the number of warriors, the method of service and of summons, equipment, maintenance, etc. The warrior under Charles must furnish an equipment equivalent in value to forty-five cows (a cow is reckoned at a solidus) or fifteen mares—the stock valuation of an entire village. The chapter on the conquest of the Saxons furnishes an interesting comparison with the Roman disaster in the Teutoberg Forest during the reign of Augustus. The author holds that the Roman frontier was, as it were, projected at one point, by Varus, into the wild German territory, leaving the Roman forces isolated. The opposite was true under Charles the Great, and his task was correspondingly less difficult. Thirty pages of the first book are given to Carolingian "Wehrpflichts-Capitularien".

Book two deals with the perfected feudal state. It describes the blending of the feudal elements of the time of Charles into a systematic whole and the building of the states on the ruins of the Carolingian empire. Sixteen pages are given to the battle of the Lech, the author closing with the statement—in opposition to Nitzsch, Waitz, and Breslau—that this battle “macht Otto I zum grossen Feldherrn”. Other chapters take up the battles under Emperor Henry IV., the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons by the Normans, the Norman constitution of war as it was developed in England, the Norman state in Italy, and the situation in the East which led up to the Crusades.

The third book treats of the science of war as it developed at the height of the Middle Ages. Knighthood as a calling is a central thought. Its foreshadowings from the time of Tacitus are shown, its development into a military profession, and the transition to a mercenary system. Strategy is treated briefly. Then follows a lengthy discussion of the art of war as illustrated in city life—in the Italian communes under Frederick Barbarossa; in the administration of Frederick II., in such German cities as Köln and Strassburg—and in the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights. The subject of English archery is developed in connection with the conquest of Wales and Scotland by Edward I. This book closes with a description of some thirty single campaigns, battles, or skirmishes, illustrating the opinions advanced by the author.

In his “Vorwort” to book iv., dealing with the later Middle Ages, Professor Delbrück says that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries bring a series of new phenomena in the conduct of war, which so modify the picture given thus far as to require a new division. These phenomena are not of such a sort as to make the transition from the old to the new forms a constant development. Nor do they stand to each other in an organic relation. They are rather “singularities”, which either disappear or first gain their true significance after centuries—as in the introduction of firearms or in the victories of an army of burgher and peasant “infantry-folk” over an army of knights. He proposes in the remaining chapters to show the particular phenomena of these centuries in their fundamental meaning and historical causality. By special examples he tries to show that the conduct of war in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was essentially the same as in the thirteenth or twelfth centuries, or even earlier—that is, that the new phenomena were not yet incorporated as part of the military system. The only exception he makes is the Swiss, whose history he treats separately in his final chapters.

The first battle in which we get a glimpse of the new order of things is the battle of Courtray, in 1302. The changes are suggested in the title of the chapter: “Phalangen-Schlachten. Burgerwehren und Landsturm-Aufgebote.” Crécy, in 1346, is a type of a number of battles illustrating archers fighting in combination with dismounted knights. Others chapters follow on the Osman Empire; the Hussites; the Condottieri, Ordinance Companies, and Free-Shooters. The volume closes

with a section devoted to the Swiss, who first, in the author's view, reveal modern tendencies in the conduct of war, not as occasional eccentricities but as fixed principles. The early "Ritter" and "Fussvolk" are not what are now called cavalry and infantry. A true infantry is first developed by the Swiss. In the battles of Laupen, Sempach, Granson, Murten, and Nancy we have once more an infantry comparable to the phalanx and legion. The origin of firearms and their place in the development of the subject will be discussed in the next volume.

C. T. WYCKOFF.

L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades. Par LOUIS BRÉHIER. (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre. 1907 [1906]. Pp. xiii, 377.)

THIS is one of the volumes in the *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, begun in 1898. In order to judge the book fairly it is necessary to state the publishers' purpose. They are attempting to carry out the project of Pope Leo XIII., the composition of an "histoire ecclésiastique universelle mise au point des progrès de la critique de notre temps". The volumes are not intended as manuals for secondary schools or for the general public, but rather for advanced students.

As a whole M. Bréhier's work is successful. It is a useful summary, dealing mainly, as the subtitle indicates, with the Crusades. But the first three chapters give an account of the relations between the East and the West before the period of the Crusades. The author was especially competent to write this portion because of his studies on *Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au Commencement du Moyen Age* and *Le Schisme Oriental du XI^e Siècle* (1899). The volume ends with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Viewed as a history of the Crusades, the most novel feature is the relatively large amount of space given to the account of the Christian missions in the East and the theoretical propagandists of the later centuries.

As this volume is intended as a guide for advanced students, it contains much bibliographical matter. The introduction is on "les sources et les instruments de travail". It contains some curious errors which produce a bad impression. The *Rolls Series* (p. xi) is credited with only ninety-eight volumes; the Société de l'Histoire de France with only eighty-five volumes; and there are other similar misstatements. In fact, this general bibliography needs to be carefully corrected and brought down to date. On the other hand, the bibliographies for the separate chapters are well selected and comparatively full. Occasionally (*e. g.*, pp. 88, 117, 183) German fragmentary editions of French and English sources are cited instead of the complete and more satisfactory French or English editions. Throughout the notes the proof-reading has been careless.

As a whole the facts concerning the Crusades are stated accurately.

Some of the misstatements which occur may have been due to the need of brevity, as in the account of the Peasants' Crusade (p. 69). Here the different bands are confused, and what is true for some is stated as true for all, or else supplied to the wrong bands. The author does not quote Theodor Wolff, *Die Bauernkreuzzüge* (Tübingen, 1891), and it seems probable from his account that he did not know the work. There are a number of similar minor errors in various parts of the book. Occasionally the author makes an exaggerated statement, as on p. 32: "A partir des premières années du x^e siècle les pèlerinages en Terre Sainte deviennent de plus en plus fréquents. Il n'est guère de grand personnage laïque ou ecclésiastique dont les biographes ne mentionnent un et quelquefois plusieurs voyages à Jérusalem."

In one respect the work is very disappointing. M. Bréhier does not include in his plan any account of the influences exercised reciprocally by the Franks and the Eastern people with whom they came into contact. Except from a general statement in the conclusion (p. 354) he ignores them entirely. In fact, he would necessarily minimize them, if one may judge his attitude by an entirely erroneous sentence on p. 100: "L'histoire des principautés franques au xii^e siècle en effet est celle d'une lutte perpétuelle contre les ennemis qui les entouraient de tous les côtés à la fois." It is time that this point of view should be banished, even from a manual. It would be a more accurate statement to say that during a considerable portion of the twelfth century the crusading states suffered remarkably little from warfare. M. Bréhier also ignores almost entirely the fact that, in the twelfth century, the Franks who were settled in the Holy Land attempted to maintain peace and build up strong commercial colonies. Consequently there is no account of the relations between the Roman Church and the Armenian kings or of the far-reaching influence exercised by the Franks on the Armenian civilization. Moreover, the tolerance which sprang up in the Holy Land from the intimate contact between the Roman Christians, the Greeks, the various sects of heretics, and the Mohammedans is unmentioned.

Yet, in spite of these errors and omissions, an astonishing number of facts is stated accurately. Considering the paucity and the defects of other manuals on the Crusades, this volume with its bibliographical data is a welcome addition, and forms a useful guide to the external history of the Crusades.

DANA C. MUNRO.

The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor, 1086-1565. By FRANCES GARDINER DAVENPORT, Ph.D. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1906. Pp. xi, 105, cii.)

If more work of the kind Miss Davenport has accomplished had been done a generation ago, much mistaken generalization and false interpretation of history would not have been printed to confuse the student. With no theory to establish and no prejudice to maintain, she gathered all the information that could be procured relating to a single

Norfolk manor, arranged it logically, and thus furnished a contribution to our knowledge of medieval economic conditions that is thoroughly trustworthy. Not the least part of her labor lay in getting together her materials, which consisted of widely scattered manorial documents, some of them in private hands, and some in the great collections of the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere. Many of these she has printed in whole or in part as appendixes, and they form an interesting and useful part of her book.

Comparison of an Elizabethan survey with the entries in Domesday Book helps her to show in her first chapter the topography and territorial development of the manor, the amount of land held by different classes of the population, and the general correspondence between the number of free and servile messuages at the later date and the number of free and unfree tenants at the earlier. Three chapters are then devoted to the history of the demesne. She is able to describe in detail what this was and how it was managed in the reign of Edward the First, a time when manorial changes were few and insignificant; but, unfortunately, owing to lack of materials there then follows a period of seventy years about which she can tell us little. When the tale is resumed with the aid of ministers' accounts for the years 1376-1378, it is shown that the organization and management of the manor had been totally changed; and though the changes are described, the causes of them must be left to surmise. The lord had ceased forever to have the demesne lands tilled on his own account. He preferred to lease them for a term of years, and during the next century there was a marked tendency to lengthen the term till the tenure developed into fee-farm. In her account of the tenants and their land the author follows the same plan as in her account of the demesne. She traces concisely the situation at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the disorders and confusion prevalent two generations later, and the gradual evolution of the copyholding yeomen from the sokeman and the bondman; and in doing so she gives us many concrete facts of interest and importance. It cannot be too much deplored that the years that brought the downfall of the ancient manorial system are just the years for which her materials were wanting. It was a broken organization and decaying institutions, uncertainty and disorder, on which the ministers' accounts of 1376-1378 cast a brief and lurid light. The old order had fallen into a confusion out of which were slowly to emerge security of tenure and industrial freedom. That we are left in ignorance of what had happened on this particular manor to cause the confusion is in no way the fault of the author, however much the gap here in her history may diminish our satisfaction with it.

The reviewer feels that the author would have added to the usefulness of her book by making some comparison of conditions on the manor she studied with conditions that are known to have prevailed elsewhere. In the case of the rate of rent she does this. If she had done the same in other cases, much that she tells us would have added sig-

nificance for students that are not already well acquainted with the field in which her work has lain. Thus, the demesne land consisted mostly of considerable blocks, and little of it lay in scattered strips in the open fields; much of this land also was cultivated more than two successive years. Again, in 1272 there were only about 150 acres of land burdened with heavy services—about one-eighteenth of the whole; a bondman seldom held more than five acres; and upwards of a hundred bondmen lived outside the manor. In these and other particulars Fornsett seems to have differed from the "typical" manor that has long figured in historical writings, and the differences deserve to be noted and interpreted. The author was under no obligation, however, to give this interpretation. She preferred to furnish merely a clear and detailed statement of information about a single manor derived from contemporary documents; and having done this, she deserves thanks for a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the manorial system and its decay.

THOMAS WALKER PAGE.

Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel. Von ERNST GERLAND. Erster Teil. *Geschichte der Kaiser Balduin I. und Heinrich, 1204–1216.* (Homburg v. d. Höhe: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers. 1905. Pp. vii, 264.)

THIS is part of volume II. of a *Geschichte der Frankenherrschaft in Griechenland*, but is published before volume I. Dr. Gerland intends the first volume to contain a history of the Fourth Crusade, and volume III. and the later volumes the history of the lesser states, the Venetian and Genoese colonies, and the rule of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes. Of especial interest is the author's statement that he hopes in the final volume of the whole work to discuss the economic history of the period and its bearing upon the general course of events.

For ten years Gerland has been working on this history. To him has been intrusted the duty of making serviceable to scholars the wealth of material left by Hopf. As is well known, Hopf was unsurpassed in his ability for collecting data from the most varied sources, and had a wonderful fund of information. Unfortunately he seems to some extent to have been swamped by the wealth of his material. He produced only fragments of the great work which he had planned. Since his death his apparatus has been in the hands of Streit, then of Röhrich, and is now at the Royal Library at Berlin. Every student of the period must feel gratified that an able scholar is at length in a position to make use of the results of Hopf's labors.

Yet Gerland's task is not a mere reworking of Hopf's manuscript. Any one familiar with the latter's methods realizes that his material must be rearranged so that a pragmatic history may be written, as it is at present an undigested mass, arranged chronologically. Moreover, only a scholar who is well equipped for the task could make such use

of the material. It would be very unjust to underestimate Gerland's own work.

The second volume appears first because the first book of the manuscript which Hopf had prepared on this subject has been lost. Gerland thinks that Streit must have destroyed it. Whether this is true or not, 216 pages of manuscript, including the previous history and the account of the Crusade, are no longer in existence. This lengthy introduction to a short review seems necessary for the sake of those who are not acquainted with Hopf's work and the vicissitudes of his literary legacy. It is more excusable because the portion of a volume which we have does not lend itself to review as a completed book would.

This part begins with the election of the Emperor Baldwin in 1204 and extends to the death of his brother Henry in 1216. Its greatest service is that it clearly portrays the ability of the Emperor Henry and shows that he was the real founder of the Latin Empire. His task was extremely difficult. He was constantly harassed by attacks from the Bulgarians and from the Greek rulers in Asia Minor. The Venetians, to whom the conquest had been mainly due, exacted their full pound of flesh; their disregard of everything save their own selfish interests was an almost constant hindrance to the strengthening of the Empire. Only when their own policy or needs made it imperative did they render any effective aid, and then Henry was quick to profit by it. The contests with the partizans of Boniface of Montferrat were also injurious. The settlement of ecclesiastical matters offered many problems: the questions arising between the Greek and Roman Christians; the division of the offices between the Venetians, Pisans, and other Franks; the secularization of church property; the relation of the Venetian Patriarch Morosini to the pope, the papal legates, the emperor, the Venetians, and others—to mention only a few of the problems which confronted the emperor. All these are ably treated by Gerland.

The attitude of Innocent III., which it has been so difficult to understand in many cases, is explained by the author as the result of his preoccupation with the idea of a new crusade which should proceed by way of Constantinople and Nicaea. This would explain, Gerland thinks, his attitude as peacemaker between all the contending parties and interests, and his willingness to pardon or overlook many actions which he must otherwise have condemned. In this connection it is very interesting to compare Gerland's view with the work of Luchaire on Innocent III.

In many cases Gerland makes shrewd conjectures concerning the underlying causes of events. As a whole these seem very plausible. Gerland is careful to throw in such phrases as "*Leider sind wir über den Gang dieser Verhandlungen sehr schlecht unterrichtet*" and "*ich glaube es annehmen zu dürfen.*" Unless the qualifying phrases are carefully noted, others may be led into error and may accept Gerland's ingenious deductions as of equal value with the mass of his statements.

This first part is supplied with a threefold index. A few maps would greatly increase its value.

DANA C. MUNRO.

The History of England from the Accession of Henry III. to the Death of Edward III., 1216-1377. By T. F. Tout, M.A., Professor of Medieval and Modern History in the University of Manchester. [*The Political History of England*, edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D. Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. Volume III.] (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xxiv, 496.)

PROFESSOR TOUT contributes the third of the volumes of the *Political History of England*. It goes without saying that the uniformly high standard of this series suffers nothing at the hands of Professor Tout. In some respects, in a freshness and newness of viewpoint, the volume has an advantage over its predecessors. For this, however, the author must share the credit with the peculiar opportunity offered by the field assigned him. This part of English history has been somewhat neglected by English historians of the last generation. To understand how much, one has only to recount the imposing monographs which have appeared upon the earlier or later periods and compare them with the somewhat meagre array of modern English authorities which the bibliography offers, especially for the part which precedes the reign of Edward III. If, however, English scholars have neglected this period, foreign scholars, particularly the French, have not. A vast array of continental sources has been made accessible, to say nothing of the many and valuable researches of French scholars that have given new importance to events which English writers have been in the habit of passing over altogether or leaving somewhat in the obscurity of background. Professor Tout has put the most of this material under tribute.

It is not possible, however, in the space allotted to this review to do more than note some of the more interesting modifications of accepted views. Thus the Pope appears as the real successor of William Marshal (p. 17). His policy is not to crush English liberty, but to prevent "Englishmen from flying at each other's throats" (p. 18). Something, moreover, is to be said even for Eleanor's uncles (pp. 54, 57). They were by no means such a bad lot as Matthew of Paris would have us believe. Again, in the troubles of the next reign Boniface was not unfriendly to Edward nor had he any idea of quarrelling with either Edward or Philip. No one was more surprised than he, apparently, that his unfortunate *Clericis laicos* should have raised such a disturbance (p. 200).

The author follows Bémont in finding a place for that disembodied ghost, the so-called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo* (cf. p. 208 with Bémont, *Chartes des Libertés Anglaises*, pp. xliii, xliv, and 87). He also shows a masterly comprehension of Edward's policy (pp. 138

and 139), but does not believe that Edward deserves the credit for the peace which prevailed within England during his later years so much as Boniface's unfortunate attempt at intervention in the Scottish affair and the lucky escheat of some of the great baronies (pp. 216-224).

In the struggles of Edward II.'s reign the author sees more of personal rancor and shameless self-seeking on the part of noble-born politicians than of any comprehensive or far-sighted grasp of constitutional principles. In this he will be supported by most scholars, yet we would like to question the statement (p. 243) that the complete "ignoring of the commons" in 1310 was not due to "aristocratic jealousy". If not jealousy, surely contempt, and the two are so closely allied that it is hard to distinguish sometimes. Other statements also may be challenged. Justice is not done to the contracting parties in calling the indemnity offered to Prince Louis in 1217 "a bribe" (p. 13). Nor can the reissue of the charter of the same date be called "its final form"—even "substantially" (*ibid.*). It is assigning too much importance to Henry's council of regency to say that from this council arose the *idea of limited monarchy* (p. 29). The suggestion (pp. 116, 117) that Earl Simon deliberately sacrificed the men of London to the necessities of his plan of battle at Lewes hardly does justice to Simon, nor is it consistent with later estimates of his character. On the other hand, the introduction of the popular element in the famous Parliament of 1265 seems to have been an afterthought on Simon's part and due rather to his necessities than to any "boldness and largeness of his spirit" (p. 120). It is difficult to see how the passage of the Severn at Kempsey (p. 126) reveals Simon's skill when the withdrawal of Edward from Worcester made the passage possible. The skilful strategist and tactician of the Evesham campaign is not Simon but Edward. Again, the great custom of 1275 was more than an expedient to raise revenue. It was substituted not so much for the old land-tax as for the irregular levies of prise (p. 148). The date 1279 is a little early to speak of Parliament as "the estates" (p. 151). It is scarcely more accurate to say that Parliament "passed" a statute at a time when the legislative function of Parliament was still confined to the "humble petition" (*ibid.*). The statement (p. 152) that "all medieval laws were rather enunciations of an ideal than measures which practical statesmen aimed at carrying out in detail", can scarcely be meant to be taken seriously. Louis X.'s posthumous child was a son not a daughter (p. 295). The character of Edward III. is somewhat overdrawn. At all events one could hardly style him a "fluent and eloquent speaker in . . . English" (pp. 310, 312). The possession of Berwick by the English, after Halidon Hill, was in no sense "final" (p. 320). The statement that the death of the elder Artevelt marked "the end of the Anglo-Flemish alliance" should at least be qualified (p. 349). One hesitates to accuse the author of not having read the Statute of Laborers. But he certainly could not have read carefully or at least recently when he made the statement (p. 373): "The statute provided

that prices, like wages, should remain as they had been before the pestilence." It is, moreover, difficult to understand how the employers suffered more than the laborers under the statute.

The book is not without traces here and there of careless writing. Thus on page 3 the somewhat startling statement is made that "the dead king had lately shown . . . rare energy". So Isabella, the wife of Edward II., is described (p. 292) as "a woman of strong character . . . with [a] lack of morals and scruples". Other instances might be cited which fall under lapses of taste. It certainly does not do Bruce justice to call him a "clever adventurer" (p. 262), or Owen Tudor, a "traitor" (p. 414).

It is unfortunate that the plans of the editors do not allow more space for foot-notes in this excellent series. It is not only that the author frequently needs the foot-note to justify his position, but to satisfy the reader that he is getting the result of scholarly care and is not being led astray by the vagary of the author or the carelessness of the proof-reader. Note, for example, in the present work the group of dates connected with the series of brilliant exploits of the Scots of the years 1312-1315, where there is considerable divergence from the ordinary dates. So too one should like to know if the author has anything more than the questionable authority of Villani to support his "three small cannon" which Edward "dragged about" with him in his Crécy campaign (p. 364). So also in the light of the somewhat extensive literature upon the Black Death and the widely divergent views of creditable authors, the simple assertion that this dreaded pestilence was the bubonic plague (p. 370) is hardly sufficient. Still more to the point is the account of the battle of Poitiers. Here the author quite justly rejects Froissart and follows le Baker, yet not altogether, since his narrative is also influenced by Chandos Herald, particularly in his efforts to trace the movements of the two armies. But Chandos Herald, as well as Froissart, especially since the publication in 1899 of Denifle's *Désolation des Églises*, has also fallen under disfavor. In a note added to the appendix the author promises to justify his narrative later. It is to be hoped that this may be done, but there are a lot of other statements that one would also like to see justified or at least supported by foot-notes for the guidance of the student.

The book is accompanied by the customary bibliography and also by three useful maps.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

La Foi Religieuse en Italie au Quatorzième Siècle. Par CHARLES DEJOB. (Paris: A. Fontemoing. 1906. Pp. 439.)

THE thesis which Professor Dejob maintains in the book under consideration is that, contrary to the general impression disseminated by writers like Burckhardt and Voigt, the fourteenth century in Italy was one of profound and simple faith, of sincere attachment to pope, clergy, and monastic orders. The critics who have argued from the

corruption of Italian morals in the fifteenth century to the lack of religious faith in the fourteenth have committed a double error, psychological and historical; for they have failed on the one hand to realize that moral corruption is not the effect of incredulity but its cause, and on the other hand they have neglected, under the conviction of their own assumptions, that thorough investigation of the contemporary chronicles which would have proved to them conclusively the conservative spirit prevailing in Italy in the days of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Such originality of thought as there was in Italy led rather to the scientific triumphs of Galileo and Vico than to any development of the metaphysical speculation on which free thought is founded.

The author maintains his thesis in a very broad treatment of the social, religious, and literary conditions in Italy in the fourteenth century. He shows how, *a priori*, little interest in heresy could be expected in a society still largely feudal, and wholly medieval in the immediacy of its violences and its attachments; how the life of people from a Visconti to the meanest serf was bound up inseparably with the church—the general clearing-house for all business of state as well as the house of worship for all people. He analyzes the literature of the Babylonian Captivity and finds that M. Deprez was near the truth in maintaining that the French kings were pretty weak jailers in the days of Crécy and Poitiers; even that during the Babylonian Captivity “le véritable prisonnier avait été le monarque français”. He examines the writings of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Sacchetti, Salutati, and the lesser chroniclers, and finds them on the whole naïve, conservative, and deeply religious. We have as little cause to regard Italy in the fourteenth century as a nation of schismatics or heretics from the occasional satires of Petrarch or Boccaccio as we have to imagine France unbelieving in the days of *Tartuffe*, or Rome “antimilitariste” in the days of the *Miles Gloriosus*.

M. Dejob's book shows a mastery of the literary sources of the fourteenth century in Italy. Whether he has made the most scholarly use of his sources is open to grave doubt. He holds a brief for orthodoxy. While refusing to allow great significance to Petrarch's statement that the loss of good manuscripts has caused more harm than commerce with demons, he attributes universal assent to the praise of the clergy by the chronicler de Mussi, reported by Muratori: “Nisi clerici castis exemplis nos instruerent jugiter ambitioni et deliciis nostris modus non esset.” While a Farinata is no argument for Italy at large, a Saint Catharine of Siena is typical. And, as for the main thesis of the book, that heresy in Italy followed moral corruption, it is hard to see how moral corruption could have gained the momentum necessary to disturb the church unless the faith of Italy had been very much weakened by the skepticism of the latest Hohenstaufens and the sectaries of Joachim and Dolcino.

The author seems to have missed something of the birthright of lucidity of style which we are accustomed to look for in every French

writer. He obscures the point at issue often by an excessive multiplication of instances, reminding us of a catalogue rather than of a chapter. A few misprints mar the pages: "treizième" for *quatorzième* (p. 112); "ester" for *rester* (p. 162); "Nevel's Cross" for Neville's Cross (p. 167).

D. S. M.

A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe. By DAVID JAYNE HILL, LL.D. Volume II. *The Establishment of Territorial Sovereignty.* (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxv, 663.)

THE period covered by Dr. Hill's new volume is that from the beginnings of the Hundred Years' War to the Peace of Westphalia—1313-1648. It is a period far richer in diplomatic activity than the medieval centuries which were his earlier theme. "The field", to borrow from his preface his own excellent summary, "is occupied by the conflicts of national states, first for coherence and then for expansion. After they become disengaged from the fetters of feudalism, instead of two great antagonists contending for world supremacy, we behold a group of powerful monarchies struggling with one another for primacy. It is in this contest that Italy, designated as their prey, becomes their political teacher. Germany, France, Spain, and finally England all enter the arena of contention more or less under the influence of the imperial idea. Germany desires to recover its ancient preponderance in Italy; France pivots its international activity upon adventures of expansion; Spain, having obtained possession of Naples, aims at controlling the whole peninsula; and England covets the crown of France. But the Papacy and Venice frustrate for a time all foreign schemes to obtain supremacy in Italy; the system of Italian equilibrium becomes a model for Europe; and, as in the earlier period Italy was rescued from subjection to imperial power by diplomatic combinations, so the national monarchies, after aiming at indefinite expansion and striving to outstrip one another by drawing into their service the forces of their allies, finally adjust themselves to a system of balanced and co-ordinate power based upon the principle of territorial sovereignty."

Through this labyrinth of changing aims and changing systems, of intrigue and double-dealing, Dr. Hill guides us with a sure eye and a firm hand. While he is alive to every advance in the methods of international intercourse—the institution of permanent embassies, the official transmission of despatches, the diplomatic use of secret ciphers, the employment of the modern vernaculars—it is increasingly clear that what interests him most is not diplomacy but international development. To a much larger extent than earlier diplomatic historians—even than Flassan, who found it wise to add to the title of his "*Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*" the explanatory alternative, "*ou de la Politique de la France*"—he has included in his narrative the general history of his period. But, if this somewhat narrows his space for the details of

negotiations, it enables him more clearly to set forth their deeper causes and results; and it is in this luminous exposition of the broader bearings of diplomacy that the lasting worth of Dr. Hill's work is likely to be found.

Not that his study has lacked minuteness. His reading has been singularly broad and thorough, and the bibliographies appended to his chapters form a most useful introduction to the vast and multiplying literature of his subject. Few titles of serious importance are wanting, and there is seldom a slip in the description. If he nowhere indulges in polemics, his carefully worded verdicts show a clear sense of the controversies still unsettled; and his dicta, though often open to dissent, do not transcend the fair limits of opinion. The field in which he shows himself least sure-footed is that of historical geography. Ducal Burgundy and Franche-Comté more than once change places (pp. 134, 297, 300), and it must be Franche-Comté of which he is thinking when he calls (p. 383) the Duchy of Burgundy "so important in securing a safe frontier to France". The Swiss cantons are sometimes miscounted (pp. 108, 287). The Austrian lands pawned to Charles the Bold did not connect the separated parts of his domain or even lie between them, and the Breisgau is not in Elsass (p. 108). The Ortenau should not lose its article and be coupled with Hagenau, as if it were a town instead of a district; and it might have been well to make it clear, too, that by Hagenau the *Landvogtei* is meant (pp. 326, 329). To speak (p. 358) of Charles V.'s "lands on the Upper Rhine, Elsass, and Würtemberg" is to imply that Elsass is not on the Upper Rhine or that Würtemberg is. The proximity of the Palatinate to France and the Netherlands (p. 556) was hardly such as to help explain its Calvinism: neither approached it closely, and there were nearer refuges for the exiles of both.

Nor can he be unquestionably followed in his other excursions outside the realm of diplomacy. Once he essays a description of a battle (p. 127): "An avalanche of thirty-five thousand mountaineers, armed with terrible pikes and powerful crossbows, swept down the steep slopes" upon the "sixty thousand Burgundian soldiers" "concentrated . . . between the deep Lake of Morat and the mountain-wall that rises above it." But the Lake of Morat is not a deep one, there is no mountain-wall in the neighborhood, and the Swiss had first to dislodge a Burgundian force from the plateau before they could sweep down (not, so far as is known, "concealed and protected by the foliage") the gentle hill-slope to the lake. As to their numbers and their weapons let his military critics dispute. Students of the Reformation, too, will be puzzled by his conception of "Zwingli's idea of congregational self-government" (pp. 424, 434), and will hardly accept unqualified his sentences as to the Protest and its Diet. They may even be tempted to smile at seeing Denifle's assault on Luther as a theologian and as a man cited as an authority on his political significance. But slips such as

these—and the present reviewer has found not many—are trifling blemishes in a book of such wide and conscientious erudition.

Maps and tables again enhance the usefulness of the work, which should take rank among the best of our books of reference.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII.

Par NOËL VALOIS, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1906. Pp. cxcii, 288.)

ONE hundred and two documents are here published, drawn from the archives of the parlements of Paris and of Poitiers; the correspondence of Martin V. and the confessor of Charles VII.; the formularies of the Chancellery; the Trésor des Chartes; special compilations pertaining either to the council of Basel or to the question of Gallican liberties in the registers of St. Martin de Tours, St. Étienne de Bourges and Ste. Croix d'Orléans, together with the archive collections of Paris, the Vatican, the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the libraries of Poitiers and Carpentras. Aside from their value in the first instance, many are interesting for the information which they furnish upon the law and the diplomacy of the period; from the point of view of language; or merely as specimens of judicial eloquence. The element of style is especially to be remarked in the two important memoirs drawn up by Jean Jouvenal des Ursins.

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was the logical sequence of the findings of the reforming councils of the fifteenth centuries. At the council of Basel the question of the reform of the church in head and members was still an issue. Nicholas of Cusa, one of the most passionate adversaries of the curia, there revived the principles of Gerson, but drew from them conclusions which the latter would have disavowed. Eugenius IV. in vain attempted to stem the flood. Driven from Rome by his revolted subjects and abandoned by most of the cardinals, he finally was compelled to yield, and the acts of Basel were published in the name and with the bull of the council and not under the name and seal of the pope. The acts of the council re-established the election of bishops by chapters; laid down educational and moral qualifications for the bishops; prescribed the regular holding of provincial councils; limited the right of excommunication and interdict and of appeals to Rome; established regulations governing the election and conduct of the pope; and abolished the annates required for the confirmation or collation of benefices.

The secular princes were not slow to avail themselves of the political advantage afforded by the findings of the council. After the treaty of Arras and the death of Bedford, when the tide of success was unmistakably flowing in favor of the French crown, Charles VII. frankly took advantage of the findings of the reform councils and the weakness of

the pope to establish the Gallican liberties on so firm a basis that no assault of Rome ever after wholly overthrew them. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges reproduced almost literally the chief findings of Basel concerning the supremacy of general councils, liberty of episcopal elections, suppression of annates, and limitation upon appeals to Rome. Yet in considering the revolutionary nature of this action, which overthrew the edifice of the medieval papacy almost completely, one needs to guard against going too far and rashly concluding that the whole fabric of the church was changed. It is well to bear in mind that in the fifteenth century no one contested the church's right of teaching or of possession; nor of interdicting any of the manifestations of the Catholic faith. The aim of the Pragmatic Sanction was to define clearly the ties which bound the clergy of France to the Holy See, without intention of breaking them, and to emancipate the church and people of France from "the yoke of an undue servitude".

The student of the history of the Hundred Years' War will find it of interest to follow the influence of its events upon the progress of these negotiations. For example, at Paris where the government of the constable Armagnac had refused to recognize the new pope unless the liberties of the church of France were guaranteed (March, 1418), the concordat of Martin V. would not have had any chance of adoption if at this very moment the atrocious revolution of the Burgundian party had not been successful. It immediately took the other course and sustained the prerogatives of the papacy with as much ardor as their opponents had advocated the integrity of Gallican liberties; an ordinance of September 9, 1418, entirely annulled the March decree and declared the concordat of Martin V. obligatory in the Burgundian provinces of France. The same régime obtained in the provinces of France under direct English domination.

Pierre Cauchon, the famous bishop of Beauvais, before whom Jeanne d'Arc was tried, owed his appointment to this circumstance, for Martin V. conferred the bishopric upon him. It is an interesting speculation whether Cauchon would have become bishop if the chapter of Beauvais had enjoyed the right of election, as the findings of Basel provided; and whether the fate of Jeanne d'Arc would have been otherwise if the bishop of Beauvais had not presided at her trial.

Another interesting feature is the conduct of the University of Paris at this time. Although formerly the university had sustained the cause of Gallican liberties, about 1411 it perceived that it had more to gain by support of pontifical prerogative, and from that hour both in Paris and at Rome pleaded for the "reserves" of the Holy See.

The inconsistency of the English policy in France "*qui ne se piquait pas de logique*" is another interesting fact. From the time of Wyclif England had strenuously opposed the claims of the papacy and was the most ardent supporter of the independence of the English church, yet in France in the fifteenth century the government found it convenient to

support the papal cause for the reason that the French crown was in alignment with the party of church reform. In a word the relations of France to Martin V. during the period of transition which followed the council of Constance may be characterized as follows: on the English side a complete accord, though one radically inconsistent; on the French side an attitude of independence of the Holy See more apparent than real.

The double policy of the Duke of Bedford is partially to be explained by the fact that he was the English regent in France. Yet Bedford's conduct has never been entirely explained. M. Valois does not make the attempt, but is skeptical of Luce's explanation to the effect that Bedford needed the pope's support in order to put an end to the dissension between his brother the Duke of Gloucester and his ally the Duke of Burgundy. Bedford's advocacy of the papal cause was far from being disinterested and was not even wholly a matter of politics. He seems to have hoped to obtain concessions from the Holy See as reward for his support. When Martin V. refused, Bedford in retaliation labored to restore the "liberties", but was too cautious to abandon his old course and finally executed the constitution of Martin V. of April 13, 1425, in spite of the opposition of the parlement of Paris.

In concluding his preface M. Valois modestly says: "I do not flatter myself that I have exhausted the subject even thus limited [that is, between the dates 1418-1461]. Upon certain points it will be possible to enter more into detail. I do not think, however, that future research will sensibly modify the great lines of the present work" (p. vii). He refers enthusiastically to a forthcoming work of a member of the *École Française de Rome*, M. F. Eugène Martin-Chabot: *Nicolas V., Charles VII. et la Pragmatique Sanction: Essai sur le Régime des Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques de France de 1447 à 1455*. But it is devoutly to be wished that the narrow stipend allowed by the French government for publication of the dissertations of students of the *École des Chartes* and the *École des Hautes Études* may soon be increased. In 1897 M. Henri Chassériaud sustained a thesis entitled *Étude sur la Pragmatique Sanction sous le Règne de Louis XI.*, and in 1902 M. Robert Huard followed with a brilliant study upon *La Régence du Duc de Bedford à Paris de 1422 à 1435* (see *Positions des Thèses de l'École Nationale des Chartes*, 1897, 1902). Both these dissertations are still unprinted.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Lectures on Modern History. By the late Right Hon. JOHN EMERICH EDWARD, First Baron ACTON. Edited with an introduction by JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, M.A., and REGINALD VERE LAURENCE, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Pp. xix, 362.)

THIS volume of lectures "together with that forthcoming on the French Revolution will form the chief though not the only monument"

of the activity of the late Lord Acton as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. The first lecture is Lord Acton's inaugural address "On the Study of History", delivered June 11, 1895, and published the following year. Then follow nineteen brief lectures on modern history from "The Beginning of the Modern State" and "The New World" to the ten pages on "The American Revolution" (from 1763 to 1787). These lectures give a brief survey of the leading movements and personalities between 1300 and 1787. Two appendixes give Lord Acton's directions to the contributors to the *Cambridge Modern History* and the notes and references on which he based his inaugural lecture. With the exception of the chapters on "Calvin and Henry VIII.", "The Rise of the Whigs", and "The Hanoverian Settlement", the chapter-titles are those used in all general histories. Indeed it is in some ways the best text-book for a college class in general European history to 1789 yet published.

Two productions in the book are well worth including: the inaugural lecture with the citations and quotations with which Lord Acton fortified his views, and the directions to the editors of the *Cambridge Modern History*. The inaugural "On the Study of History", which is already familiar to historical students, is many things in one. It is a plea for the study of history as a search for truth, a quest for the permanent and abiding, for a mastery of the past that we may know the present, yes, even the future as Pitt and Mirabeau and Mallet du Pan knew it. It is a plea for history that makes us wiser without our producing books, for the cultivation of historical-mindedness. It puts religion as the first of human concerns and the mother of freedom and toleration—a condition which through the delayed but unarrested development of the Reformation has put Protestant countries in the van of progress.

The address is rich in things not here mentioned and is worth re-reading. Indeed it demands it, for Lord Acton's method of presenting a thought is like that of a great mathematician whose mind leaps from major equation to major equation and leaves you to toil through the intermediate operations that to him were self-evident. Occasionally his subtlety approaches downright obscurity. The notes and citations show the Lord Acton of whose appalling breadth of reading one hears. In the fortification of twenty-eight pages of the text easily over two hundred writers are cited, several of them a half-dozen times from almost as many different productions. The regrettable part is the picture all this calls up of Lord Acton gathering these excerpts to fortify a suggestion which he had already transmuted into the better metal of his own thought.

The instructions to contributors to the *Cambridge Modern History* form a worthy memorial of Lord Acton's ideals as a historian. He wanted a "Universal History—which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of

the soul." Such a history was to be written by the best men obtainable, and so written as to serve no cause but that of truth. Nothing of personal, national, religious, or party bias was to show in this summary of the most recent scholarship for layman and student.

The lectures on European history will be read with interest by the specialist in any period between 1300 and 1789 and by the tyro of the historical department who is teaching the introductory course. The specialist will find in a sentence a flash of light that illumines his field, that unifies the complex, and gives meaning to the meaningless. He will find curious bits of out-of-the-way information that even his research has not unearthed, or, if it has, that he has not thought of using (*cf.* p. 257). He will marvel that Lord Acton sees only a fourteenth-century Renaissance unrelated to the accomplishments of the two preceding centuries, and that a sketch of the rise of Prussia occupies only one-third as much as the chapter on Frederick the Great. Most of us will be comforted by the fact that when Lord Acton had to put Luther, the Counter-Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, or Louis XIV. into one lecture, he said what we have always thought a college class ought to be told. And like every compressed account there are statements which would mislead you if this were the only account you read (*cf.* the method of adopting the Declaration of Independence, p. 312). Occasionally there are paragraphs packed dangerously full of names and facts. To some students these may be, as the editors suggest, an inspiration to further reading. There is an equally large class of students who would be repelled by such general history. Possibly this feature of the master's work would not strike one if he had not been antagonized by its manifestations in his disciples.

Finest and best of all is the noble and ennobling fairness in his treatment of all men and all ages. The young man to whom the doors of Cambridge were closed because of his faith comes back at sixty to tell her sons the story of Modern Europe so that they must have felt as he did that the greatest achievement of those centuries was the growth of toleration and of liberty. And the voice that speaks is not that of the moralist nor the political reformer, but the voice of History itself.

To all who sat under Lord Acton this publication will come as "an act of piety". To many it will only emphasize the defect in Lord Acton which the editors point out, "that he overestimated the responsibility of his task, and that, with him as with Hort, the very sense of the value of knowledge diminished his additions to its store." G. S. F.

The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome. From the Pontificate of Julius II to that of Paul III. By RODOLFO LANCIANI. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. xii, 340.)

Nor long since there still could be seen in the Via Rasella an inscription which spoke volumes regarding the state of Rome in the

period when the popes were resident at Avignon. It preserved the tradition that where the tablet stood a wolf had once been killed—and this in the very heart of the city. By 1377, when Gregory XI. left the banks of the Rhone for the Lateran, the population had sunk to 17,000. Such, at least, is Cancellieri's estimate of those who dwelt within the walls of Aurelian, and Papencordt's figures are but a little higher. Other particulars still more distressful will be found by the curious in Mencacci's *L'Italia senza Il Papa*.

On the title-page Lanciani defines his "Golden Days of the Renaissance" as extending from Julius II. to Paul III., but in reality he begins at the sad and ruinous period of the Great Schism. The fact is worth mentioning since by a glance cast backward to the last years of the fourteenth century he secures a useful standard of contrast. One not unreasonably might expect that in a book so called and beginning with Urban VI., pontiffs like Martin V., Nicholas V., and Sixtus IV. would receive much notice, and indeed all three are used to register certain stages of advance. But Lanciani's real enthusiasm is reserved for Paul III. "The memory of this great pontiff", he says, "will always be dear to us Romans. Pomponio Leto, his preceptor, had imbued him with the spirit of humanism, and imparted to him the gift of a gay and bright conversation. He seemed to have brought back with his advent to the pontificate the fine old days of Leo X, with a higher standard of morals" (pp. 143-144).

In 1534, when Alessandro Farnese became the successor of Clement VII., there had been no Roman pope for over a hundred years, and popular rejoicing at his election was unexampled. He rewarded the devotion of his townsfolk by transforming into a modern capital the city which Bourbon's troops had just sacked. Here we have Lanciani's central theme—the co-operation of Paul III. and Latino Mannetti in the rebuilding of Rome. No other pontiff is made the subject of a whole chapter, though this compliment is paid to Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, Raphael, and Agostino Chigi. The rest of the volume falls under two main heads: an account of the city, which is largely topographical, and a very interesting study of social life in Rome during the Cinque-cento.

From this brief statement regarding contents we hasten on to say a word about the method of treatment which Lanciani adopts in the present volume. His great love of topography and archaeological detail leads him somewhat to overburden his pages with the minutiae of scholarship. Otherwise his arrangement is excellent. Writing for those who are not specialists, he is orderly without being rigorous. Where he wishes to introduce a little excursus he does so, and the digression is justified by its intrinsic interest. One of the subjects which he introduces to save his text from becoming overloaded with the names of buildings is that of Raphael's relations with La Fornarina, and in his chapter on Vittoria Colonna he turns aside to vindicate

Dante from the charge of being a precursor of the Reformation. For the historian the most notable feature of the work is Lanciani's thorough-paced admiration of Paul III., despite the excessive devotion of that pontiff to the interests of Pier Luigi, and the tortuous politics of his career. "It was not easy", says Ranke, "for a man to be sure of the terms on which he stood with Pope Paul." But with Lanciani his sagacity and the splendor of his ambitions for Rome outweigh everything else.

A few slips in dates which we have observed may be due to oversight on the part of the proof-reader, but inconsistency in giving the modern equivalent for sums of money can hardly be due to that cause. In general there is good reason to speak well of the book. Lanciani not only reduces to form and order a great farrago of archaeological information, but he has succeeded in marshalling facts which illustrate important aspects of Roman life. For example, he places in high relief the cosmopolitan tone of society, and marks with perfect clearness the stages by which Rome passed from its medieval to its modern condition. His character-sketches are somewhat external in approach, but do not lack passages which reveal critical insight.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. In four volumes. Volume III. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 575.)

IN January, promptly to the month, appeared Mr. Lea's third volume. Its first two chapters, on "Torture" and "The Trial", complete his study of the practice of the Inquisition; five others, beginning with "The Sentence" and ending with "The Auto de Fe", cover what he has to tell us of its punishments; and the closing four, on "Jews", "Moriscos", "Protestantism", and "Censorship", open that survey of its spheres of action which is to fill also most of his final volume, due in June.

Though, "from the middle of the thirteenth century, the habitual employment of torture by the Holy Office had been the most efficient factor in spreading its use throughout Christendom", and though the Spanish Inquisition continued to employ it, Mr. Lea (and it will be remembered that he is the most eminent student of the history of torture) assures us (p. 2) that "the popular impression that the inquisitorial torture-chamber was the scene of exceptional refinement in cruelty, of specially ingenious modes of inflicting agony, and of peculiar persistence in extorting confessions, is an error due to sensational writers who have exploited credulity." "As a rule," he says, the Spanish Inquisition "was less cruel than the secular courts in its application, and confined itself more strictly to a few well-known methods"; and "the comparison between the Spanish and the Roman Inquisition is also eminently in favor of the former." Let it not be inferred,

however, that even with the Spanish Inquisition torture was rare or light; and strong must be the nerves of the reader who can follow Mr. Lea through his recital of its horrors.

In general, sums up the historian (p. 36), "the procedure of the Inquisition was directed to procuring conviction rather than justice." "It was the business of the tribunal, while preserving outward forms of justice, to bring about either confession or conviction; the defence was limited and embarrassed in every way and, when the outcome of all this was doubt, it was settled in the torture-chamber, always with the reservation that, if suspicion remained, that in itself was a crime deserving due punishment."

As to its punishments Mr. Lea points out (p. 93) an important difference from the secular courts. "The Inquisition had full discretion and was bound by no rules. It was the only tribunal known to the civilized world which prescribed penalties and modified them at its will." For stubborn and impenitent heresy, of course, the penalty was the stake and confiscation; but these were penalties prescribed by the state, to which the heretic must be turned over for condemnation and execution. "This shifting of responsibility to the civil power", Mr. Lea finds it wise again to remind us (p. 184), "was not through any sense that the laws punishing heresy with burning were cruel or unjust." On the contrary, "the Church taught this to be an act so eminently pious that it accorded an indulgence to any one who would contribute wood to the pile", and "the secular power had no choice as to what it should do with heretics delivered to it; its act was purely ministerial, and if it listened to the hypocritical plea for mercy, it was liable to prosecution as a fautor of heresy and to deprivation of its functions." Indeed, "in the hurried informality of the early period, it seems to have been indifferent whether the magistrate pronounced a sentence or not"; and, in general, "the Inquisition regarded the sentence of the magistrate as a mere perfunctory formality."

In the extermination of heresy Mr. Lea finds the methods of the Spanish Inquisition more merciless than those of its medieval predecessor. Not only the frankly impenitent heretic and the penitent who relapsed into his heresy must be sent to the stake, but the *negativo*, who denied a heresy which the Inquisition deemed proved against him, and the *diminuto*, who confessed to less than the evidence seemed to demand. As these, were they really heretics, could have no object in persisting in denial after the sentence had once been pronounced, and as this persistence robbed them both of the final consolations of religion and of the merciful strangulation which might else have preceded their burning, it is impossible, as Mr. Lea points out (p. 198); not to recognize in them martyrs of orthodoxy; but such little incidents were far better than the escape of a possible heretic. Indeed, when the advent of Protestantism deepened the fear and hatred of heresy, yet sharper measures were demanded. Not even recantation could longer save the disseminator of heresy from the stake, and relapse need not be waited

for. Pope Paul IV., who in 1555 "had apparently desired to show that Rome was not to be outdone by Geneva in persecuting rigor and that, if Calvin in 1553 had burnt Servet for denying the Trinity, he could be equally zealous for the faith," and had decreed by a general bull that "all who denied the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, his conception through the Holy Ghost, his death for human salvation, or the perpetual virginity of the Virgin, and who did not confess to inquisitors and abjure their errors within three months, and all who in future should maintain those heresies," should forthwith suffer the penalty of relapsed heretics, bestowed in 1559 on the Spanish Inquisition the further power of dealing thus with all heretics counted dangerous or insincere.

Yet Mr. Lea is inclined to think the importance of the Protestant movement in Spain to have been greatly exaggerated. "There never", he says (p. 411), "was the slightest real danger that Protestantism could make such permanent impression on the profound and unreasoning religious convictions of Spain in the sixteenth century, as to cause disturbance in the body politic; and the excitement created in Valladolid and Seville, in 1558 and 1559, was a mere passing episode leaving no trace in popular beliefs." But it "raised [the Inquisition] to new life and importance and gave it a claim on the gratitude of the State, which enabled it to dominate the land during the seventeenth century"; and it "served as a reason for isolating Spain from the rest of Europe, excluding all foreign ideas, arresting the development of culture and of science, and prolonging medievalism into modern times". Something similar might doubtless be said of the influence of heresy as a whole; for to the end, as the documents appended to this volume abundantly prove, heresy properly so called played but a minor and a dwindling part in the actual business of the Inquisition.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late LORD ACTON, LL.D. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume IV. *The Thirty Years' War.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906. Pp. xxix, 1003.)

It may well seem unnecessary to discuss further the general plan and character of the *Cambridge Modern History*. But before proceeding to the examination of this latest volume from the standpoint of the editorial plans and the standards set by the preceding issues, the present reviewer would like to express his belief that the tendency heretofore strongly shown to use this work as an argument against co-operative undertakings in the field of history has gone a little too far, and that the criticism of the editorial supervision has been at times too exacting. With regard to the judgment of co-operative undertakings it is perhaps worth recalling that there are at least two leading sorts, and that the sort to which the Cambridge work belongs is to be sharply distinguished

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from the class of "Einzeldarstellungen" of which the "Oncken" and the "American Nation" series are the best-known examples. In this latter class each author is put practically in possession of a comparatively distinct field and works under but slightly different conditions than if he were publishing in entire independence; it is a form that would seem capable of effective use even in limited fields with regard to *Kulturgeschichte*. The other class is that to which the present series belongs and of which before it the *Histoire Générale* of Lavissee and Rambaud was the chief example; here the writers really more or less collaborate in limited periods, each furnishing but a spoke of the wheel, presenting as a specialist but a small section of the results of studies presumably covering more or less the whole period. Thus it might be hoped, not only would there be secured for each section the great weight of greater specialization, but there would be also focussed on the whole period or on the main movements in it illumination from different quarters and elevations. With regard to undertakings of this kind the reviewer is inclined to think that too much is looked for usually from the editorial supervision. The work must of course be carefully planned and apportioned, dovetailed in some degree; but why should there be great objection to a reasonable amount of iteration or to the appearance of differing and even conflicting views? It may be contended that the editor who ruthlessly excludes such duplicating statements or who strives to harmonize conclusions or even statements of fact will really mutilate and emasculate. The space saved will be but slight; and the reader who needs to be preserved from the terrible danger of being confronted within the same covers with differing views or even different statements of fact has probably too frail an intellectual existence to be at large at all in the rarefied atmosphere of specialization. The work of the specialist under such conditions is at best irritating and unsatisfactory; it becomes the more so with rigorous editorial efforts to secure an impossible (and probably undesirable) "unity."

The present reviewer, then, while strongly deploring the very apparent limitations in the views and plans of the editors of the *Cambridge Modern History*, is not wholly in accord with some of the complaints against earlier volumes of their work. And it seems to him further that the chances of usefulness of these volumes have not been sufficiently recognized. Even the expert in this or that period may find these brief and usually very meaty statements useful in bringing together conveniently the methods and conclusions of other experts; the real student who is not an expert can see readily what stage has been reached in the knowledge of the period and will welcome the variety of standpoints and opinions. From the point of view of the general reader or the elementary student the paucity of trustworthy work in English must be kept in mind; certainly these volumes will be of great use to the university teacher in modern history, while the serious general reader cannot easily be directed to more satisfactory political or military narratives.

The present volume deals with a period of unusual vigor and complexity of entanglements—a period then peculiarly ill-adapted to successful co-operative treatment. The space assigned is liberal, 799 pages being given to the period 1610–1660. This is nearly double that given in the *Histoire Générale*; but as there is considerable divergence in the plans of volume and topic division, it is not easy to compare the two works directly. The *Histoire Générale* list of topics seems at first glance the more comprehensive, but this is due mainly to the different lines of division. Thus the *Cambridge History* gives absolutely no space in this volume to Eastern Europe (to which volume V. of the *Histoire Générale* gives four chapters); on the other hand there are here two excellent chapters on Scandinavia, a field that is deferred by the *Histoire Générale* to the volume on the age of Louis XIV. A disproportionate amount of space we are prepared to find assigned in the *Cambridge* volume to British conditions (250 pp.); we should not complain if it were not for the inclusion of one entirely superfluous chapter (Mr. Clutton-Brock's "The Fantastic School of English Poetry", dealing with the age of Donne and Herbert). *Kulturgeschichte* fares rather badly in both works; but while the general treatment of Art and Science in the *Histoire Générale* may seem to promise more, Professor Boutroux's chapter in the *Cambridge* on "Descartes and Cartesianism" is both better in itself and more in line with the plan of treatment. As to method and style, the French work maintains a clear superiority, most of the sections in the English being below its average in clarity, attractiveness, and sense of proportion. The greater bulk of the present volume is due to the almost unrestrained yielding to the tendency to encyclopedic detail that has marked the whole undertaking; whether designed or not, there can be no doubt that the editors secure a painful uniformity in this respect at least. There is evidently no chance of reform on the point; but we need not therefore shut our eyes to the fact that encyclopedic detail is often very useful, and that in almost every case these dry and close-packed pages are marked by a high degree of accuracy and scholarly grasp.

The chief section of the book is constituted by Professor Ward's able treatment of the war as a whole, in its narrower sense; thorough as is the writer's grasp of the field, he has little gift of narration, leaves no vivid impressions of either men or events, and casts no new light on problems. The closing chapter, "The Peace of Westphalia", is however in all likelihood the best statement to be found in our language of the development and the results of the long negotiations. Next in importance (slightly larger in space) comes the section devoted to Great Britain and Ireland, 1625–1660; Dr. Prothero, an acknowledged master in the field, does the most of it, and is ably helped by W. A. Shaw, J. R. Tanner, Hume Brown, R. Dunlop, and C. H. Firth. While we may perhaps be surprised that this part of the work should have required so many cooks, we cannot cavil much at the carrying on of the collabora-

tion. It would seem also as if the comparatively slight connections with continental events were more carefully and skilfully presented than is usually the case. France falls to the third editor, Mr. Leathes, who on the whole makes a strikingly good use of the limited seventy pages assigned; he is more successful in his treatment of detail than most of his associates, and is both clear and suggestive. A striking feature of his statement is his adverse judgment of Richelieu, whose title to greatness is strongly questioned. He is denied "creative and beneficent statesmanship", and is credited with establishing a "lawless despotism" that brings on the Revolution; he had never comprehended the "true bases of national prosperity", and "had revealed to the French monarchy the weakness of all those traditional and conventional restraints which had limited the power of earlier Kings for good, and more especially for evil" (p. 157).

Interspersed between the sections of these main studies come the chapters dealing with minor fields. First there is the uneven treatment by H. F. Brown of "The Valtelline". This is absurdly detailed in the first part of the period and scanty in the later; Mr. Brown's ingenious defense of his detail on the ground of the reflection by the Valtelline factions of the policies and efforts of the great states is decidedly weakened by his admission that most of the complexity was caused by the efforts of these factions to sell out to the highest bidder. A similar war of factions seems to be responsible for most of the detail in which Mr. Reddaway luxuriates in the first part of his treatment of Scandinavia; from the accession of Gustavus Adolphus, however, the work is remarkably good. Mr. Hume's chapter on Spain is of course excellent, notwithstanding its rather naïve display of the "inédit" and its neglect of the Spanish contributions to the war in Germany (not dealt with by Ward). The presentation of the Papal policy by Brosch brings out clearly the controlling motives, but is likely to be criticized for a somewhat too pronounced Protestant tone, as in the statement that with the success of the Catholic Powers 1627-1629 "the whole of modern civilisation and the continuous development of learning would have been forcibly stopped, and that for no short time" (p. 677). Mr. Edmundson's Holland is excellent; he is to be given the credit of being almost the only contributor who gives adequate attention to intellectual conditions, even though we may suspect him of going too far in ascribing to the Dutch in this their Golden Age "a supremacy in the domains of science, of learning, of letters, and of the arts, as indisputable as their supremacy upon the seas" (p. 716). The treatment of colonial development by Egerton is much too detailed and is injured by too rigorous keeping within the prescribed time limits. The closing chapter by Boutroux on Descartes has been already mentioned; it leaves us with an increased regret that the writers did not see fit to sacrifice some of the political and military detail in order to secure room for other things.

The bibliography appended to this volume is much more extensive

than in any of the others (pp. 801-953); this we are told by the editors is exceptional and is due to an intention to do honor to Lord Acton by utilizing the collection of his books presented by Mr. Carnegie to John Morley and by Mr. Morley to Cambridge University in compiling "a full bibliography of the Thirty Years' War, and more especially of its extant original documents and contemporary narrative and controversial literature". Only the specialist can venture to criticize this effort. But it naturally suggests the thought that the editors in the bibliographies of the other volumes seem to be occupying rather untenable ground in giving more than the average student needs and not enough for the specialist.

VICTOR COFFIN.

English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County. By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxv, 664.)

AT last the local constitutional history of England is receiving the treatment which it deserves as compared with the history of the national organization. This book is epoch-making. The completed work as planned by the authors will constitute a veritable *magnum opus* both in scope and in quality, to judge by this splendid installment. It is to comprise at least five volumes, grouped in two general divisions. The first division, in three volumes, deals with the "constitutional form and the administrative procedure of the various kinds of local governing authorities"; and the second, in two volumes, with "the action of all these authorities in respect to the various functions entrusted to Local Government." Hitherto the attention of original investigators has been confined mainly to the Anglo-Saxon and early feudal periods of English local institutions. Regarding some of the more important problems of the early history, in articles, monographs, and in books dealing with the national constitution, much good work has already been accomplished. Even for those times, however, there exists no authoritative or sustained "local constitutional history" based on a full use of the sources; while for the modern development the only general treatise has been Dr. H. Rudolph von Gneist's *Selfgovernment, Communalverfassung und Verwaltungsgeschichte*, first published in 1857 and finally revised in 1871. It is highly significant of the extreme indifference of English scholars to one of the richest fields of research that this important book has found no translator. Yet, able and erudite as is Gneist's celebrated work, in reality it is merely a legal history based mainly on the public statutes and parliamentary papers. Little use has been made of the private acts and none at all of the manuscript records of the various administrative and governing bodies.

The present volume represents an enormous amount of labor. With the aid of a number of trained assistants, the authors were engaged upon

it for eight years. One is deeply impressed by the bewildering variety and mass of the original materials which have been exploited. The foot-notes alone are a perfect mine of information, supplementing the narrative in many ways. The manuscript sources employed comprise the original minutes of the parish vestries and the primitive records of many other governing bodies. Among the printed materials drawn upon are the contemporary local newspapers, "which give flesh and blood to the skeleton provided by the official minutes"; contemporary pamphlets, especially those which are controversial in character; the correspondence and decisions of the various branches of the national government, such as the privy council, the treasury, and the secretary of state's office; the journals of the Lords and the Commons; and the thousands of private statutes usually neglected by investigators.

All this wealth of materials has been used with masterly thoroughness and skill. The volume is divided into two books: the first, in seven chapters and an "Introduction" dealing with the "Parish"; and the second, in six chapters with a similar "Introduction" devoted to the "County". During the period under consideration the parish, measured by the extent and variety of its functions, was by far the most important local institution. Throughout England and Wales it was "ubiquitous"; while the county justices, "who elsewhere exercised so dominating an influence, were jealously excluded from towns which had secured the privilege of government by their own corporate magistracy". Exclusive of the parishes and the manors, all the other local governing authorities did not amount to two thousand. On the other hand, in 1835 there existed "no fewer than 15,634 parishes or places separately relieving their own paupers".

The first chapter is devoted to an enlightening discussion of the many hard questions connected with "The Legal Framework of the Parish"; for everywhere the investigator is confronted with uncertainty and complexity. In 1689 the parishes of England presented every conceivable variety in size, shape, and population. Until after the age of Elizabeth the constable was treated by Parliament as the first officer in the parish. Yet the authors have shown that the notion, derived from writers like Selden, that the constable was the constitutive officer of the parish is not sustained by the evidence. Originally an officer of the manorial court leet, he was never formally transferred to the parish; and when in the seventeenth century in many districts the courts leet fell into decay, the appointment of the constable passed to the county justices. "Whether in the north or in the south, chosen at the court leet or appointed by the quarter or petty sessions, the constable was in all historic times pre-eminently the justices' man". At any rate, after 1689, and probably before, the churchwardens were the real heads of the parish.

Perhaps no chapter in the book is more instructive than the second, dealing with "Unorganized Parish Government". In the rural parishes, an oligarchy held full sway; and the multifarious duties of the

so-called "vestry" were often performed by the clergyman and a few land-owning farmers, without formal procedure, "rigid adherence to law", or "outside supervision". In the more "compact and peaceful parishes", government by consent was more pronounced. The oligarchy grew into an "open vestry". By the close of the eighteenth century, the "uncontrolled" offices of many parishes near London and in the "unincorporated mining and manufacturing districts of the northern and midland counties" were often corrupt and grossly inefficient. "Graft" prevailed; and in at least one parish, Bethnal Green, there was a striking example of "boss rule" anticipating the most pronounced American type.

In the remaining chapters of book I., the "Extra-Legal Democracy", the "Strangling of the Parish", the "Legality of the Close Vestry", the "Close Vestry Administration", and the "Reform of the Close Vestry" are considered. Here, as throughout the remarkable chapters devoted to the county in book II., there is a minuteness of exact detail, a wealth of documentary illustration, a constant disclosure of truth, a conscientious refutation of popular error, a rich flavor of originality, which only a patient delving in the almost inexhaustible mine of source-materials could produce. This volume can only be the fruit of a zealous devotion to science for its own sake; and the sympathetic student will eagerly await the successful completion of the great task which the courageous authors have set themselves.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Deutsche Geschichte. Von KARL LAMPRECHT. Der ganzen Reihe achter Band. Dritte Abteilung. *Neueste Zeit. Zeitalter des subjektiven Seelenlebens.* Erster Band. Erste und zweite Hälfte. (Freiburg im Breisgau: H. Heyfelder. 1906. Pp. viii, 729.)

LAMPRECHT'S *Deutsche Geschichte* aims to give an analysis on a psychological basis of the various periods of the cultural life of Germany. This, the first volume of the third section, which is to treat of "Neueste Zeit", covers the period from about 1750 to about the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the exclusion of the Romantic Movement. The distinguished feature of Lamprecht's work lies in his belief in a national psyche ("Volksseele") which develops according to immanent, transcendental laws, and—however affected by outside influences—in all essentials remains true to itself. We have here a conception of history akin to that of Herder.

In the "Einleitung" (pp. 3-90) Lamprecht reviews the temperament of the periods preceding the one now under treatment. After the restrictions of the Middle Ages, the "Individualistische Zeitalter" (about 1500-1750) freed the personality of man, but made of him an isolated individual, not conceived as acting upon, or influenced by his environment, "ein aus sich selbst nur lebender Mikrokosmos" (p. 5.). In the "subjektivistische Zeitalter" the individual, though becoming

more and more self-important, grows increasingly conscious of the interdependence between himself and his environment.

Chapter I. (pp. 93-179), "Entstehung und erste Entwicklungsperiode des modernen Bürgertums", shows how the old "Bürgertum" which in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early part of the sixteenth centuries had molded the culture of Germany (mainly in the free cities of the south) decayed. Then through various influences, especially the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia and the great influx of Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the whole centre of gravity of the political and social life moved northward, from Nürnberg and Augsburg to Hamburg, Leipzig, and Berlin.

Chapter II. (pp. 180-302), "Neue Gesellschaft, neues Seelenleben", describes the increasing prosperity of the new "Bürgertum", which from about 1740 on led to a widening of the horizon and to a consequent desire for a new culture adapted to its own needs. The fact that the leaders of the new intellectual life sprang from this class (Winckelmann, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, etc.) proves its significance. Simplicity, in contrast to the aristocratic standards of the preceding generation, would very naturally be the new ideal. Thus the author insists that the cult of the simple and the emotional in Germany was an indigenous growth. Although Lamprecht may go too far in undervaluing the importance of the influence of Rousseau and English writers like Addison and Thomson, we heartily agree with his protest against that mechanical explanation of all phenomena as the result of literary influence from without (pp. 250 *et seqq.*).

This class, though essentially commercial, by no means aimed solely at the acquisition of money. It was, on the contrary, animated by a genuine desire for a higher intellectual life; its instincts, however, being for some time literary only, not artistic or political. This discussion helps one to understand the ideals of Wilhelm Meister. In the course of a few decades the public—and not the princes as of yore—became the patrons of letters (p. 210). The old nobility thus dropped behind and its literature decayed (p. 224). Here we miss a mention of Wieland (whom Lamprecht does not adequately appreciate, as appears in his characterization, pp. 437 *et seqq.*) as the one German writer of the period who, because of his French form, influenced the aristocracy. This middle class, stimulated by many new influences, as we saw, passes through a phase of exaggerated emotionality. The next pages (230-250) are devoted to tracing the growth and waning of this sentimentality, which on the one hand produced great originality, on the other many phenomena tending to pathology, such as intense introspection, violent enthusiasm, weakening of the will. Here a few words on Wieland's novel *Agathon* (1766/7), an expression of intense introspection on the part of the author, would have been illuminating. Another helpful reflex of the psychic conditions could have been adduced from contemporary "travels" (especially from Heinse).

About 1780 came the ebbing of the new sentimentality and excite-

ment. The teaching of men like Lichtenberg, Lessing, Kant, gained in influence. This is the foundation of the classical period. Important in the rest of the chapter is the treatment of the age's growth of feeling for external nature, from sentimental delight in her pensive beauties to intense enjoyment of her grandeur and an almost morbid vivification ("Beseelung"). Next, the author traces the emotional intensification of religious, ethical, and pedagogical ideals after the aridness of the age of individualism. Toward the end of the century, however, increasing emphasis is laid on the training of the will.

Chapter III. (pp. 313-409), "*Neue Weltanschauung*", deals with the rise of the earliest "subjektivistisch" psychology. Then follows a discussion of the various attempts of the age to solve the world-riddle, first through Pantheism and the cult of Spinoza's philosophy (Herder), then by means of epistemology, culminating in the subjectivity of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781). But the transcendentalism of the "Practical Reason" with its "Categorical Imperative" made of Kant a severe moral teacher very aptly compared to Luther. Lamprecht then contrasts with Kant's method that of Goethe, as that of the scientific investigator turning primarily to external nature. Yet Goethe, too, an exponent of a subjective age, recognized the limit of human reason, and postulated a Power within the phenomenon discernible only through intuition. In this presentation we hear the echoes of the numerous discussions on Goethe which during the last decades have thrown floods of light on him as a scientist and thinker (Kalischer, Harnack, Steiner, Siebeck, etc.). Lamprecht rightly concludes that Kant merely matured and did not create Schiller's ethical and esthetic principles. Like Goethe and Kant, Schiller insists on controlled emotions.

In chapter IV. (pp. 409-567), "*Neue Dichtung*", Lamprecht traces the manifestations of the new psyche from the early sentimental poetry of Klopstock through the wild chaos of the "Sturm und Drang" (here introducing some interesting remarks on the change in the conception of fate during that period) to the "innere Bindung zum Klassizismus." There is here nothing especially new, but the entire evolution of German literature is viewed in a new light.

Chapter V. (pp. 568-704), "*Bildende Kunst und Musik*", deals in the same fashion with the evolution of art and music. Here a word on the development of art-criticism—the change from "Kunstverstand" to "Kunstgefühl" (Menges, K.Ph. Moritz, Heinse)—would have been illuminating. Moreover, the author's condemnation of the influence of antiquity as pernicious to the growth of originality in the creative arts seems exaggerated. For, had Germany been as powerful in this respect as she was in literature and music, Greek beauty would here also have proved only a salutary discipline.

The rich and suggestive contents of this book are not uniformly presented in satisfactory style. At times the author, in his anxiety to go to the cause beyond the phenomenon, is not sufficiently concrete in his presentation (cf. "Einleitung", also pp. 466, 585, etc.). Here and

there important ideas are obscured by unskilful language (pp. 40, 590, etc.). In many other places, however, his style rises to remarkable adequacy, originality, and force. This is true in his treatment of the personalities of Kant (pp. 357 *et seqq.*), Beethoven (pp. 683 *et seqq.*), in his delineation of the position of Thuringia in the culture-life of Germany (pp. 503 *et seqq.*), in the sketching of large movements in a few words (pp. 583 *et seqq.*, 598 *et seqq.*, 623 *et seqq.*, etc.). In conclusion we may say that this work with its original point of view, based on enviable knowledge, will prove stimulating and maturing to all interested in the cultural development of the eighteenth century, from whatever point of view.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

Essai sur l'Histoire de la Révolution à Verdun (1789-1795). Par EDMOND PIONNIER, Professeur d'Histoire au Collège de Verdun. (Nancy: A. Crépin-Leblond. 1905. Pp. xix, 565, cxxxviii.)

THIS is an excellent local history of the useful type which Professor Aulard has been urging upon the younger school of French historical students. The author presented it at the University of Nancy as his thesis for the Doctorate of Letters. He has renounced all effort to produce literary effects and has sought to exhibit, in detail and with abundant analysis of documents, a special development of a great national movement. The student of the Revolution will find either in his narrative or in the appendixes and *pièces justificatives* a mass of instructive illustrative material. Some of this is unique, because Verdun was almost the only town of importance which was occupied by the Prussians during the invasion of 1792. The short time which had elapsed since the overthrow of the king made the position of the royalists very delicate. The Duke of Brunswick understood this, and assured the officials, in his first summons to surrender, that the armies under his command were engaged solely in vindicating the authority of the king and that no conquests would be made. The faint-hearted and reluctant defense of the town was the beginning there of the tragedy of the Revolution, for the people seem to have passed through the earlier crises without suffering any harm more serious than violent speechmaking or pamphleteering.

The only phase of the Revolution upon which M. Pionnier does not dwell at some length is the development of the economic or industrial situation. The question of subsistence interests him, and he gives several pages to the varying cost of wheat or bread, and to the enforcement, in these particulars, of the maximum legislation. Among other phases illustrated in the experience of Verdun is the municipal revolution. At first nothing more serious happened than the destruction of the barriers, preventing the collection of the octroi from July 25 to October 14. A "permanent committee" was appointed, although not until the middle of August, and this committee did not, as in Paris, supersede the old municipality. The organization of a national guard was all that was distinctively new.

Still more interesting are the illustrations of the church question. The bishop of Verdun was in the ecclesiastical province of the archbishop of Trèves. When the news of the abolitions of August 4 came, the clergy protested on the ground of the stipulations of Westphalia. To the details of the sale of church property M. Pionnier has devoted a long appendix. Apropos of the Worship of Reason affair, he gives a list of the statues, pictures, and other objects destroyed at the cathedral, November 28, 1793, in the presence of the "pontife" (the Constitutional bishop, Aubry) and his clergy, who abjured their titles and renounced "charlatanerie". It is unnecessary to add that on this occasion the countenances of the "sansculottes" were "suffused with joy", as they also were, six months later, when the new cult was degraded to give place to Robespierre's Festival of the Supreme Being.

The portions of the work which touch the Reign of Terror show the Verdunois as "gens de nature fort changeante", to use M. Pionnier's words, and illustrate the fact that the particular use of the Terror was to maintain in power the group of politicians which had seized the reins of government in June and July, 1793. As the persons in Verdun responsible for the surrender to the Prussians in 1792 were not executed until April, 1794, and as for a large part of the intervening time it was doubtful whether their punishment would go beyond temporary imprisonment and political ruin, the final execution had no moral value. The only other executions were of those who expressed sympathy with the proscribed Girondins.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham, 1792-1840. By STUART J. REID. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Two vols., pp. xx, 409; xii, 409.)

JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, first Earl of Durham, was a paradox, in the sense of Robertson of Brighton's well-known phrase, "my tastes are with the aristocrat, my principles are with the mob." Durham combined genuine radicalism with the ambition, ultimately gratified, of attaining high rank in the British peerage. His career fell at a momentous era in English history. A young man of twenty-three when Waterloo was fought, he played a conspicuous part in the reconstruction in England after the close of the war. From the first Durham opposed the Corn Laws, though he did not live to see their repeal. He fought for a more radical Reform Bill than was ultimately passed, voting by ballot being one of the things which he failed to carry. Had he not gone to the House of Lords, Durham's would undoubtedly have been the honor, which fell to Lord John Russell, of introducing the Bill in the House of Commons. As it was, the Committee of Four which shaped it met at his house and his influence was only short of dominant. His Whig colleagues who wished reform to go so far and no farther never wholly trusted Durham; his nickname of "the Dissenting Minister" shows that he was a difficult colleague, and his disagreements with his Whig father-in-law, the Prime Minister, Lord Grey,

were notorious. Durham retired from the Cabinet in 1833 and never again became a minister. He had some hope of succeeding Lord Grey in the leadership of the party, but he was not regarded as a safe man and Melbourne came to the front. The Whigs dared not ignore Durham, but Melbourne would not have him in the Cabinet. So in 1835 Durham went as ambassador to Russia. This post he resigned in 1837. Just then rebellion in Canada called for a master-mind to study and solve its problems. Urged by Melbourne, Durham went to Canada. He exceeded his powers, was censured at home, and promptly threw up his post and returned to England, where a year and a half later, in 1840, he died. He had long been a sufferer from disease, and the vexatious conclusion of his Canadian mission no doubt preyed upon his mind and hurried his end.

The motto of Durham's family is "*Le jour viendra.*" He died under something like a cloud. The men with whom he worked on equal terms, Grey, and Palmerston, and Melbourne, and Russell, stand prominently before posterity because they were long in the public eye. Durham's figure, conspicuous enough to his contemporaries, has for us been in the background, partly because he died so young. Now Mr. Reid, who has made an almost lifelong study of the subject, throws into clear relief, in these two handsome volumes, the chief aspects of Durham's career. Perhaps his hero needed vindication less than Mr. Reid supposes. It is chiefly with the Reform Bill and the reorganization of Canada that history will associate his name, and the average man knows that in connection with both Durham played a creditable part. Mr. Reid now furnishes much detail. We are glad to have fuller knowledge about so picturesque a personality, but we knew before that Durham was "Radical Jack", dear to the hearts of the working classes in his time; and even in regard to Canada, we knew pretty much all that Mr. Reid now tells us, in spite of his access not only to Durham's papers but also to those of the brilliant Charles Buller, Durham's secretary on the Canadian mission. One result of the long delay in producing an adequate life of Durham is that his age seems far removed from ours. Durham's contemporaries were astounded that he should praise and appeal to the workingman. That the people themselves should judge what was good for them did not please the Whig aristocrats; in the spirit of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century they wished, like a physician, to prescribe for the people who were expected to take the healing medicine and be thankful. Doctrinaire liberalism they abhorred, and when Durham was leagued with men like Grote, Duncombe, Sir William Molesworth, and Sir Henry Bulwer, Lord Grey's disapproving comment on his relative was: "Lambton has formed bad connections." Whigs of Lord Grey's type long since became Tories, and it is not easy for a present-day Liberal to understand the resentment and suspicion which some of Durham's views excited among the members of his own party. It was Gladstone who made that party really liberal in the sense of trusting the people.

The account of Durham's work in Canada occupies about one-fourth of Mr. Reid's space. When rebellion in Canada came in 1837, concurrently with Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, England was profoundly interested and only to a leading man could the work of conciliation be intrusted. So Durham was made Governor-General of the whole of British North America; he was given besides plenary powers in Lower Canada, where the legislature was suspended; and with great pomp and state he went to Quebec and began his task. Though ill half the time, he worked with great energy, set on foot a multitude of inquiries, adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the French Canadians, and travelled much in the country to see and judge for himself. But in the midst of his activities came the stunning blow which ended his work. Some of the leading French Canadian rebels were in his hands. Technically they were undoubtedly guilty of treason with death as the penalty. If tried, however, before a French jury, they would not be convicted; if before a specially selected jury, there would be a charge that it was packed. Moreover Durham desired wise conciliation, not punishment. So he issued an ordinance banishing the eight principal prisoners to Bermuda under penalty of death if they returned to Canada without permission. The defect of Durham's action was twofold: he condemned men without trial, and he sent them to Bermuda, where he had no jurisdiction. As to the first point, he had been given such great authority that he probably misunderstood its limitations; as to the second, Melbourne's government could easily have aided him, since they had authority in Bermuda. But when Brougham attacked Durham savagely, Melbourne lamely acquiesced and sacrificed him, basely as Mr. Reid thinks. Durham stopped his work, hurried home, occupied himself busily on the long voyage with preparing his report, and died soon after its appearance.

Undoubtedly this report is his greatest achievement. In spite of Durham's hurry and of its many flaws the report remains the charter of Britain's present-day colonial policy, and marks the dawn of a new era. Durham said bluntly that attempts at controlling the colonies from England had failed, that they must be trusted to govern themselves, and that greater liberty would strengthen not weaken the cohesion of the British Empire. In preparing this great state paper he had competent helpers, notably Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, but Mr. Reid repels with some warmth Brougham's charge that to the report Durham contributed only the six letters of his signature. He was, indeed, not the man to use the work of others without retouching and dominating it. To him, one of the chief authors of the Reform Bill, involving the greatest political revolution perhaps that England has ever known, must be attributed the chief place in effecting another revolution which in time will change the conception of the British Empire from that of a mother-land protecting dependent colonies to that of a permanent league of free and equal nations. Assuredly the

man who played so great a part in two such revolutions is worthy of a detailed biography.

If one essays the task of criticizing Mr. Reid one must add that his work is only moderately well done. He lacks conciseness and sometimes lucidity; his matter is not always well arranged, not always pertinent, not always quite accurate. He makes too great a hero of Durham and resents too obviously any unfavorable criticism by his contemporaries. Mr. Reid himself naïvely admits that Durham "was not infallible" (II. 313). But because Greville tells some stories about Durham not free from malice, Mr. Reid calls him an "idle eaves-dropper" (II. 371). Others besides Greville tell similar stories. Creevey, for instance, is piquant on Durham, and calls him "King Jog" because, having £80,000 a year, he said with assumed moderation that £40,000 was a moderate income which one "might jog on with". In spite of Mr. Reid, Durham was something less than sublime. Together with his generous and honest zeal for good government we find a love of display, an arrogant hauteur, and an impatience of contradiction at times so extravagant as to make his sanity seem doubtful. None the less was he a noble character. One story of Mr. Reid's would make all generous spirits love Durham in spite of his faults:

He was dining one night at Lambton Castle with the Countess, and the only other persons in the room were the servants. He spoke unguardedly across the table to his wife, and swept aside her remarks with brusqueness. When the men withdrew she, the gentlest of women, remonstrated. Instantly, Durham, who had not realised the force of his words until that moment, sprang to his feet, rang the bell, and—fearful that his words had already been reported—ordered the whole of the household into the room. He told the astonished servants that he had been momentarily betrayed into hard and unjust words, declared that he was sorry for the fact, and assured them there was one thing they must remember, which was that, if he ever contradicted the Countess again, he had put himself into the wrong, and she was always right. Then, turning to his wife, he apologised to her in their presence and dismissed them. (II. 373.)

Such was Durham, irritable and impulsive, but above all, honest, courageous, and never sparing himself to carry out that to which his sense of duty called him.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe. Edited by his daughter LAURA E. RICHARDS. Volume I. *The Greek Revolution.* With Notes and a Preface by F. B. SANBORN. (Boston: Dana Estes and Company; London: John Lane. 1906. Pp. xix, 419.)

IN this volume we have the first installment of the definitive life of Dr. Howe. The editor has done her work well—so well that one could wish more from her own hand. The story of her father's early life she

dismisses all too briefly to take up the Greek letters and journals which, pieced out here and there from Howe's *Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, yield a work almost purely autobiographical. The journals are the chief sources; and there are four of them, running severally from April to December, 1825; November, 1826, to February 16, 1827; July 5 to November 13, 1827; and November 12, 1828, to June, 1829. This leaves three serious gaps: December, 1825, to November, 1826 (Missolonghi); February to July, 1827 (Fall of Athens); and June, 1829, to June, 1830, when he left Greece a free country.

Their cause was at a low ebb when Howe joined the Greeks in the winter of 1824-1825; and his pictures of guerrilla warfare in the Morea, where he first saw service, are extremely realistic. Without discipline or commissariat, in a country exhausted by four years of war, the Greek *guerrillero* lived a hard life which the young surgeon cheerfully shared. Subsisting often on sorrel and snails or on roasted wasps and rarely knowing the luxury of such lodgings as he at times enjoyed in the ancient galleries of Tiryns, he proved as hardy as the best; and if worst come to worst, he even contemplates forming a band of a dozen rough-riding Philhellenes to harass the Turk. But his best service was not in dealing but in binding up wounds. Near Kalamata we presently find him in charge of a rude field-hospital with eighteen wounded men; and next at Grabousi—a fortified rock-islet on the northeast coast of Crete—as surgeon of the unlucky Cretan expedition he is dressing more wounds and performing more operations than might have fallen to his lot in a lifetime at home. From this service he returns to become surgeon to the hospital at Nauplia.

The second journal opens with his "commission from government as Director of the Medical Department in the Fleet"—with the high-sounding title of *archicheiourgos*—all this at twenty-five! Assigned to the *Karteria*, he was brought into close relations with that brave and disinterested Philhellene, Captain Hastings; but his vivid journal of the siege of Athens breaks off abruptly some four months before the capitulation of the Acropolis. This took place on the fifth of June (see Finlay, VI. 222), not May 5, as Mrs. Richards dates it, evidently mistaking Howe's own date in the *Historical Sketch* (p. 425).

On the fall of Athens Howe is induced by the Greek authorities to undertake a mission to America, only postponed while he assists in the distribution of relief then beginning to pour in from this country. In this service he found his permanent vocation to philanthropy; and the third journal, recording his ministrations to the suffering and starving peasantry of Peloponnesus and the islands, could hardly be surpassed in human interest by any chapter in Greek history. The historian's estimate of that service may be read in Finlay (VI. 437). Meantime, the glory of Navarino (October 20, 1827) had blotted out the shame of Athens; and Howe returned home to take up his "first crusade". In five

months he wrote and published his *Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, an offhand work whose vivid autopsy and keen judgments of men and measures give it permanent value; and then went to the people with his cause. "His words kindled like a torch, and wherever his voice was heard, wherever the flash of his presence was seen, people's hearts sprang up in answer." With \$60,000 thus raised he went back to Greece in November, 1828, and began to administer relief on new principles. He would "give it all to the poor, and yet have it remain to be given over and over again". Doing the thing next his hand, he sets the poor Athenian refugees—250 men and 500 women—at work building a mole in the harbor of Aegina; and for four months over 700 beggars were turned into joyful laborers on a public work of real and lasting utility. It was an object-lesson which Greece sadly needed as she needs the like to-day; but Howe looked farther. He asked and obtained a large land grant near Corinth on which he proposed to colonize these homeless exiles and set them in the way of living from the soil. This colony he actually established, and on his return to Greece in 1844 he found a joyful welcome from his protégés; but owing to a long and virulent siege of swamp-fever which interrupted his journal here we have no adequate account of it. Here ends the Greek story, though the editor has added to the volume the record of her father's adventures in the Polish cause and his consequent imprisonment in Berlin.

These journals have waited eighty years to see the light, though full of facts and judgments of high historical value. There was hardly a keener eye on Greek affairs than Howe's; hardly a man of any age who saw so much and interpreted it so well. His incisive judgments of men have in the main stood the test of time. Capodistrias and Kolokotrones, Mavrokordatos and Miaules, Cochrane and Church, Hamilton and Hastings, stand in history much as he painted them for good or ill. Nor had any man a clearer insight into the strength and weakness of the Greek cause and character. His judgments of the Greek people are at times indeed too stern; for he was every inch a disciplinarian, and discipline there was none in a people scattered and peeled by twenty-two centuries of subjection. But he always corrects these harsh judgments; and his lifelong devotion to their cause is his real tribute to their character.

Apart from the historical value of this volume, it takes rank with the very best Greek travels of that day. No better pictures of humble Greek life have ever been drawn than Howe gives us—notably in his rainy days with Father Peter; and his journals at Naxos and Paros are as good as anything we have about those islands.

J. IRVING MANATT.

Scritti Editi e Inediti. Di GIUSEPPE MAZZINI. Edizione Nazionale. Volume I. (Imola: Cooperativa Editrice B. Galeatti. 1906. Pp. xxxiii, 414.)

No other Italian of the nineteenth century has exerted so wide an influence upon his country through his writings as Joseph Mazzini, apostle of freedom and of national unity. His eloquent appeals in the name of patriotism and the religion of duty served more potently than any other force to rouse his countrymen to the repeated acts of heroism and sacrifice from which was born the modern spirit of Italian nationality; while his masterly direction of intricate and tireless conspiracy against oppression was a primary factor in the expulsion of the foreigner and the despot, and in the consummation of Italian unity. It will not therefore be an exaggeration to characterize in anticipation the publication of which the first volume is noted above as the most important single source for the history of Italy during the period of its awakening.

Two important editions of Mazzini's collected works already exist. The first, *Scritti Letterari di un Italiano Vivente*, appeared anonymously in three volumes at Lugano in 1847. The second, *Scritti Editi e Inediti*, which was commenced under Mazzini's own direction in 1861, and was continued first under that of Saffi, then under that of a private Mazzinian commission, covered a period of forty-three years in its publication, and comprises twenty volumes. The last two volumes alone of this edition contain letters, and these come down only to 1837, a mere fragment of Mazzini's vast correspondence, which in its entirety will constitute a chronicle of over forty years of European conspiracy and revolutionary agitation. Other separate and equally fragmentary volumes of his letters have been published at different times by Countess d'Agoult, Cagnacci, Diamilla Muller, Giannelli, Giuriati, Melegari, Mezzatinti, and Ordoño De Rosales.

All of the material of these editions, together with a mass of important uncollected writings and a great quantity of unpublished correspondence, will be contained in the new national edition, which is designed to be complete. It will comprise not less than sixty volumes, of which five will contain literary essays and book-reviews, twenty-five political essays, and thirty correspondence. A commission of ten, appointed by royal decree, has charge of the editing, under the presidency of the minister of public instruction. It is intended to publish four volumes each year, ordering the material chronologically. Mazzini's first published writings were literary, and none of his letters prior to 1831 are known. The first volume therefore contains literary essays and notices. It may be observed, however, that in Mazzini's mind from the first, political and patriotic motives maintained a constant and predominating ascendancy, and even his literary writings have a strong political flavor; classification is not always easy; in fact there are included in the present volume two writings which Mazzini himself classed in 1861 as political: *Pensieri: Ai Poeti del Secolo XIX.*; and *Rome*

Southerraïne, par Charles Didier. In all, this volume contains thirty-two articles, of which only one-half appeared in the earlier *Scritti Editi e Inediti*. The other sixteen were all originally published in the *Indicatore Livornese* and the *Giovine Italia*, the two rarest periodicals of the period; six of these, being of doubtful origin, are grouped separately in an appendix. No critical notes are given, but an excellent preface contains important and detailed bibliographical information. Unfortunately the subject-indexes which added so materially to the usefulness of the earlier edition will be wanting in the national edition, with what excuse it is difficult to understand.

H. N. G.

I Martiri di Belfiore e il loro Processo: Narrazione Storica Documentata. Per ALESSANDRO LUZIO. (Milano: Tipografia Editrice L. F. Cogliati. 1905. Two vols., pp. xx, 414; 422.)

Profili Biografici e Bozzetti Storici. Per ALESSANDRO LUZIO. (Milano: Casa Editrice L. F. Cogliati. 1906. Pp. vii, 534.)

IN the last decade no one has done more for the progress of historical studies upon the period of the Italian *Risorgimento*, both in bringing forward new evidence from unpublished sources and in the establishment of rigorous standards of criticism, than Alessandro Luzzo. His first work of importance in this field was a monograph upon *Le Cinque Giornate di Milano* (1899). This has been followed by *Antonio Salvetti* (1901); *Radetzky* (1901); *Il Processo Pellico-Maroncelli* (1903); *Giuseppe Mazzini* (1905); and by the above-noted *I Martiri di Belfiore*. In *Le Cinque Giornate* he made use of much published Austrian material that had been neglected by preceding Italian, French, and English historians, the judicial examination of which may be said to have placed the history of this important episode for the first time upon a sound critical basis. In his other works, relating principally, it will be observed, to Italian struggles against Austria in the Lombardo-Veneto, upon which the documents of one party are of necessity exclusively in German, he has continued to use all the Austrian sources available, in this alone making a notable step forward toward the definitive *Risorgimento* history of this region of Italy.

The breadth of view and sincerity of historical purpose evinced by this impartiality in investigation have emphasized rather than obscured Luzzo's honest patriotism, and have won for him the confidence of many private depositories of valuable unpublished documents, which have been placed at his disposal; while as director of the Royal Archives of Mantua he has had access also to rich stores of state documents in Mantua and elsewhere. In *I Martiri di Belfiore* he has taken full advantage of these exceptional opportunities, and has succeeded in bringing together a mass of well-ordered and carefully weighed evidence that has secured recognition for his volumes as by far the most important source upon the famous Austrian political trials and executions of Mantua from 1852 to 1855, and assures them a permanent place among primary

authorities for the grim period of repression and conspiracy which intervened in the Lombardo-Veneto between the revolution of 1848 and the liberations of 1859 and 1866. Luzio obtained his most important unpublished material from privately donated documents in the museums of national history in Brescia, Padua, and particularly Mantua, from the testimony of survivors of the rigors of Austrian justice, and from documents preserved by the relatives and heirs of the "martyrs". Appendixes of the first volume and the entire second volume are given up to the publication of documents, of which many others are embodied in full in Luzio's narrative. They include farewell letters of condemned patriots, dated on the eve of mounting the scaffold; many clandestine letters written amid the inhuman sufferings of fetid dungeons and menaces of torture worse than death, brutally repeated to force confessions and revelations; fragments of autobiography and prison reminiscences; proclamations and sentences of Austrian military tribunals and special courts of justice; a list of those brought to trial, with brief biographical notes; and many miscellaneous documents of varying importance relating to this same tragic phase of the Austrian domination. Some had been previously published in newspapers or in equally dispersed sources; others in a more or less fragmentary form had seen the light in pamphlets now rare. *Le Ultime Lettere di Tito Speri* (Rome, 1887) are here reprinted, newly edited from the originals, with the addition of three letters previously unpublished. The fragmentary *Cenni Biografici e Scritti Vari di Anna Filippini Poma e del Dottore Carlo Poma* (Mantua, 1867) are reprinted also from the originals and in full. Of the important letters of the noble priest Enrico Tazzoli, a part had been previously published by Cantù and Martini, but several hitherto unknown are here given. Such letters are of the first importance, but though generally written in perfect sincerity, they must be used with the utmost caution. The Austrian police methods of sowing suspicion among the accused, and the prisoners' uncertain means of communication, frequently led the latter into false statements upon whatever they did not themselves experience, or view as eye-witnesses. In the sifting of this difficult evidence Luzio has exhibited superior skill and serenity of judgment; notably in the discussion of Castellazzo's culpability as an informer he has shown much impartiality, giving careful attention to extenuating circumstances.

As a whole the volumes form one of the most damning indictments ever brought against a modern government, but as Luzio himself protests, the fault lies with Austria and not in a *parti pris* of the historian. One overwhelming conviction alone can result from an examination of the evidence presented: that a government maintained at such a cost of human debasement, brutality, and crime could by no argument justify its existence, and that if ever there were just wars, they were those of 1859 and 1866, which freed Lombardia and the Veneto from Teutonic domination and made a repetition of the political trials of Mantua impossible. And it would seem that the Austrian government itself

realized the character of this domination, when it refused to open to Luzio the Allgemeines Archiv des K. K. Ministeriums des Innern or the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna. Until the reports of the police and of the military inquisitions there deposited are known, definitive history cannot be written; but nothing which they contain can mitigate the horrors of the anti-national oppression already revealed. When the time arrives in Austria for greater liberty in historical studies, it is to be hoped that Luzio will be permitted to be among the first to examine the sources which now must remain concealed. For the present he will undoubtedly be content to see these last volumes suffer the fate of prohibition in the Austrian dominions which was meted out by the Austrian press censor to his earlier *Radetzky*.

Aside from the monographs above mentioned, Luzio has published in recent years several briefer historical studies in periodicals. Some of these, together with many book-reviews, written principally for the *Corriere della Sera*, he has now brought together in the volume entitled *Profili Biografici e Bozzetti Storici*. The greater number of these studies relate to the history of the *Risorgimento*; among the more important are: "Costanza Arconati", a sketch of "the good genius of the exiles of 1821", with many of her letters, 1829-1860; "Mantova nel Quarantotto", a defense of the conduct of the Mantuans in 1848; "Il primo Amore di Ippolito Nievo", and "Il Pensiero Artistico e Politico di G. Verdi", both of considerable biographical importance; and reviews of Abba's *La Vita di Bixio* (1905), Lumbroso's *Il Processo di Persano* (1905), Bartsch's *Haynau* (1903), and Barrili's edition of the *Scritti di Mameli* (1902). In his book-reviews Luzio invariably succeeds in contributing some new fact, frequently some document previously unpublished, or neglected in the volume reviewed; so that for its original material, as well as for its bibliographical information, his *Profili* is of greater value than most books of this character.

H. NELSON GAY.

Erinnerungen, Aufsätze und Reden. Von HANS DELBRÜCK, Professor der modernen Geschichte in der Universität Berlin. (Berlin: Georg Stilke. 1905. Pp. 625.)

THIS volume by the widely known editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* brings together the same kind of material as was published by Professor Delbrück in 1887 as *Historische und politische Aufsätze*; the change of title is rather obscurely explained as due to the introduction of a stronger personal element. The 625 pages comprise thirty-four papers of quite varied character both in style and in subject; all but five were published in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* 1887-1901, and only two appear to have received any modifying revision. The topics are for the most part incidents or aspects of the nineteenth-century reconstruction of Germany, the only important exceptions being a paper on the Seven Years' War and three on social democracy. The leaning to mili-

tary history of the author of a *History of the Art of War* (2 vols., 1900) is strongly shown.

The fact that the book appears as a third edition should perhaps insure the suppression of doubts as to its usefulness. But the reviewer may still venture to assert that such volumes are usually uncalled for and are rarely inspiring. Many of these chips from Professor Delbrück's workshop were interesting contributions in their time, appearing as they did with editorial prestige; why the general reader should now value a collection of them, or why the special reader should not be quite content with their deposit in the files of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, would perhaps not be very easy to explain.

The most serious studies in the volume are those entitled "Das Geheimnis der Napoleonischen Politik im Jahre 1870" (pp. 301-357) and "Der Ursprung des Siebenjährigen Krieges" (pp. 240-269), and some idea of the nature and calibre of the whole may perhaps be given by a slight examination of them. They were in their day (1895-1896) rather noteworthy papers, for they set forth or called wider attention to novel if not paradoxical positions. As in them both the author placed himself in opposition to most of his old associates among the students of recent German history (mainly the *Historische Zeitschrift* group), we must credit him with independence and open-mindedness; on the other hand he seems to betray an undue leaning to the historical novelty. The title of the first of these essays might be suspected of verging on sensationalism, especially as it will be found that what is represented as the special Napoleonic secret (an intention on the part of the French government to win by rapid military movements such advantages as would enable it to throw aside the association with Austria and Italy and force Prussia to concede Belgium to France in return for French support of Prussian control in Germany) is given but a minor degree of attention and is by no means proved. Most of the paper is devoted to other sides of the situation in 1870, and Professor Delbrück is apparently more successful in maintaining (especially as against Sybel in his latest contributions), first, that there *did* exist in the early part of the year a warlike anti-Prussian understanding if not alliance between at least France and Austria, and second, that Bismarck was responsible for the manipulation of the Hohenzollern candidacy and the Ems incident so as to bring on war. The paper is thus of decided value, though even in this latest form it by no means clears up the situation.

The article entitled "Der Ursprung des Siebenjährigen Krieges" was originally even more controversial (in this revision the direct controversial parts are largely omitted). In it Delbrück had entered the lists as a thick-and-thin supporter of the Lehmann and Lückwaldt contention that Frederic as well as Maria Theresa was seeking war in 1756, that "zwei Offensiven seien aufeinandergestossen", and that if Frederic were not to be assumed to have begun operations for the purpose of getting at least north Saxony if not also West Prussia, he must be deposed from the pedestal he had occupied. Ten years ago the con-

troversy on this matter raged with great fury, and Teutonic amenities flew fiercely from both camps; pure exhaustion only seems to have stilled the storm, for no sufficient agreement was reached to serve as the basis of a treaty of peace. The Delbrück appearance in the fray only widened the circle of spectators without adding views or material of moment, and the reappearance now of these arguments only suggests reflections on the standards of heroism and statesmanship that were made the prevailing ones in Germany by the glamor of the Bismarckian triumphs. That after his seizure of Silesia the great Frederic should have thought to be content to spend the rest of his days or even a few years in replenishing his resources, developing peaceful industry, and assimilating the new population is declared to stamp him as a weakling if not a fool. Only by crediting him with the intention of proceeding shortly to the improvement of the connections between Brandenburg and Silesia by the seizure of Saxony can his claim to greatness be sustained. And so Delbrück declares that he started in 1755 to bring on war that he might seize Saxony, and declines to regard his reputation as in any wise impaired by the trivial facts that (from this point of view) he entirely failed and that he had entirely miscalculated the situation. For did he not thus furnish the German youth of the future with whole pages of exploits?

It is doctrine of this sort that Denis has probably had in mind in declaring in his recent book on Germany that the German cry for war in 1870 was largely due to the production by the university teaching of a youth that "n'a qu'un credo: la conviction de la supériorité de la vertu et de la science germaniques; qu'une religion: la force; qu'un besoin: la domination".

VICTOR COFFIN.

Frederick York Powell, a Life; and a Selection from his Letters and Occasional Writings. By OLIVER ELTON. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1906. Two vols., pp. xvi, 461; xvi, 464.)

It is unusual for a reviewer in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* to use the first person singular in reviewing a new book, and the writer of this review in the course of nearly thirty years of writing reviews has never done such a thing before. But the editors of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* may be pleased to make an exception in this case, since the reviewer was not only an intimate friend of the late professor of history at Oxford, whose life has just been published, but believes that he has certain criticisms to offer which can only be justified by an assertion of personal recollections, of which the value must lie in the credibility of the writer.

To sum up rapidly the value of the work, it may be stated at once that the life of York Powell well deserved to be written, and that it has been written in a tactful and interesting fashion. The many-sidedness of the man has been well brought out; the attractive nature of his personality is excellently displayed; the facts of his career are correctly

noted; his fugitive work has been tastefully brought together; and all the friends of York Powell—and he had a genius for friendship—will be grateful to Mr. Elton for placing this memorial of their departed friend in their hands. A review article is not the place in which to summarize the facts of York Powell's life; these are to be found in his biography. But a review article is the only place in which the importance of his work as a professor of history can be criticized and estimated, and it is upon this subject that the present reviewer believes he has something worth the saying.

Mr. Elton, as I have said, has excellently put together the facts of York Powell's life, and has brought out with particular skill the latter years of that life, after his appointment to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, in succession to Froude, in 1894. My intimacy with Powell began in 1882 and continued until 1894 when I came to America. I well remember the beginning of his acquaintance with Mr. Elton, and can therefore state that I have some qualifications to discuss the development of York Powell's ideas as to history in the years before he made Mr. Elton's acquaintance. Others, like his friend and successor in the chair of history, Mr. C. H. Firth, might have contributed something along this line to Mr. Elton's biography of York Powell, but I believe that I am right in saying that he discussed history at greater length with me than with any one else during those formative years. I can remember many long sessions, when I was his guest at Christ Church, in which we discussed the new developments in the trade of a historian, and I witnessed his gradual conversion from a somewhat romantic idealism and even from a tampering with the so-called philosophy of history into the strenuous assertion of the modern views of the historian's work, which is so well set forth in certain papers reprinted by Mr. Elton in the first section of his second volume. When I first knew York Powell he was a law tutor at Christ Church with a prodigious memory, a vast fund of miscellaneous knowledge, and an instinct for the scientific investigation of the truth. But he was not yet a historian. His scientific training had been acquired by his studies with Vigfusson in preparing the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, and his trend of thought was rather toward Icelandic scholarship than historical work. But during the twelve years in which I saw much of him, and especially after Vigfusson's death, he turned more and more toward history, and alike in his reviewing work for the *Manchester Guardian* and in his semi-editorial work for the Clarendon Press, as for instance upon Sir James Ramsay's *Lancaster and York*, he began to consider the principles upon which history should be written. Since he had never had any regular historical training, he had to work out those principles for himself. Beginning in the early eighties with a distinct interest in the philosophy of history and some rather fanciful ideas as to the duties of a historian, the rigor of his training with Vigfusson and of his own law studies turned him more and more toward the practical duties of a historian in discovering and stating the truth.

This change in his point of view was not due to any individual influence, but he fought it out for himself, and as I was then engaged in active historical work and was fighting out the same battle for myself, we naturally spent much time in discussing this matter. It is difficult to imagine in these days of historical seminars, in which Langlois and Seignobos's *Introduction to the Study of History* and Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* are in daily use, the extent of the isolation of Oxford historical scholars twenty-five years ago from the great movement of scientific history upon the continent of Europe. Stubbs indeed was Regius Professor of Modern History, but we had to gather his method from his work and not from direct instruction; learned historical students there were among our history tutors like C. W. Boase and G. W. Kitchen and J. Franck Bright, but they taught us more of historical facts than of historical criticism; brilliant young men there were, who have since fulfilled their early promise like C. H. Firth and J. H. Round and Reginald Lane Poole, but they were busy in laying the foundation of future erudition; some great historians there were, like Mandell Creighton and S. R. Gardiner, who visited Oxford but did not help its aspiring young historians; so that we had to work out our problems for ourselves. It was York Powell who first set me to a task of historical work in pressing upon me the undertaking of a history of the French Revolution. I realize to-day the rashness of my attempt and with particular force the absurdity of my making such an attempt without any of the historical apparatus, which is now so liberally bestowed upon undergraduate students in a German or in an American university. But to the undertaking of that task I owe much of the long intercourse with York Powell in the days when he was working toward his theory of the duty of the historian. Of this struggle toward the light Mr. Elton, and with good reason, since he could know nothing of it, tells nothing in his life of York Powell. And yet the chief importance of York Powell's career lies in the fact that as successor of Froude he turned away from Froudacuity to inculcate into the minds of friends and students the meaning and the method of the modern school of history. Stubbs indeed has left a larger historical monument behind him, but he never breathed into others, as York Powell did, during his professorship, the sense of the historian's duty to seek the truth without swerving to follow out a personal opinion. As Mr. Elton points out, York Powell used his personality as an immense incentive for getting work out of others; I doubt if there has ever been any Oxford man who has made others work so much as he did; I doubt if there has ever been a scholar who gave of his store of knowledge and of his originality of thought more help to others; and the multiplicity of his prefaces to other men's work is a proof of itself of the personality of a great teacher. Mr. Firth, as his successor, will find his work of bringing the study of history at Oxford up to date much lightened by the fact that York Powell went before him. This then was York Powell's true work, the turning of the point of

view of history in Oxford from the philosophical to the scientific standpoint, and so great were his services in this direction that I have felt it worth while to use the personal note and to dwell upon the development of York Powell's point of view in history during the formative years instead of merely summarizing the contents of Mr. Elton's book.

But I cannot leave the subject of York Powell without re-enforcing some of Mr. Elton's kindly appreciations. The York Powell of the eighties, when he was feeling his way, was the same man as the professor of the later period. He was the most helpful man that I have ever known, helpful in brains, in sympathy, and in purse; loving dearly and being loved dearly; the more lovable because of his prejudices and because of his sweet unconsciousness of his superiority to other men. I remember in particular one evening in his little old room in Christ Church before he moved to the comparative spaciousness of his later dwelling-place there, when Powell met in argument a group of specialists in history, as we should call them nowadays, and after vanquishing each of them in their own particular subjects set to work to dilate at length on the difference between the Deal and the New-castle styles of prize-fighting and thereby reduced the rest of us to silence. Yet the effect he left upon his hearers was then, as always, a sense of admiration and not of the slightest resentment. Of his friends in those days, of Purcell in particular, whom he admired so heartily, there might have been more place made in Mr. Elton's biography, but the friends of York Powell need no biography to remind them of the friend that they have lost. I can personally confirm Mr. Elton's mild statement that York Powell was prejudiced against Jews and Roman Catholics and Americans. But his prejudice was general and not particular. Where he found a man in trouble or ready to work, York Powell forgot race and origin. Let Dr. Gross testify that his great work on *The Gild Merchant* would never have seen the light but for York Powell's hearty aid; let his friendship for Father Barry, the novelist, refute his hard words on Catholics; and let those American students who went to his rooms at Oxford bear testimony that his feeling against the United States never prevented his sympathy with individual American students. I confess that he never quite forgave my coming to America; we were neither of us good correspondents; but if there was anybody to be helped no one was more ready, even to write a letter, than York Powell. The last letter I ever received from him was about the son of a former friend of ours, upon whom he invoked the curse that fell upon Kipling's "Tomlinson." But this review has gone far enough; it has been written greatly against the grain, for to find one of one's contemporaries and intimates thought worthy of a biography seems a startling proof of oncoming old age; but it seemed to me that the readers of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* from a reading of Mr. Elton's book could not place York Powell properly, or estimate his influence upon the study of history properly, unless some one who knew him as I did should set forth his greatest

achievement, his leadership in changing the trend of historical studies at Oxford. Nowhere can his views be better seen than in the brief preface he wrote to the translation of Langlois and Seignobos's *Introduction to the Study of History*. One little piece of information I may give Mr. Elton; the apologue of Froude which he admired so much (I. 171) was not "A Siding at a Railway Station", but "The Cat's Pilgrimage."

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

The International Law and Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War.

By AMOS S. HERSHEY, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science and International Law in Indiana University. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xii, 394.)

Two books in English have preceded this, bearing upon the same subject. One, by T. J. Lawrence, was written in 1904 in the midst of exciting events relating to war and neutrality. It is an unpretentious volume, stating briefly and with scarcely any citation of authorities what the author believed to be the law applicable to a variety of incidents which had deeply stirred the British public. It did not include even in the second edition the North Sea tragedy. Of necessity the acts upon which he commented could be but partially and inaccurately known to the author. But his conclusions were sound and their appearance timely. Professor Hershey quotes Lawrence freely and approvingly.

The other book, by Smith and Sibley, appeared in 1905 and is characterized by Hershey (p. 172 n.) as a "bulky and pretentious volume". It certainly is not a very satisfactory treatise because it wanders interminably from the point and is sometimes absurd and inaccurate. It does not discuss the causes of the war but confines itself to questions of prize and of neutrality.

The book under review has the advantage over its forerunners in that an additional year has enabled its author to secure a more accurate statement of facts, to marshal his authorities and precedents much more fully, to learn the result of appeal in certain admiralty cases, and to look at the war with rather more perspective. Professor Hershey has made excellent use of his time and opportunities. His book is an adequate, judicial, and thorough discussion of the many highly important events of the war in the East. As the title implies, there is diplomacy as well as law in it. The events prior to the war and its closing scenes at Portsmouth, with prize law and the rules of war and neutrality in between, form a kind of intellectual sandwich.

That, like its predecessors, it finds Russia alone at fault save in one minor instance was inevitable, for this is the conclusion which the facts warrant.

In the earlier diplomacy Hershey relies largely upon Asakawa's admirable volume, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict*. We have laid before us a calm, patient, painstaking narrative of the diplomatic moves

in the Far East between the years 1894 and 1904. The sequence of events hardly needs explanation, so well do the treaties, agreements, and other documents cited cover the ground. One feature only might possibly have been touched upon which is left unmentioned, the apparent quickening of Russian aggression after England had become deeply involved in South Africa. It is an absorbing story of Russian advance, slow, resistless, with much under the surface, like a glacier: with a perfectly legitimate desire at bottom, an ice-free port on the Pacific, but seeking this object in ways that were illegitimate and threatened the integrity of the East.

Chinese intrigue, railway concessions, and the Russo-Chinese Bank, the skilful use of railway guards, the opportunity of the Boxer outbreak, the beginning of a new move upon Korea, the possession of Port Arthur, Alexieff's malign influence, the reinforcement of army and navy—all these facts officially proven were signs of the storm brewing which no one could mistake, least of all the Russian. And so the reader is led on to the first question of law raised, the necessity of a declaration of war prior to hostilities. When a fair diplomatic warning was given, when relations were broken, when all the rest of the world knew that the next act would be in violence, how could astute Russia fail to know it too?

The questions of law which the war gave rise to were numerous and serious, some of them novel: Were the purchases of merchant steamers with capabilities for military use, from neutral owners, lawful? What was the status of the new wireless telegraphy? How shall one judge the question of liability for those dangerous contact mines found floating far out at sea? Had Russia the right arbitrarily to enlarge the list of contraband, to reject the theory of conditional contraband, to sink the neutral carrying contraband?

Then there were the varying neutral theories of asylum and of hospitality to belligerent ships; a comparison of the declarations of neutrality; a contrast of the loyalty with which the combatants observed the provisions of the Hague Code; and the Dogger Bank incident when war hung in the balance.

I find myself in substantial agreement with the author's treatment of all these topics. He is judicial, he is temperate, he is sound, he is wonderfully fair and liberal in his citations of authorities. In truth the running down of many of his facts must have involved much labor. With some effort one might criticize the author's attitude toward the war correspondent and the wireless as not entirely fair to the belligerent. Possibly he follows Lawrence too closely in saying that the Chefoo wireless was discontinued in August, 1904; whereas Baron Kaneko declared that this breach of neutrality was permitted by China until late that year. I wish the real value of the commission of inquiry in the North Sea incident might have been emphasized, that is, the fact that it gave a chance for passion to cool off. In such minor matters here and there one might take issue, but on the other hand there is

original well-digested comment on almost every page upon a variety of hotly disputed questions, which will make the book of permanent value. Whether it is the last word on the subject may be doubted. For perhaps Takahashi or some other Japanese publicist on the one side and de Martens on the other may clear up certain matters yet with official information.

Nor is it likely that we yet know the full truth as to the real reasons underlying the Portsmouth treaty. Hershey truly thinks that this was far from being a diplomatic victory for Russia. It fairly embodied the principle of *uti possidetis*: sufficient proof of its equity. Credits were growing low; the trans-Siberian railway had shown unexpected capability; the Russian army probably outnumbered the Japanese, and each retreat improved its position. It had become too big to be bagged. The Japanese had won every battle; they had won everything essential. It was a war of defense, and a treaty of defense was indicated. Would it be surprising if the future should reveal that Japan in her inscrutable way saw that the psychological moment had come, persuaded Mr. Roosevelt to initiate negotiations in her behalf, emphasized the non-indispensable while securing what she most wanted in the treaty itself, and won as great a victory in diplomacy as she had done in war? There are a few typographical or other errors but none of a misleading kind: 1897 for 1807 (p. 75); *Count* Lansdowne (p. 230); "navel" for naval (p. 143); and half a dozen misprints.

This is in every way a very good piece of work indeed.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503. Edited by JULIUS E. OLSON and EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. [*Original Narratives of Early American History.* Edited by J. FRANKLIN JAMESON. Volume I.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906. Pp. xv, 443.)

At its annual meeting in December, 1902, the American Historical Association approved and adopted the plan of the present series, choosing Dr. J. Franklin Jameson as its general editor. The purpose of the series is to provide historical students and the libraries of schools and colleges with a comprehensive and well-rounded collection of those narratives on which the early history of the United States is founded; and the present volume forms a good beginning to this excellent and laudable undertaking. Thus under the *Northmen* Professor J. E. Olson of Wisconsin prints the Vinland narrations in the *Saga of Eric the Red* and in the *Flat Island Book* (Flateyjarbok), together with extracts from Adam of Bremen, from the Icelandic Annals, relative to Vinland and Markland, adding versions of the Papal Letters of 1448 and 1492 (from Nicholas V. and Alexander VI.) dealing with Green-

land. Again under *Columbus* Professor E. G. Bourne gives us the Articles of Agreement between Columbus and the Catholic kings (April 17, 1492); the Official Grant of Titles by the latter to the former (April 30, 1492); the Journal of the First Voyage (from Sir Clements Markham's version of the fuller text discovered in 1825); the Letters of Columbus to Luis de Santangel and to the Catholic sovereigns (March 14, 1493, and later); Dr. Chanca's Letter on Columbus's Second Voyage; Las Casas's record of the Third Voyage; and the Admiral's Letters descriptive of his Fourth Voyage and of his sufferings and ill treatment (the latter addressed to the Nurse of Prince John). Lastly under the Cabots Professor Bourne reprints the Letters of Pasqualigo and Soncino (August 23, 24, and December 18, 1497), and Pedro de Ayala's despatch to Ferdinand and Isabella (July 25, 1498).

Most serviceable and in all ways to be welcomed is this volume, as has been said. But it might have been made still more serviceable. Why, for instance, did the editor not furnish us with the Vinland and other American references from the Icelandic historian Are Frode, from the famous traveller abbot Nicolas of Thingeyre, from the *Kristni Saga*, the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, and the *Grettis Saga*, references which add so concisely and suggestively to the chain of testimony reaching down from the earliest Icelandic chronicler to the composition of *Red Eric Saga* in the thirteenth century? Surely it would have been better to print all these among our texts, at the cost of some three or four additional pages of transcription, rather than merely to give, as he has done, a version of the *Kristni Saga* passage in a foot-note to the introduction, while referring the inquirer to A. M. Reeves's *Wineland the Good* for the rest.

Also I would suggest that Adam of Bremen, the first and best historian of northern Germany in the Middle Ages, the one contemporary who has preserved a record of the polar voyage of Harald Hardrada, is not adequately dealt with in note 1, p. 67; that his primary position (in time order) among the witnesses to the Scandinavian discovery of America is either not properly appreciated or at least not duly emphasized; and that Professor Olson's seeming acquiescence (pp. 6-7) in the common and ignorant presumption of a complete "absence of contemporary record" for the Vinland voyages does wrong to the chronicler of the church of Hamburg—like Bede, an investigator of much more than ecclesiastical affairs. For, as the dates furnished by Mr. Olson sufficiently testify, both Adam and his royal informant Svein Estrithson of Denmark (from whom the passage on the "insula . . . quae dicitur Winland" is mainly derived) are younger contemporaries of Leif Ericson and Thorfinn Karlsefne—to say nothing of Are Frode, whose birth (in 1067) lies within a measurable distance of the American discoveries of the "Vinland-farers" (1000-1006).

Again, why not have added to the concluding medieval notices of Greenland in papal letters some earlier references to the same country such as those in Adam himself, in Ordericus Vitalis, in other Middle

Age historians and geographers, together with the really important statements in Ivar Bardsen's *Descriptio*, and in Icelandic and ecclesiastical annals.

And in the same way, would it have been difficult to annex to the Cabot documents here printed the Petition and First Letters Patent of March 5, 1496 (the fundamental document relating to John Cabot's earliest "American" voyage), together with the despatch of March 28, 1496, from Ferdinand and Isabella to Ruy Gonçales de Puebla, their senior ambassador in England, Henry VII.'s grant of August 10, 1497, "to him that found the new isle", John Cabot's pension order of December 13, 1497, and second letters patent of February 3, 1498? The insertion of these (or at least of their material passages) would not have required very much space, and would certainly have been welcome to many of those for whom this admirable series is especially intended.¹

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

Christopher Columbus and the New World of his Discovery. A Narrative by FILSON YOUNG, with a Note on the Navigation of Columbus's First Voyage by the EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company; London: E. Grant Richards. 1906. Two vols., pp. xxi, 323; ix, 399.)

THIS new life of the discoverer of America, although based to some extent on a study of the documents, is distinctly a popular work which offers nothing which need detain the scholar except the valuable and interesting "Note on the Navigation of Columbus's First Voyage by the Earl of Dunraven, K. P." This little treatise of some thirty pages throws light on many a passage in the Columbus narratives which the editors have left in obscurity. For example, Columbus frequently refers to the position of the "Guards", Beta and Gamma in the constellation of Ursa Minor. There is in particular the passage in the Journal of September 30, which has been mistranslated or, if correctly translated, left without explanation by every editor of that narrative. The Earl of Dunraven gives a lucid interpretation of the passage in question and explains the use made by sailors of the position "of the Guards" in determining the time in the night.

The most distinct merit in the body of the work is the rather full quotation from Columbus's own writings to illustrate his character or purposes. The translations in almost all cases are those given by Mr. John Boyd Thacher in his *Columbus*, who authorized Mr. Young to draw freely from them. Mr. Young's narrative is lively but too much interspersed with "purple passages". His model as a historian has only too plainly been Carlyle, whose pale ghost meets one at every turn. In criticism he adopts Mr. Vignaud's radical and destructive conclusions

¹ Some of these omissions might be defended on the ground that the series is intended to be a collection of narratives and not of documents, and that it does not aim at completeness, but is made up by selection. ED.

in regard to the Toscanelli correspondence. On the other hand, he retells the egg story, which he characterizes (I. 257) as "a sufficiently inane story . . . ; but there is enough character in this little feat, ponderous, deliberate, pompous, ostentatious, and at bottom a trick and deceitful quibble, to make it accord with the grandiloquent public manner of Columbus, and to make it easily believable of one who chose to show himself in his speech and writings so much more meanly and pretentiously than he showed himself in the true acts and business of his life." The rejection of the incident of the egg story (first attributed to Columbus by Benzoni, a literary compiler, a half-century later, and told of Brunelleschi and his dome a half-century before the voyage of Columbus) is a sufficiently established result of criticism to have saved Mr. Young his reflections on it. In many cases the historically-minded student will be irritated by Mr. Young's flippant and journalistic comments on subjects of importance like the Demarcation Bulls.

Mr. Young devotes a page to "the work called *Libro de las Profecias*, or Book of the Prophecies, in which he wrote down such considerations as occurred to him in his stupor. . . . The manuscript of this work is in existence, although no human being has ever ventured to reprint the whole of it" (II. 145-146). It is reprinted in the *Raccolta Colombiana*, and is not at all what Mr. Young describes it to be, but mainly a collection of scripture texts supposed to relate to the recovery of Jerusalem and the end of the world. Mr. Young scornfully reproduces one of the calculations in this work, no better or no worse than would be found in any orthodox commentary on Daniel or the Apocalypse down to within a generation, and then exclaims in his favorite Carlylese: "Good Heavens! in what an entirely dark and sordid stupor is our Christopher now sunk—a veritable slough and quag of stupor out of which, if he does not manage to flounder himself, no human hand can pull him."

In conclusion, the most serious deficiency in Mr. Young's work is not its occasional errors, but its great lack of the true historical spirit of interpretation. It is the work of a clear and versatile writer, but not of a historical scholar. It will amuse and interest the general reader and not seriously mislead him as to the career of Columbus, but from it he will gain little instruction in historical interpretation.

E. G. B.

A History of the United States and its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By ELROY MCKENDREE AVERY. In fifteen volumes. Volume II. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1905. Pp. xxxvi, 458.)

In this second installment of the series which, according to the announcement on the title-page, is to be extended from twelve volumes to fifteen, Dr. Avery describes the projection of French, English, Dutch, and Swede on to the Atlantic seaboard, and the vicissitudes befalling them after arrival, from 1600 to 1660 approximately. Obedient to the

intimation given in the preface, the treatment of the theme is by "transverse sections rather than by longitudinal fibers". An inspection of the table of contents would imply that this means a grouping of chapters according to time, place, institutions, individuals, and episodes, in all of which the historical sequence is not always clear.

On the whole the volume is superior to its predecessor. The sense of proportion is better developed, and the transatlantic environment of the narrative affords a more adequate understanding of the truth that the colonies in North America, during the seventeenth century at least, were an expansion of certain European countries rather than the germ of future independent states on the soil of the New World. The maps, also, maintain their excellence, and the illustrations show distinct improvement in their quality. If the maps, indeed, continue throughout the series to preserve their present high standard of workmanship and usefulness, their publication in a separate volume would perform a real service to the students of American history.

The defects of the book are mainly stylistic and constructional, although misinterpretations and actual errors are not lacking. On these points the reviewer is loath to descant at length. Not only have many of them been cited in critical notices already published, but the truculent manner in which Dr. Avery in his preface bids defiance to the "professed student" of history is quite too intimidating. With malice toward persons whose "analytic and microbic Research immensely overshadows [their] co-ordinating activity", and with charity for all that much-abused community, the "general public", the author does not descend into "abysmal notes, overladen with trivial details, and told with such portentous long-windedness that only professional students, examinees, schoolmasters and their pupils really master them". Instead he draws them from the abyss, and, converting them into oracular opinions uttered by Professor This and Doctor That, pushes them into the text itself. One might venture a doubt, perhaps, whether the "general public" is so familiar with the literature of the subject that a mental salaam to the ipse dixits of the worthy scholars in question will be a necessary result.

When the thread of the story is single, Dr. Avery spins it smoothly. As its strands multiply and tighten, he is apt to let them run forward and backward until they leave the wheel and tangle themselves up in such a mesh as the treatment of the history of Massachusetts. At other times when the historical processes grow complex, and dramatic possibilities emerge, he marshals his metaphors in a manner truly imposing. Speaking of the growth of Separatism in England, Dr. Avery exclaims (p. 94): "These were days of quickening life. An English Bible and the Lollard leaven prepared the way for a revolt against the papacy. Luther sprang up in Germany, a moral volcano that shot its glare across western Europe and aroused its people to a new activity. Aided by an amorous eruption on the throne, England cut loose from Rome and snatched her crown from the shadow of the tiara." It seems hardly

fair to call Henry VIII., with all his faults, an "eruption", even if Sir Harry Vane may have been "a pretty fleck of cavalier color on a sombre Puritan canvas—a fresh-blown English rose blooming in a bed of New England immortelles" (p. 278). It should be admitted, however, that these rhetorical embellishments are not so common as in the first volume, nor do the tripping jingles in the text set the mind so oft a-dancing.

In the realm of misunderstanding and misstatement, the chapter on the "evolution of the English colonial system" needs a thorough revision. Not only does it ignore the share of Parliament in the growth of imperial administration, but it makes a large number of assertions which are either erroneous or so vague as to create impressions altogether false. Elsewhere in the volume questionable statements like the following may be found: that under the charters of 1609 and 1612 "Virginia held until the formation of the federal constitution in 1788" (p. 53); that in 1621 the "termination of the continental wars threw the services of gallant thousands upon a glutted market" (p. 73); that King James was laying plans for the marriage of his son to the sister of the Spanish monarch (p. 75), and to the daughter of that ruler (p. 76); that in 1624 Virginia "again" became a royal province (p. 77); that Spain had obtained from the New World no profits other than plunder (p. 80); that the title "king of France" borne by the English king in 1620 was "sixty-two years behind the truth" (p. 117); that the Swedish settlement on the Delaware was "the only colony ever planted by that nation" (p. 229); and that "the idea of local self-government . . . was a leading principle of the primeval polity of the Goths" (p. 343). The word "Antinomian", finally, is often used without a definition of its concrete meaning in Massachusetts history; and the typographical errors on page 273 seem quite inexcusable.

Despite all these shortcomings, the reviewer adheres to the opinion expressed in his critique of the first volume (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X. 852-856), namely, that Dr. Avery's work promises to be the best popular history of the United States which has yet appeared.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Die Kolonisation des Mississippitalen bis zum Ausgange der französischen Herrschaft. Eine kolonialhistorische Studie von ALEXANDER FRANZ, Ph.D. (Leipzig: Georg Wigand; New York: G. E. Stechert and Company. 1906. Pp. xxiv, 464.)

As the publication of a new work on the Mississippi valley seems to require some justification, the author states with care the causes that have led him to produce this rather bulky volume. First, he has found no scientific work of a comprehensive character which deals with this particular period in the history of the valley. Among the American authors the lack of a thorough, scientific treatment is marked; among French authors, Villiers du Terrage has, indeed, covered a por-

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tion of the period of French occupation, but his book is too largely devoted to defending the memory of Kerlerec. Very naturally, says Dr. Franz, no Frenchman has cared to attempt to describe in detail the failures and losses of French colonization in old Louisiana. If the task is now taken up by a German, it is because the author, though now resident in Europe, was born in the Mississippi valley and spent the early years of his life there. Moreover, Dr. Franz believes that his study of this long past history of early colonization in America will be of interest and profit to the Fatherland, which is now standing at the threshold of its colonial development. French colonization in the Mississippi valley was a failure; but the investigation of the causes of that failure may serve as an object-lesson to Germans, who, starting far behind the other nations as colonizers, have no time to lose in useless experiments. Thus the author hopes that his book will serve not only scientific but also national ends. At a later time he expects to find the opportunity to write the history of the Mississippi valley down to the present time. In this work of the future he purposes to use the archives which, on account of his professional duties, he was unable to consult for the present work.

All historical students will regret that the author was not able to consult the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society or, better, those of Paris; for many times in this work he seems in doubt which of conflicting statements in secondary authorities he should accept, when access to the "sources" would have settled the question. Moreover, he occasionally falls into errors of fact, apparently because he has not the sources before him. Thus he states that the riches of the "sieben Städte von Quivira" were reported by De Vaca (p. 22). De Vaca, however, did not mention these cities. It is not correct to state that when Coronado led his expedition to the north, the Moor Estevanico was in his train (p. 22). The Moor went on the expedition of Fray Marcos. The view that La Salle purposely missed the mouth of the Mississippi and went to Texas (pp. 46, 52) was held by Shea, but he never proved it. La Salle did not call the Mississippi the "St. Louis" (p. 46); he named it "Colbert ou Mississipi". The English Turn is not twenty-eight miles from the sea (p. 61), but twenty-eight leagues. Fort Louis was not moved up the river (p. 85), but down to the present site of Mobile. "Bernard de la Harpe" (p. 132) should be Bénard de la Harpe. The author charges Judge Martin with an error in the census of 1769 (p. 341), but the error occurs only in a wretched reprint of Martin's history, not in the original.

Aside from these slips, the author traces in a clear and interesting way the history of the Mississippi valley from the earliest Spanish discoveries down through the Revolution of 1768. The chapter on the Spanish period, being merely an introduction, might with advantage have been much abridged. In the political history the author goes over ground already trodden by many authors, particularly by Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*. By American readers, therefore, much of the

book may be read in a cursory manner, and even Germans will doubtless feel like skipping the rather long account of Law's financial machinations in France, the details of which hardly find their proper place in this volume. If the author, however, has occasionally lost his sense of proportion, he is to be praised for recognizing the importance of the European background, and for explaining with commendable clearness the events that influenced history on this side of the Atlantic.

The most satisfactory and valuable portion of Dr. Franz's work is that in which he discusses the economic conditions that prevailed in the Mississippi valley during the period of French colonization, and the causes of the failure of France to make that valley as prosperous as it became under the American flag. This was the special task that the author set before himself, and here he has met with marked success. The reviewer does not know of any other work that presents the facts so forcibly, or analyzes the causes of failure in so scientific a spirit. His keen criticism of the attempts to rehabilitate the reputation of Kerlérec, for example (pp. 278-279), is very refreshing: "Nicht Sieg oder Niederlage bedingen den geschichtlichen Ruhm, wohl aber das kühne Ringen um ein hohes Ziel oder das tapfere Ausharren bei einer dem Untergange geweihten Sache!—Und finden wir solches bei Kerlérec?"

In explaining the causes of failure (pp. 426-427) the author very happily calls Louisiana "eine französische Kleruchie, d. h. eine Gründung der französischen Regierung, zugleich aber auch eine kanadische Apökie, d. h. eine private Schöpfung kanadischer Waldläufer." In fact France wished to increase the number of the royal provinces, to keep out the English, to secure the trade with the Spanish colonies, but she was not fitted to take advantage of the great opportunities that Louisiana presented as an agricultural region. She seized a larger territory than she could utilize: "Mal étreint qui trop embrasse". The whole system of colonization collapsed when it met as a rival the English, who, says Dr. Franz, "colonized not with the sword but with the plow".

Yet the labors of France in Louisiana were not without benefit to the world. Her occupation of the valley, says the author, was a period of preparation. In fact the mission of France, as the reviewer once heard M. Jusserand remark, has been that of "a sower of seed". Too often the harvest has been reaped by other nations, but her sowers were the brilliant pioneers, La Salle, Tonti, Iberville, and Bienville, who will always fill a large place in history.

The book contains a copy of Bellin's map of 1744 and a good bibliography, but no index.

JOHN R. FICKLEN.

The Ohio River: a Course of Empire. By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xiv, 378.)

THE fresh appreciation of the geographical relationships of American history which has been in evidence in recent years has had the inevitable result of accentuating an important type of our current historical literature. The memory of man runneth not back to the day when we have not been deluged with local and regional histories, and yet it must be said that, for reasons which are more or less obvious, it is just this sort of historical writing which has fallen farthest short of its possibilities in this country. Happily there are at present not a few reasons for believing that we are on the eve of a distinct advance in this particular, marked not by a mere multiplying of books but by more intensive study of social and economic backgrounds in individual localities combined with (and that is the vital thing) a broader sweep and a firmer grasp on the conditions and developments of the country and of the world at large. We have yet hardly got beyond the age of the "popular" local history, but the species is improving and, whatever results we may sometime attain in the way of critical local studies, we shall never reach the point, as indeed we ought not, where a really good popular history is not worth while.

A book of this kind is Professor Hulbert's *The Ohio River*, published recently in the Messrs. Putnam's interesting series on the great river-basins of North America. Professor Hulbert's studies of the geographical background of early Western history, particularly the "Historic Highways", are well known and have equipped him, if not for adding new information, at least for the retelling of old facts from a somewhat novel point of view and with a very desirable freshness and vigor. The task undertaken in the present volume has been to describe the Ohio River as an avenue of national expansion—as a "course of empire"—and to sketch with some fullness the peopling of the great area to which the river and its tributaries for many decades afforded the readiest means of access. The project involved the rehearsal of a large amount of familiar history, but it also gave opportunity for the emphasizing of some things not so well known and the correcting of a number of erroneous impressions which still linger with regard to the settlement of the Middle West. By far the most valuable portions of the book are those which deal with the distinctly human side of the subject—the conditions of pioneer existence with which the emigrant had to wrestle, the life of flatboatman and trader, the reign of outlaw and rowdy, the intermingling of racial elements, and particularly the jealous contact of Yankee and Virginian on the north and south banks of the river. So far as political history is concerned, the student will find nothing new. But there is a sufficient contribution to our knowledge of the physical and social elements in the subject to give the book at least a reasonable right to existence.

Nowhere, except perhaps in the author's *Waterways of Westward Expansion* in the Historic Highways series, will one find so full and satisfactory treatment of the conditions and means of navigation on the Ohio from the eighteenth century to the present, covering the age of the canoe, of the flatboat, of the steamboat, and of the steel barge, and not neglecting the activities of the government since 1825 for the improvement of the river's channel. Particularly interesting is the account of the brig and schooner building in the period 1800-1809, when Ohio valley promoters were for the time bent upon the romantic project of establishing direct commercial intercourse with the West Indies and Europe.

The book is unfortunately subject to the limitations and defects of a hasty and somewhat scrappy narrative. It abounds in lengthy quotations, of which those coming from early writers and first-hand observers are clearly apropos, while the utility of those from Roosevelt, Venable, and other recent authors is at least open to question. There is a tendency at times to state things rather more broadly than the authenticated facts warrant. For example, is it not a little too much to say that "There is no question but that the brave La Salle discovered La Belle Rivière of New France (the Allegheny and Ohio) about 1670" (p. 18)? The probability of the discovery is strong, but after all it is only a probability. And does not the statement that "Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century there was continual fighting between the French on the St. Lawrence and the colonists in New England" (p. 19) convey an erroneous impression?

The work is richly illustrated and for the most part with very desirable effect. But one cannot refrain from expressing regret that the process of "padding" which, we may presume, is more or less inevitable in a book of the kind, should have been carried so far as to obtrude cuts of the Carnegie Institute and the Phipps Conservatory into a really solid description of Pittsburgh a hundred years ago, and of the Louisville waterworks into a chapter on "Where Yankee and Virginian Met."

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

Correspondence of William Pitt when Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commanders in America. Edited under the auspices of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by GERTRUDE SELWYN KIMBALL. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd. 1906. Two vols., pp. lxix, 445; xxiii, 502.)

It is perhaps singular that a century and a half should have elapsed before the student had access, in convenient form, to the correspondence of the "Great Commoner", the man who at a critical moment became the head and heart of England in arms. And it is almost a matter of reproach to the sterner sex that the editing of documents

of such historical importance would still remain to be done, were it not for the energy and pure patriotism of the ladies of America. Every student of the eighteenth century should therefore feel grateful to Miss Kimball and to the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America for the publication of these two excellent volumes.

The purpose of the collection, as outlined in the introduction—in itself a scholarly piece of work—“is to present in chronological order all that is of historical importance in the correspondence of William Pitt with the colonial governors and naval and military commanders, on the continent of North America and in the West Indies, during those years in which he held the position of secretary of state.” This period covers scarcely four years of the career of the great statesman; but nevertheless within that space of time the political course of Europe was changed, the power of France in North America was crushed forever, and the United States became a possibility. For the people of this continent in particular, these letters are of absorbing interest because they permit one to follow stage by stage the development of the colonial policy of Britain and to trace in a measure the workings of the master mind and guiding hand. But since good judgment has been exercised in the selection of the documents and in the addition of useful notes, one would have wished that the earlier letters which throw light on the personality of Pitt could have been included. The measure of success, however, which will surely attend the present publication may induce Miss Kimball to continue her good work.

Pitt was the greatest orator of his day. The music of his eloquence compelled the admiration even of his critics. He was the man of whom England had need, the one man who, when her fortunes were at the lowest ebb, could restore her prestige with a single stroke and place her amongst the foremost nations of the world. These are facts which we recognize and admit; but still we marvel how it was all accomplished by one man, and a study of the letters before us will still leave one in doubt. Pitt was a skilful tactician. He controlled vast fleets and armies without interfering with them, and harmonized all the forces with which he had to deal by his policy. At the time when he began his administration in December, 1756, politics in England were of a low order; and although war had been officially declared between France and England six months before, no definite plan of campaign had been formulated and indeed the weak-kneed ministry had been averse to war. Pitt, while he maintained a high standard of personal honesty, did not hesitate to make use of men whose character he must have despised, and the compromise he effected in the spring of 1757 can be defended only on the ground that he saw in it a means of serving his country. But England and France had been at war in North America for several years before 1756. The French had possessed themselves by right of conquest of vast stretches of country which they might expect to hold by colonization, but which we know now they never could have so held. Bordering upon these lands for

thousands of miles were the settlements of the British people who came to stay, to make homes and seek more lands where and when they needed them. Alleged aggression and trespass on the one hand and alleged interference on the other soon occasioned collisions and conflicts; local in their character at first, but gradually assuming serious proportions, while each country was preparing for the more serious fray. At last the stronger nation, stronger at sea as well as on land, stronger in her institutions and in her material resources, aroused herself under the influence of Pitt, who decided upon the conquest of Canada and found the men and the means to make it an accomplished fact.

Eighteen days after entering upon his duties, he gave an indication of his policy regarding North America. Writing to Lawrence on December 22, he said: "The Dangers to which North America stands exposed have determined the King to take vigorous and effectual Measures to stop the Progress of the Enemy, and to annoy them, if possible, in their own Possessions. It is therefore the King's Intention to cause a Squadron of Ships of War, together with a considerable Land Force, to proceed shortly to North America, whereof 2,000 Men will be forthwith sent to Halifax; and . . . that you do follow such Directions, as you shall receive from the Earl of Loudoun" (I. 1).

England was far less happy in the choice of her commander-in-chief than France. Loudoun, who had been appointed at the outbreak of the war, was no match for the brilliant and tactful Montcalm. He arrived in Albany two months after he was expected by his chief officers, Webb and Abercromby, and found a condition of affairs similar to those which Montcalm had experienced in Quebec—jealousy between colonials and regulars. Loudoun was a man of indecision, and never seemed able to decide upon any plan of attack, and much valuable time was consequently consumed. In June, 1757, with nearly 12,000 men before Louisbourg, he could not determine whether it were better to attack the place or return home. After spending a whole month in considering, or, as Lord Charles Howe said, "In keeping the courage of His Majesty's soldiers at bay, and in expending the nation's wealth in making sham battles and in planting cabbages", he returned to New York, having covered himself with ridicule and greatly amused the French. Pitt no doubt was disgusted, although he does not appear to have passed any comment on his action. On December 30, 1757, he wrote: "I am with Concern to acquaint Your Lordship, that the King has judged proper, that your Lordship should return to England: And His Majesty [has] been pleased to appoint Major General Abercromby to succeed your Lordship as Commander in Chief of the King's forces in America" (I. 133-134).

It was in Quebec, however, that Pitt expected to strike the blow which would decide the fate of New France; and after the operations of 1758, which had been so satisfactory to England and so disheartening to her rival, he was more determined than ever to humble France, rob her of her colonies, destroy her navy, capture her trade, and

settle the question of national supremacy. He did not see the ultimate result upon the aspirations of the Anglo-Saxon across the sea, which was so pronounced in 1776; but he saw that with the thousands of miles of frontier between the English and the French of America, with immediate contact down the Mississippi valley, there never would be peace until it was made by a decisive victory. The correspondence therefore of the minister with Wolfe, Saunders, Monckton, Murray, and Townshend concerning the expedition to the St. Lawrence, although much of it has been printed before, will be read again in these volumes with interest and profit, as it really forms a condensed history of the siege of Quebec.

Although the letters emanate from widely divergent places and embrace a variety of topics, Pitt seems never for one moment to have lost his grasp of the situation as a whole. At one time we find him instructing a governor as to the course he should pursue in his relations with the people, at another he is administering a rebuke, planning a campaign, or attending to the equipment of a vessel in its smallest detail. This careful attention to the minute details of his department had much to do, no doubt, with his successful administration of affairs so far removed from his personal supervision. For it is often the omission of apparent trifles that is responsible for the failure of great projects. Colbert in earlier days exercised a watchful, almost paternal care over the infant colony of New France, and it might prove a profitable study to institute a comparison between the two men in this respect. The letters may be read with special advantage by those who are taking up the study of the campaigns of 1756-1760, and they are full of interest to the average reader, since they contain much of the thought of the greatest statesman England can claim for three hundred years. The books are well printed and are unusually free from typographical errors, although there are one or two slight topographical slips in the volumes, such as placing Bic off the Saguenay River.

The Navy of the American Revolution: Its Administration, its Policy, and its Achievements. By CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN, Ph.D. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1906. Pp. 549.)

AFTER reading Dr. Paullin's book carefully I am inclined to think that he has in his preface written the best possible review of his own book. As to criticism, he has so carefully guarded himself, by accurate, scholarly methods of work, against the critics, that those "cut-throat bandits in the path of fame" get little opportunity for attack. It is in fact a masterly little book, well conceived, thoroughly studied, and judiciously written. It is a real contribution to the study of the American Revolution.

As Dr. Paullin says, the book is written from the point of view of the naval administrators, and not from that of the naval officers. It is

not chiefly concerned with doings at sea, details of fights, and movements of armed vessels, but seeks rather to tell us of the naval administrative machinery of the Revolution—the origin, organization, and work of naval committees, secretaries of marine, navy boards, and naval agents. The creation of the American navy was not merely a nailing and matching of boards and making of sails, but the creating after older models of an entirely new body of laws and regulations. Any sort of an attempt in this review to outline that legislation as described by Mr. Paullin would be inadequate. In addition to this there is a brief summary of legislation with reference to prize-courts and privateering. The emphasis has been placed upon the naval policy of the administrators, with a description of the various classes of naval movements, showing the total result, with details only in the case of a few typical cruises and fights. In this effort the dramatic quality of the exploit has not been allowed to fix the amount of detail used, and Paul Jones gets his due, while other, neglected, officers are given a more suitable mention than older historians have given them. The result is a much better balanced narrative, and a unity utterly lacking in older treatments. As dramatic historical literature the book suffers, but as a scientific study of an institution its value is vastly enhanced.

Perhaps the most instructive chapter in the book is that on "The Conditions of the Continental Naval Service". Not only in New England, but in the Middle and Southern colonies also, commerce and ship-building were important industries. Indeed Virginia during the Revolution put more naval ships afloat than any other colony. In spite of these maritime interests, it was the lack of sailors that constituted the chief obstacle to the success of the Continental navy. It was forced to spend most of its days in port vainly trying to enlist seamen. Much of this was due to the seductive allurements of privateering. Privateersmen paid higher wages than either Congress or the states, and, moreover, the business was often so lawless as to have all the excitement and profit of piracy. Not a few of the failures of the Continental navy, writes Mr. Paullin, are to be laid at the door of the Yankee privateersman. Nevertheless these hardy fellows supplied a large part of the sinews of war to both army and navy, though they made Congress pay a good round price.

The most original portion of the book is that part (162 pages) dealing with the state navies. Massachusetts had a fleet of sixteen armed vessels. Virginia had about fifty vessels, but poorly equipped. Nine of the states had such navies, but of this total force only about sixty vessels were adapted to deep-sea navigation. These might have aided Congress's Marine Committee, but expeditions concerted with them proved disappointing. Subordination could not be obtained. "The commander of a state vessel or the master of a privateer, for aught either could see, subtended as large an angle in maritime affairs, as an officer of Congress, which body was to them nebulous, uncertain, and irresolute" (p. 153). A special chapter is devoted to the navies

of each of the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina; while two chapters are given to the minor navies of the Northern and Southern states. It is an interesting fact that these individual states had as elaborate machinery for controlling their navies as did the Continental Congress—naval boards, commissioners of the navy, and boards of war. There was also elaborate naval legislation, and admiralty courts not always amenable to the regulations proposed by Congress.

The book contains a most useful table of contents, a fine index, and a valuable bibliography of manuscript as well as of printed sources. An appendix contains a list of commissioned officers in the navy and marine corps, and a list of armed vessels in the service of the United States during the Revolution.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Vida de Herrán. Biografía escrita por EDUARDO POSADA y PEDRO M. IBÁÑEZ y premiada en el Concurso del Centenario. [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, III.] (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional. 1903. Pp. 477.)

Los Comuneros. *El Vasallo Instruido*, por J. DE FINESTRAD. *El Comunero Galán*, por A. M. GALÁN. *Reseña Zipaquireña*, por L. ORJUELA. *Los Comuneros de Neiva y Los Llanos. Apéndice.* [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, IV.] (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional. 1905. Pp. xvi, 453.)

THE *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*, an undertaking of Señores Eduardo Posada and Pedro M. Ibáñez, is designed to provide a collection of inedited and rare materials and monographs on the history of Colombia, principally in the nineteenth century. Volume I. (Bogotá, 1902) contains, under the title *La Patria Boba*, three inedited documents of considerable interest: *Tiempos Coloniales*, by J. A. Vargas Jurado (a chronological history from 1714 to 1764 by a contemporary); *Libro de varias noticias particulares que han sucedido en esta capital de Santa Fé de Bogotá . . . desde el año de 1743*, by José María Caballero (Bogotá, September, 1813); and *Poema que contiene la historia de la entrada del tirano Simón Bolívar, y establecimiento del titulado Congreso en esta capital del Nuevo Reino de Granada, con noticia de su libertad por las victoriosas armas del Rey Nuestro Señor*, by D. José Antonio de Torres y Peña, Cura de Tabio, 1816 (pp. 275-476). Volume II. consists of documents, in the main inedited, relative to the life and career of Nariño, with an introduction and a few foot-notes. The title of the volume is: *El Precursor: Documentos sobre la Vida Pública y Privada del General Antonio Nariño* (Bogotá, 1903).

The subject of volume III., Pedro Alcántara Herrán, lived 1800-1872, is one of the most prominent figures in Colombian history. He joined the revolutionary forces in 1814 and by 1828 had risen to the rank of general, doing service under both Sucre and Bolívar. He was minister of war in 1830; military governor of Panama, 1836-1837; minis-

ter of interior and foreign affairs, 1837-1839; suppressed the insurrection of Pasto, 1840; was president of New Granada, 1841-1845; was three times minister to the United States, 1847-1849, 1855-1859, and 1861; and was on various occasions commander-in-chief, senator, and deputy. His career thus extended through all five stages of Colombian history, from the war of independence to the organization of the United States of Colombia in 1863. The present biography, constructed from the sources, gives a clear account of his life and of the principal events in which he figured, and is notably free from exaggerations and declamation. Nearly one-half the volume is devoted to *pièces justificatives*.

The fourth volume deals with the revolt of the Comuneros in 1781, which together with the insurrection of Tupac Amaru in Peru in the same year, marks the first assertion on the part of the creoles of their political rights, and was the forerunner of the revolution for independence. The first half of the volume consists of an inedited narrative of rare interest written in the year 1783 by the capuchin Joaquín de Finestrada; the second piece is an account, with documents, of the career of José Antonio Galán (1749-1782), one of the leaders of the revolt, by the late Colombian historian, Señor Angel M. Galán; the third is a history of the events in the commune of Zipaquirá based on original materials; the rest of the volume (pp. 363-449) contains a number of original documents. The introduction to the volume is excellent. The contents of the four volumes which have been briefly recited attest the exceptional interest of the series as a whole, and Señores Posada and Ibáñez have proved themselves not only judicious editors but competent historians as well.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

The First Forty Years of Washington Society. Edited by GAILLARD HUNT. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906. Pp. xii, 424.)

MR. HUNT has made an interesting selection from the correspondence of Margaret Bayard Smith, the wife of Samuel Harrison Smith of Philadelphia, who came to Washington, D. C., in 1800 and established the *National Intelligencer*. Mr. Smith was appointed by Madison in 1813 the first Commissioner of the Treasury Department and was from 1809 to 1819 President of the Bank of Washington and later President of the Branch Bank of the United States. The letters in this volume, with a few exceptions, were written by Mrs. Smith to members of her family, and cover the period from shortly after her arrival in Washington, in the latter part of 1800, to within a few years of her death, which occurred in January, 1844. Mrs. Smith wrote freely of persons and events, and during her more than forty years of residence in Washington she had unusual opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with many of those most prominent in social life.

These letters illustrate forcibly that for the first thirty years there was but one social circle in Washington, and that dominated by those in political life. The Capitol was the meeting-place for society people.

Mrs. Smith mentions (p. 94) that "The house of representatives is the lounging place of both sexes" and refers to "the female crowd who throng the [Supreme] court room" (p. 96). During the celebrated debate between Webster and Hayne, Mrs. Smith writes that "the Senators were obliged to relinquish their chairs of State to the fair auditors" and that "there were 300 ladies besides their attendant beaux on the floor of the Senate". The stand taken against Mrs. Eaton, and Jackson's failure to secure the desired social recognition for her, are referred to and show clearly the strength of a single and united society; but the contest began the breach which destroyed this unity, for since that time there has gradually developed a number of social circles such as the Ultra Fashionable, Diplomatic, Army and Navy, Political, Old Resident, etc., which, although overlapping to some extent, are separate and distinct.

Mrs. Smith describes with particularity the social life of the city, the entertainments and the varieties of refreshments served, and many of her intimate friends, which places the reader in the social atmosphere of the time. An interesting account is given of Mrs. Madison and the first inaugural ball, also glimpses into the family life of the Wirts, Clays, Calhouns, Crawfords, and others. Among the foreigners described are Mrs. Merry, who rebelled against Jefferson's "pell mell" order, and Harriet Martineau. The account of the latter and the dinner given to her by Mrs. Smith is one of the features of the book.

These letters are especially interesting to the student of American history for the descriptions of Jefferson and Madison. Although Mrs. Smith's father, Colonel John Bayard, was a Federalist and prior to meeting Jefferson she had believed him "an ambitious and violent demagogue, coarse and vulgar in his manners, awkward and rude in his appearance" (p. 6), she became an ardent admirer of him and later an intimate friend. A letter from Jefferson to her stating his religious views is included in the volume. Mrs. Smith visited both Montpelier and Monticello and gives a detailed and entertaining account of the home life at these places.

Mrs. Smith's description of the destruction of Washington by the British, although graphic, is not that of an eye-witness. She left the city on the approach of the enemy, but returned immediately after they had retired, and gives a vivid picture of the ruined buildings and the gloom and depression of the citizens. The well-known story that Mrs. Madison, on leaving the White House, cut the Stuart portrait of Washington from the frame to save it from destruction by the British is shown to be without foundation, as Mrs. Smith writes that Mrs. Madison told her she found the picture in the possession of some men in Georgetown, when retreating with the "flying army".

The book is attractively gotten up and has a number of illustrations of the prominent people and places mentioned in the letters. The editor has furnished a satisfactory index and the notes necessary to explain the text.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

Coleccion de Historiadores i de Documentos relativos a la Independencia de Chile. Vols. IX.-XIV. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes. 1903-1905. Pp. x, 424; vii, 384; 353; ix, 423; vi, 418; vi, 345.)

THE present collection is really a continuation of the *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile y Documentos relativos a la Historia Nacional* (Santiago de Chile, 1861-1902; 29 vols.), published under the direction of Diego Barros Arana. That collection made accessible the texts of the early voyagers and chroniclers and a number of important inedited documents for the history of Chile prior to the wars of independence. It was supplemented by the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Chile desde el Viaje de Magallanes hasta la Batalla de Maipo*, 1518-1818, collected and published by J. T. Medina (Santiago de Chile, 1888-1901; 29 vols.). The present collection provides the materials for the period of the war of independence. The contents of vols. I.-VI. may be found in Anrique and Silva's *Ensayo de una Bibliografía Histórica i Jeográfica de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1902), p. 55. Of the present volumes, nos. IX. and X. consist of private and official letters and reports, of the years 1810-1820, in the main inedited, throwing light on the revolutionary events of those years. Volume XI. is a reprint of chapters VII.-XV. of José Rodríguez Ballesteros, *Revista de la Guerra de la Independencia de Chile desde 1813 hasta 1826* (Santiago, 1851). Chapters I.-VI. were issued as volume V. of the series. The edition of 1851 contained glaring typographical errors and inaccuracies (Briseño, *Estadística Bibliográfica de la Literatura Chilena*, I. 514); and the present one was no doubt made therefore from the original manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional of Santiago. In volume XII. there appears the reprint of a pamphlet containing a violent denunciation of the public conduct of the Grand Marshal of Peru Don Bernardo O'Higgins: *Carta a los Editores de "El Mercurio" de Valparaíso sobre su Número 1332 i Otros Particulares, por Carlos Rodríguez* (Lima, 1833; 38 pages). The editors speak of it as "one of the most inflammatory, most scandalous, most gross, and most unfounded libels which have ever profaned the art of printing" (p. 110). Together with this they reprint the defense made on behalf of O'Higgins: *Acusacion pronunciada ante el Tribunal de Jurados de Lima por el Doctor Don Juan Ascencio contra el "Alcance al Mercurio Peruano" publicado por Don Carlos Rodríguez . . .* (Lima, 1833). Both documents, but especially the latter, contain many interesting details for the history of Chile and some important documents. Volume XIII. consists of a reprint of the translation made at Valparaíso, 1860, of the first volume of the memoirs of Lord Cochrane, *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil from Spanish and Portuguese Domination* (London, 1859 [1858], 2 vols.). Of this first volume there exist also two other Spanish translations, one printed at London, 1859, and the other at Paris, 1863. Another vindication of O'Higgins, against Rodríguez's

libel, consisting of a series of articles published in *El Araucano* of Santiago (January 24 to July 4, 1834, nos. 176-199) by Don Manuel José Gandarillas, goes to make up volume XIV. of the series. Many original documents exceedingly valuable to the historian were inserted in these articles.

Each volume in the series is provided only with a brief introduction and an occasional foot-note, but the aim of the publishers is simply to make accessible in convenient form the scattered historical material for the period, and for this every student will be grateful. The volumes are well printed, but they are not supplied with alphabetical indexes. The editors however will no doubt at the close print a complete alphabetical index to all the volumes, without which half the usefulness of the collection will be lost to students.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

Lincoln the Lawyer. By FREDERICK TREVOR HILL. (New York: The Century Company. 1906. Pp. xviii, 332.)

THIS is a book which would be interesting to any one; to a lawyer its interest is absorbing. In a manner and to a degree not attempted by any other biographer of Lincoln, Mr. Hill undertakes to determine and estimate Lincoln's character as a lawyer, and especially to point out, if not to emphasize, the extent to which his career as President was influenced by his experience and training at the bar. In the first direction Mr. Hill has undoubtedly rendered a conspicuous and important service. In a picturesque and graphic manner he portrays the social and economic conditions of the country, and the character of the bench and bar of Illinois, when Lincoln was admitted to the ranks of the profession in 1836. From that time Mr. Hill, with a sympathy and an insight inspired by his own professional experience, traces Lincoln's progress as a lawyer through a period of twenty-three years until, by the loyal and untiring support of his professional associates, "the leader of the Illinois bar and the idol of the Eighth Circuit" was declared the choice of the Republican convention at Chicago.

When we take into consideration the nature of Mr. Lincoln's legal training and the circumstances and conditions under which he practised; when we have made allowances for his numerous digressions into the field of politics, we cannot fail to be impressed with the conviction that his career as a lawyer was not only a creditable but a remarkable one. Thus in 1845—nine years after his admission to the bar—Lincoln appeared in twenty-three cases before the Supreme Court of Illinois. In the same year, for example, Lyman Trumbull—who, however, was admitted one year later than Lincoln—had nine cases. "In his twenty-three years at the bar," says Mr. Hill (pp. 248-250), "Lincoln had no less than one hundred and seventy-two cases before the highest court of Illinois, a record unsurpassed by his contemporaries; he appeared before the United States circuit and district courts with great frequency; he was the most indefatigable attendant on the Eighth

Circuit and tried more cases than any other member of that bar; he was attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad, the greatest corporation in the State, and one which doubtless had its choice of legal talent; he was also counsel for the Rock Island Railroad, and other corporations and individuals with important legal interests at stake; he was sought as legal arbitrator in the great corporation litigations of Illinois and he tried some of the most notable cases recorded in the courts of that State."

Mr. Hill devotes his final chapter to "Lincoln, the Lawyer, as President", and it is in this chapter, of course, that the chief interest of the non-professional reader lies. It reads more like an after-dinner speaker's response to a toast than like sober history. Its estimates of men and measures are often exaggerated, but it serves to emphasize the fact that among the many influences which helped to mold Mr. Lincoln's character as President, his long and varied experience at the bar in Illinois was one of the most conspicuous and important.

The mechanical execution of the book is excellent, and a profusion of interesting illustrations, many of them new, adds greatly to its attractiveness.

FLOYD R. MECHEM.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 17. *Westward Extension, 1841-1850.* By GEORGE PIERCE GARRISON, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Texas. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xiv, 366.)

THE fifth decade of the last century was truly, as the editor of this series suggests, a "stirring period" in American history. It has been Professor Garrison's task to describe the administrations of Tyler and Polk as an epoch essentially complete in itself and markedly differentiated in spirit from the Jacksonian era which preceded, and from the ante-bellum period proper which followed it. Such an undertaking is not easy, for the period of the forties has usually been treated as a series of episodes in the history of the slavery question or as a prologue to that of secession and the Civil War. The difficulties surrounding the subject are not lessened by the fact that the volume is one of a series the dominant note of which is professedly national. If one were to write with an eye to the results of the great events of this decade, the growth of sectionalism rather than of nationalism might be stressed. The period was one of expansion, and Professor Garrison's thesis is that this expansion was the outcome of a national and not merely of a sectional sentiment; that the growing importance of the slavery question for a long time hindered rather than hastened it. The result of Professor Garrison's labors is a volume conceived in a spirit of fairness and executed with discriminating judgment.

The two principal characters of the period were, of course, the two

Presidents, Tyler and Polk; Tyler, the "accidental President", "the man without a party", and Polk, styled by Alexander H. Stephens as "the mendacious". That Tyler was a man of spirit and of firmness (or even of stubbornness) will not be denied, but remembering, for instance, that he was fairly dragooned by McDuffie into appointing Calhoun as Secretary of State, the author's statement that he was "a brave and determined man", "actuated in the main by courage and consistency" (p. 65) seems rather strong. Again, Polk is described as a man of "stern integrity and strength of . . . character", who had "sincere faith in the righteousness of his own purposes and of the means he used to attain them" (p. 207). The basis for this judgment is Polk's diary, and it must, therefore, be taken somewhat upon faith. That a reading of the diary points to the strict integrity of this President is a matter for such a difference of opinion that only the printing of the manuscript can determine it. Polk's relations with Santa Anna in 1846 give evidence of his aptitude for indirect and even for conscienceless official scheming, if they do not raise questions of his personal integrity. The whole decade was one in which the politician rather than the statesman directed the policies of the government. It is true, as the author states, that no one "would be willing to see his [Polk's] work undone" (p. 207), even if the methods employed to accomplish the result were condemned. But if these methods were improper and the motives unworthy, those who were responsible for them are to be judged without reference to results. For example, the diary shows that Polk was engaged in writing a war message against Mexico when he received news of the attack upon Taylor. This fortuitous occurrence was seized by the President to shift the burden of aggression upon Mexico. Polk's attitude toward Mexico prior to the outbreak on the Rio Grande is therefore the key to his motives and methods in the conflict which gave to the United States its great expansion to the Pacific.

This volume, taking westward extension as its theme, centres around the three great episodes of the decade: the annexation of Texas, the settlement of the northwestern boundary difficulty, and the Mexican War; and about one-half of the text is concerned with these subjects. The elections of 1840 and 1844, the quarrel of Tyler with the Whigs, the Ashburton treaty, the Walker tariff, and the independent treasury system receive as much attention as could be expected in a book of this size, and the treatment of each is adequate and clear. Some minor events, such as the Dorr rebellion (described in fourteen lines), are but touched upon. With the exception of the chapter upon the Wilmot Proviso, shown to be the rock upon which both great parties were to split, and that upon the election of 1848, the part of the volume which is devoted to the results of the Mexican War gives the impression of being unduly compressed. Possibly the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and certainly the compromise of 1850, were matters of such momentous national importance as to deserve more extended treatment in a vol-

ume of national history than the colonization and boundaries of Texas. This may be hypercriticism, for the admirable chapters upon Texas give so much important information not easily attainable elsewhere that one is glad to have them perhaps even at the expense of the other topics. There is, also, a lack of proportion in the treatment of the Mexican War. No attempt is made to describe in any detail the campaigns of Taylor and Scott. The events leading to hostilities, notably that of Slidell's mission in 1846, are set forth minutely and withal interestingly. Professor Garrison's familiarity with the Texan and Mexican archives is apparent in the fullness of his treatment of the Texas question. In his account of Polk's administration the invaluable diary of that President has been used to great advantage. References to it are frequent, and by it the causes of the Mexican War are shown in a new light. Polk determined to accomplish certain definite things, of which national extension to the Pacific was the most important. The author's use of Polk's diary shows how the programme was stubbornly and almost relentlessly carried out. The merit of this volume is the thoughtful and judicial treatment of a period of complicated political conditions and of problems new to the national life. If any fault is to be found with the book, it is in its lack of proportion. This, however, appears to be due rather to the plan of the work than to the author's execution of it.

JESSE S. REEVES.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 18. *Parties and Slavery, 1850-1859.* By THEODORE CLARKE SMITH, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Williams College. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xvi, 341.)

THE title of the book, *Parties and Slavery*, calls attention to the fact that during the decade preceding the Civil War party readjustment on account of the slavery question filled a prominent place. The volume is by no means limited, however, to the topics suggested by the title. Besides dealing with the various phases of party relations and the questions directly involved, the author gives chapters on political leaders, diplomacy, railroad-building, the panic of 1857, "Social Ferment in the North", and finally a critical essay on authorities. The text is illuminated by several maps. The book does not profess to be a complete history of the decade which it covers, since other volumes in the series deal with closely related subjects. There are only occasional references to the work of the abolitionists, for example, that topic being more fully treated in volume 16 of the series.

There is evidence of a large amount of thorough and conscientious work on the part of the author. Many illuminating passages have been culled from newspapers and other contemporary publications, and there is throughout a discriminating selection of materials. There is a re-

markable freedom from any appearance of prejudice or bias in favor of any particular theory or opinion. The two sides of the great controversy are set forth with justice and an even hand.

In all history opinions, sentiments, and beliefs hold a leading place. The historian who deals with political parties deals pre-eminently with that part of public opinion which is continually under controversy. Political parties are the organs for the formulation of conflicting opinions, and their consideration is therefore fraught with peculiar difficulties. The subject-matter itself forestalls agreement. The historian, however thorough and impartial, is certain to advance opinions which others will not accept. To criticize in such a case is often simply to express a contrary opinion.

Comparing chapters II. and III. (in which the notion of the finality of the compromises of 1850 is discussed) with other parts of the book, one gets the impression that the idea of finality is over-emphasized. The author indeed supports his view by apt quotations from newspapers, from the speeches of statesmen, from the utterances of conventions and the results of elections; yet in these chapters no mention is made of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and its influence upon the general controversy. In an entirely different connection, on page 281, that work is mentioned, and we are told that "it achieved an unparalleled success from the start, edition after edition being absorbed by a public gone wild over the humor and the tragedy of the work." This was the situation at the time when the doctrine of the finality of the compromises was being assiduously preached, and a public gone mad over *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was not in a state of mind to accept the Fugitive-Slave Law as a final settlement of the national dispute.

Our author is eminently fair in his treatment of the South, though the parts of the book dealing with that section exhibit less complete information than do other portions. The union sentiment in the South is recognized, but not so fully as it deserves to be, while the anti-slavery sentiment which existed in the slave states is almost wholly ignored. Helper's *Impending Crisis* is disposed of in a few lines which describe the book as "an anomaly", and the statement is made that it entirely failed to turn the non-slaveholding whites against the slaveholders. Why did it fail? The book threw the slaveholding leaders into a frenzy. John Sherman, when candidate for the speakership of the House of Representatives, was defeated because he had inadvertently lent his name to encourage its circulation. A Southern congressman declared that such a man was not only not fit for Speaker, he was not fit to live. Surely Southern slaveholders believed that *The Impending Crisis* would turn non-slaveholding whites against them if they should be allowed to read it.

These slight criticisms are intended rather to call attention to the difficulty which any author must encounter who writes on controversial politics than to characterize the work as a whole. The book is worthy of high commendation.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 19. *Causes of the Civil War, 1859-1861.* By FRENCH ENSOR CHADWICK, Rear-Admiral U. S. N., recent President of the Naval War College. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xiv, 372.)

THIS book falls into two parts. The first sixty-six pages contain a discussion of the general causes of the war. The first chapter, on the "Drift towards Southern Nationalization", works logically to the conclusion contained in its final sentence: "It was impossible for it [the South] to remain under a polity almost as divergent from its sympathies as the Russian autocracy of that period was from the United States of to-day" (p. 16). Chapter two discusses conditions in the South, chapter three the "Dominance of Calhoun's Political Conceptions", and chapter four the "Expectations of the South", particularly with reference to territorial expansion and the reopening of the slave-trade. These chapters show a wide reading and an acceptance of such views as have obtained general credit among the best historical students. Of course there are many subjects upon which, as yet, historians take position according to their birthplace, and of these it is sufficient to say that Admiral Chadwick was born in West Virginia and was graduated from Annapolis in 1864. Only, perhaps, his view of Calhoun deserves censure as unduly harsh.

The remaining chapters treat of the history of the country from and including the John Brown raid to the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Such an account naturally suggests comparison with the work of Mr. Rhodes. The number of words given to the period in the present volume is about three-fifths of that used by Mr. Rhodes. On the other hand, Admiral Chadwick devotes almost half as many again to the episodes of Forts Sumter and Pickens. This makes these episodes the leading feature of the volume, and the author makes it clear why he gives them this prominence. He pithily states the possibility that prompt action might have confined secession to South Carolina, but refuses to enter upon a discussion of this fascinating hypothesis. He points out the strategic importance of the coast forts, and the constitutional advantage which Lincoln derived from holding those that were left to him. He is, perhaps, a little more sharp in his criticism of President Buchanan than Mr. Rhodes, but there is here no material difference in their views. This is, however, the best picture which has ever been given of the general inefficiency of the government departments, extending into Lincoln's administration; neither Holt nor Anderson nor Scott escapes criticism, and Seward is severely castigated. The military and naval situation is presented with unusual clearness, and this whole portion of the book has the ring of a definitive account.

Admiral Chadwick is somewhat more severe in his personal judgments than Mr. Rhodes, particularly with regard to the Southern

leaders at Washington. Of Trescot he says, "That he should have been able to adjust his action to any known code of honor is one of the amazing characteristics of the situation" (p. 152). After the description of certain activities of Trescot, Floyd, and Thompson he says, "We have here a full conspiracy" (p. 158). Again, he contends that the meeting of the Southern senators on January 5, 1861, constituted a genuine conspiracy (pp. 242-245). He insists upon the point partly because he will not go so far as Mr. Rhodes in acknowledging that the extraordinary occasion excused unusual conduct (p. 242), and partly because he rates higher the influence of such leaders in determining the attitude of the South: "For throughout the South the movement at first was, in the main, one of the politicians and not of the people" (p. 149). "That the movement soon became a popular one is certain, but the extent of the domination of the politicians and the wide-spread ignorance of the people, the ease with which the feelings of an ignorant and impressionable population can be played upon, the willingness of men to have arms put into their hands to resent an injury or a supposed injury, the *ennui* of southern life, which caused a craving for excitement of any sort, can easily account for the readiness of the southern population, the step of secession once taken, to enroll itself in the military service of their states" (p. 150).

The treatment of the John Brown raid is chiefly noticeable because of the slight effect attributed to it. The campaign of 1860, the action of Congress, the secession of the Southern states, are rapidly surveyed; the development of Northern sentiment is neglected, perhaps left for the succeeding volume, but the attitude of Lincoln is sympathetically discussed. Errors are few. The statement as to the value of the hay crop in the map facing page 8, which is correct, does not agree with that of page 28; nor is proper allowance made for the fact that the hay crop was rather a burden than an asset to the North. On page 30 it is not quite clear how the figures have been obtained, but at any rate they are not consistent with each other; probably \$13,000,000 should be \$23,000,000. On page 100 it is evident that the author misunderstands the significance of the political term "non-interference." The coloring of the map opposite page 152 is incorrect in some particulars. "A majority of 10 in a total of 99" is impossible (p. 146). "Says", on page 231, should be "say".

The general equipment of the volume is like that of the others of this series. There are six maps, illustrating well-chosen points, and well constructed except the fifth, which deals with the election of 1860, a subject, perhaps, too complicated for graphic representation. The bibliography is well done, but is, perhaps, not so serviceable as a guide to the student as in some of the other volumes. The style is good; and though it occasionally runs into such barbarisms as "religiosity", it preserves on the whole an academic dignity and is clear, vigorous, and effective.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Memoirs with Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War.

By JOHN H. REAGAN, LL.D. Edited by WALTER FLAVIUS McCABE, Ph.D., with Introduction by Professor GEORGE P. GARISON. (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company. 1906. Pp. 351.)

JOHN H. REAGAN, "a self-made man", who rose to high rank under the *ancien régime* in the South and who was a trusted adviser to Jefferson Davis, evidently experienced much that would not only interest the present generation, but add to the sum of our historical knowledge. Besides having passed through such crises as Texas annexation, the Mexican War, the compromise of 1850, and the Civil War, Reagan was a man of unusually clear vision, of absolute honesty and few abiding prejudices. He was, then, a man who ought to have written his memoirs; and there was double incentive in his own case because he was for a long time the last living member of the Confederate cabinet, and he realized the ever-growing interest in the events of the war.

But the book itself is short, embracing but three hundred and fifty pages of not very compact print. The main topics treated are the writer's early life in Texas, his part in Congress during three or four years prior to 1861, the organization of the Confederacy at Montgomery, the Civil War, as viewed by an active and efficient cabinet officer in Richmond, and the problems of reconstruction. The most interesting portion of the book is the plain, unvarnished story of Reagan's hardships and early struggles. He does not blush to tell of his experience as an overseer in Mississippi and to note without concern that he thought it a promotion to be raised from the position of teacher to that of overseer. His frank statements about himself lend weight to his opinions about Davis, Lee, and others with whom he later came into daily contact. The fact that such a man could rise to fame in the South and become the trusted companion of the men who made the Confederacy shows how open was the rank of Southern aristocracy.

Reagan defends Davis against Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, and Alexander Stephens, and takes the ground that no better or abler leader could have been found. If there are men who still regard the Confederate President as having been tyrannical, unfeeling toward his own people, and cruel to Northern prisoners, they will have to stiffen their backs a little after reading Reagan's account of the cabinet meeting in which the policy of retaliation for Dahlgren's raid was discussed. The cabinet was unanimously in favor of ordering a number of Federal prisoners shot. Davis declined to act on this advice, saying that he opposed shooting unarmed men on any consideration, that the place for such work was on the field of battle (p. 182).

But Reagan's best service to the people of Texas and indirectly to the South was his brave efforts to persuade them, from his cell in

Fort Warren in August, 1865, to accept the results of the war without resistance and meet conservative opinion in the North half-way on the subject of negro enfranchisement. To do this he ran the risk of being declared "reconstructed" and of losing his wide popularity. He took the stand, however, in what was known as his Fort Warren letter, that the better class of negroes should be permitted to vote, that ignorant and propertyless whites and blacks should alike be disfranchised, and that the Southern states should co-operate cordially with President Johnson in re-establishing federal relations. This letter brought to its author unlimited abuse, and for a time every politician considered it his especial duty to malign and ridicule the former Samson whose locks had been shorn by the modern Delilah. Ere ten years elapsed the Fort Warren prisoner was seen to have been the best counsellor of his time.

The last hundred pages of the *Memoirs* consist of appendixes giving reprints of Reagan's more important speeches in Congress and his invaluable public letters of 1865 and 1866. The editing of the work has been very well done.

While this book tells us a great deal that deserved to be recorded and confirms much that was not quite certain without this evidence, it does not give all or even most of the real experience of its author. The most difficult thing in the world for a writer of memoirs is to forget himself and tell truths in the interest of history that might pain people whom he loves. For the noble reticence of great men on subjects of this kind the world may be thankful and historians possibly not unthankful. In this respect Reagan is like most of his predecessors; and some very interesting things which he alone knew are buried with him.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877. By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., Litt.D. Volume VI., 1866-1872; Volume VII., 1872-1877. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xx, 440; xiii, 431.)

To the ten years following 1866 Mr. Rhodes has given two volumes. Neither of these, however, is much more than two-thirds the length of their immediate predecessor, the bulky volume V. One cannot help wondering, therefore, why chapter 30, introducing Reconstruction, was put in that volume, which was already quite long enough, and which would so much more naturally have ended with the end of the Civil War. In the recasting which the entire work will doubtless have some day, one of the changes should be the transfer of that chapter to volume VI. Volume VI. could then spare some of its matter to volume VII., which, even with the long general index, is shorter than the average.

The new (or, rather, completed) title under which the two volumes appear would seem to indicate that the entire work is completed; and in a preface to volume VI. Mr. Rhodes explains that, after reflection, the year 1877, marking the end of "carpet-bag" rule in the South, has seemed to him a more natural stopping-place than the year 1885, which, as witnessing the inauguration of the first Democratic President since the war, he had originally chosen for his bourne. But the language of the preface implies that he may, after still more reflection, and after some special preparation, decide to address himself to the new themes which, from 1877 on, overshadow the sectional controversy. With that, in one form or another, he has been dealing ever since he began to write—now nineteen years ago. In a foot-note to volume VII., p. 17—possibly left there by an inadvertence—he in fact definitely promises to treat a certain topic more fully "in a future volume". It is characteristic of Mr. Rhodes that the special preparation which he thinks he needs for going on should be nothing less than "a systematic study of the history of Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (VI. vi). He fears that his long absorption in a particular period of our history, which takes its quality from a single movement, may have narrowed the range of his vision; and he wishes to have, in his study of more recent years, during which we have dealt with a different set of problems, whatever enlightenment one may get from the experience of European countries.

Be that as it may, whether it shall prove that the laying aside of his pen is final or only for a breathing-spell, he has chosen a good time to pause from his labors. For in 1877, with the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South, there does come a break, a turning of the current of affairs into a new channel, as clearly marked as any to be found in our history since the Revolution; it is doubtful if we ought to except even that other break with the past to which Mr. Rhodes had already come when he chronicled Lee's surrender. That marked only the downfall of the Confederacy and the end of slavery. In 1877 we reached the end of the entire period during which American political history was mainly an affair of North and South.

These two new volumes might, in fact, if they only included chapter 30, stand alone as an account of a period which is itself fairly well defined; well enough, at any rate, to have a clumsy name of its own—"the Reconstruction period". I am tempted to characterize Mr. Rhodes's treatment of it by paraphrasing a remark which, two years ago, in this *REVIEW*, I was moved to make concerning his treatment of what came before. As in volume V. he finished what is on the whole our best history of the Civil War, so in volume VII. he has finished the best history yet written of Reconstruction. Unfortunately, however, the superlative does not in this second instance convey nearly so high praise as in the first. There exist several reasonably good histories of the war, but until these two volumes appeared there was no work covering

the period of Reconstruction which could be commended.¹ For trustworthy material concerning it one had to go to the documents and other original sources, to memoirs and biographies, and to monographs which deal, as a rule, only with individual states.

Mr. Rhodes's account of these years suffers—as any narrative of the period must—from the necessity he is under, more and more frequently as he goes on, to turn aside from his main theme to topics and episodes that have little or no connection with it. The new volumes suffer, too, by comparison with their more recent predecessors, for the want of a great central personality like Lincoln's. To some readers, no doubt, it will seem that they also suffer because their main theme is not so interesting as the war. But it is, at least, a less hackneyed theme; and one feels, moreover, that Mr. Rhodes is more at home in dealing with such political episodes and problems as he here encounters than he ever was in the military parts of his narrative. He is at his best when investigating and judging causes and men; not when he confronts the stirring scenes and occasions which a historian of a more artistic bent would welcome as opportunities.

His solution of the peculiarly difficult problem of order presented by his period is the simplest. Substantially, he follows the chronological order of events. He will, it is true, pursue a comparatively brief episode to its end, even though he must turn back for the beginning of the next, or to take up the broken thread of the main narrative. But he does not hesitate to break that thread. If, therefore, one would follow the course of Reconstruction uninterruptedly, one must skip certain chapters and considerable portions of others.

Mr. Rhodes has very positive views of his own about Reconstruction, and nowhere else in his entire work does he speak his mind more freely; not even when, in an earlier volume, he weighs and finds wanting all the South's apologies for "the cause". When he has followed the Reconstruction Acts of March, 1867, through the two houses of Congress, he declares (VI. 23) : "No law so unjust in its policy, so direful in its results had passed the American Congress since the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854." Nor does he spare the chief authors of the policy. "Stevens's declarations [concerning Southern outrages] are entitled", we are told (VI. 24), "to no credence. He hated the South and desired to crystallize his feeling of hatred into legislation." "Ostensibly in the interest of freedom", his policy was, in truth, "an attack on civilization" (VI. 35). Sumner, whose claim to the authorship of the provision for negro suffrage Mr. Rhodes concedes, is acquitted of vindictiveness, but convicted of egregious unwisdom in neglecting the central factor in the problem. On the vital question of race, he would have done well, Mr. Rhodes points out, to consult one of his most intimate friends; for as early as 1863 Alexander Agassiz,

¹ I do not think Professor W. A. Dunning's work, in "The American Nation" series, has yet seen the light. To that volume scholars interested in Reconstruction look forward with high expectations.

looking at the matter as a scientist, could find no good reasons to believe the negroes fit, and many reasons to believe them unfit, for the high privileges and duties of citizenship which it was now proposed to thrust upon them. When the whole wretched story of the dominance of the negro and the "carpet-bagger" has been told, Mr. Rhodes, so far from modifying his judgment, seems to be searching for stronger words in which to restate it. "No large policy in our country", he concludes, "has ever been so conspicuous a failure as that of forcing universal negro suffrage upon the South" (VII. 168).

He tells the story plainly and straightforwardly, as his wont is; mainly by the use of specific facts and episodes and instances; undramatically, and not without stiffness and clumsiness; but convincingly. One can hardly believe that it will not some day be told after a fashion that will take it into literature, but meanwhile no one need any longer neglect it for want of a trustworthy and not unreadable version. It is interesting to observe the writer's own deep interest in it, and the thoroughly human way in which, as he goes on, he finds himself more and more in sympathy with the Southern people; a sympathy which culminates in the approving citation of Senator Hoar's well-known tribute, and which is reflected in a striking phrase in the summing-up at the end of the book—"the oppression of the South by the North" (VII. 290). This is an attitude which is far less likely to provoke criticism at the North than it would have been ten years ago. At the South, one fancies, it may help to win for Mr. Rhodes's work an attention which its thoroughness and fairness ought to have won for it before.

But I have not meant to imply that the interest of these volumes all centres about Reconstruction. On the contrary, I incline to think those parts the most readable in which Mr. Rhodes turns northward, for episodes like the fight with Tweed in New York City; or westward, or to our foreign relations, or to unsectional political questions like those of finance and the tariff. I am decidedly of opinion that he does not turn westward often enough; that he makes too little of the resumption of the westward movement after the war. So far is he from giving to the building of the Union Pacific Railroad the epical character with which Robert Louis Stevenson and others have invested it that he tells the story of it only by way of explaining the Credit Mobilier scandals. The spreading of a network of railroads over the entire West, which followed hard upon the completion of the first transcontinental line, he discusses only as the chief cause of the panic of 1873. Less space is given to the westward movement in all its phases than to weighing the evidence for and against the integrity of James G. Blaine; and this, I think, is an instance of a distaste for economic history which may be set down as one of the author's limitations. It must be confessed, however, that the handling of the Blaine controversy is a most admirable instance of Mr. Rhodes's straightforwardness and firmness of hand. Admirable

also, and in the same way, is the chapter on the disputed election of 1876.

Some minuter criticisms suggest themselves. I think, for instance, that in the account of the final break between Grant and President Johnson, in 1867, Mr. Rhodes is far too lenient to Grant. Perhaps he has not seen a revival of that controversy in the *New York Herald* (May 27, 1878), and a contribution then made to it from the diary of Gideon Welles. But to mention such instances in which one dissents from Mr. Rhodes's views would be misleading. In a far greater number of instances, I feel sure, intelligent readers, particularly if they have some familiarity with his material, will find themselves surrendering preconceptions to accept his judgments.

There is nothing about these new volumes to suggest any fresh discussion of Mr. Rhodes's way of writing history. In style, they are uniform with their predecessors. It is true that I have twice, greatly to my surprise, detected Mr. Rhodes in something that looks decidedly like phrase-making. Grant, while President, accepts the gift of a horse and buggy "with oriental nonchalance". The city of Geneva is the "staid chamberlain of mighty issues" (VI. 375). But in general what has been said of the earlier volumes is as true of these. They have the same quality of heavy, awkward strength. There is the same absence of fine writing, and the same freedom from any striving after it; the same apparent disregard of form in paragraphs; rather more sentences than usual, perhaps, that are clumsy with a clumsiness which one perfectly understands, instead of being skilful with the kind of elaborate cleverness which one frequently fails to understand; and there is, if anything, an even heightened contempt for punctuation marks; particularly for the comma.

The index is by Mr. David M. Matteson.

WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

Four Centuries of the Panama Canal. By WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. xxi, 461.)

A JOURNALIST'S history; so attested by the contents, the style, and even by the preface. Years of service as a newspaper correspondent have given Mr. Johnson much familiarity with the Isthmian Canal project during the past decade. It was a simple task to recast, recapitulate, "read up" the past, and make a history. If the book had been named according to its emphasis rather than according to the extreme limit of dates covered, it had better been called "Four Years of the Panama Canal." The first 396 years are treated in the first third of the book, and the events of really less than four full years fill the remaining two-thirds.

Mr. Johnson made a book of what he knew, and in some cases of what he thought he knew. The mature, thorough, patient, scholarly historian has not yet busied himself with the Canal, or for that matter,

with Spanish America. When the patient student does consider the Canal, he will be like Mr. Johnson, in contact with a big field, tempting the writer to run far afield into the widely separated corners where lie the problems and the records of diplomacy, politics, international law, engineering, sanitation, and the geographic influences which have here held the affairs of man in a savage, ruthless, molding grip.

From all this activity, the one-volume writer must indeed choose, and it may be that Mr. Johnson has not wandered unnecessarily; but a perusal of the book calls to mind the fact that the journalist's field includes all that is interesting. That which was in its recent day good news or good "filler" for a metropolitan daily has gone into that part of the book dealing with the Panama Canal since the American government took active hold of the project. The other one-third of the book is a summary, an introduction, and in the choice of material one sometimes wonders; for example, why there should have been included a reproduction of a map of the world as conceived by Ptolemy. The interesting and spectacular thirty years' work of the French companies is dismissed with a brief thirty pages, including a chapter of analysis to show why they failed rather than what they did. The French period was followed by nearly a decade of American investigation and legislation. We sent commission after commission and had report after report, a large amount of congressional action, national ferment, and dickering with the French company, and the final purchase of the French possessions by the United States government. This period the author covers in twenty-two pages. Apparently he was not journalistically connected at this time.

The author begins to expand the subject with the events of 1902. Here we see more traces of journalistic origin, for this is the time when Colombia began to lay plans for the capture of the canal millions, and thereby made what the newspapers called news and printed as such at great length. These iniquities are pointed out and the negotiations described in full. Then follows a full account of the Panama Revolution and of later Isthmian politics. The book might almost be called "The Politics and Administration of the Panama Canal since 1902," for the Colombian and Panama incidents are followed by an account of Taft's pacifying mission (of which party Mr. Johnson was a member) and of the turmoil at Washington over the details of administration and the problems of construction.

Evidently the author's turn of mind is more for politics than for engineering. There is a surprising paucity of engineering matter, and it is certainly to be hoped that the various political events upon which he poses as an authority are more correctly conceived in his mind than is the physical appearance of the Canal itself. He actually prints a full-page map of Panama and the Canal in which the canal is laid down according to old plans which were abandoned several years ago and therefore have no relation whatever to the canal which the

Commission is building. There is almost nothing of the economic or commercial aspects of the Canal.

Considerable space is given to description of the people, country, and climate of the little republic, and an appendix of forty-nine pages contains the text of treaties, proclamations, bills, etc. The book shows its newspaper origin by such glaring inaccuracies as those referred to above, by the fact that it comes quite down to the date of publication, by its newspaper English, and by its readability. It is interesting reading, and we need for easy consultation such an account of the origin and progress of the Panama Republic and its relations with the United States.

J. RUSSELL SMITH.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new series, volume XX. (London, Office of the Society, 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W. C.). The presidential address by the Rev. Dr. William Hunt treats of the nature and claims of the study of history. In a valuable paper entitled "A Chapter in Roman Frontier History", Professor H. F. Pelham presents some of the results of the labors of the German Imperial Frontier Commission (Reichslimes-Kommission) revealing the successive stages in the extension of Roman control over the territory east of the Rhine; and the various measures employed for the defense of this territory. Sir Harry Poland gives the correct text (hitherto unpublished) of Mr. Canning's "Rhyming Despatch" to Sir Charles Bagot, and defends Canning against the charge of ill-timed frivolity. Dr. J. Holland Rose shows that the secret intelligence received by Canning from Tilsit and elsewhere from July 16 to 23, 1807, although not logically complete, had a cumulative force which will make us hesitate to censure Canning for basing thereon his policy of coercing Denmark. "The Northern Policy of George I. to 1718" is discussed by Mr. J. F. Chance, who has contributed several articles on various phases of this subject to the *English Historical Review*. Miss Violet Shillington traces "The Beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance" from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century. In his paper on "The Study of Nineteenth Century History" Mr. Percy Ashley laments the neglect by English students and investigators of the recent history of European states, especially those of the continent. He urges the importance of the study and tries to show that neither the nature of the material nor the difficulty of "detachment" presents insuperable obstacles to its scientific investigation. The Rev. John Willcock's account of "Sharp and the Restoration Policy in Scotland" reaches conclusions very unfavorable to both objects of his inquiry. The Alexander Prize Essay, by Miss R. R. Reid, is an interesting study of the local causes and aspects of "The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569."

F. G. D.

Books, Culture and Character, by J. N. Larned (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1906, pp. 187), is a compilation of public addresses delivered by the author. The work, being of a general nature, does not lend itself to exact analysis. Its purpose is to assist in the choice and use of books. Of its contents, the last chapter, and in all more than a fourth of the volume, are devoted to history, which is rated by Mr. Larned as the highest branch of the literature of knowledge, as distinguished from the literature of wisdom. Of historical works Mr. Larned discusses a list suitable for the general reader. In his concluding chapter he deprecates the present school-teaching of history with its formal questioning and periodical examinations. In place of this system he advocates a course of school-reading, judiciously selected from readable text-books and standard histories, along with a minimum of comment by the directing teacher.

On behalf of the American Library Association the Library of Congress has issued a *Portrait Index* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. lxxv, 1601), edited by William Coolidge Lane, librarian of Harvard University, and Nina E. Browne, secretary of the Association's Publishing Board. In the compilation many librarians and others have co-operated. The index is intended more especially for use in libraries, publishing houses, and newspaper offices. It confines itself to portraits in books, periodicals, and published collections, the indexing of current periodicals extending in most cases to the end of 1904. Comprehended in the index are some one hundred and twenty thousand portraits of forty thousand persons contained in six thousand volumes. In general, genealogical works and local histories are not indexed. With few exceptions, all the portraits in any work indexed are included.

Ancient Sinope, by David M. Robinson, Ph.D., Associate in Classical Archaeology in the Johns Hopkins University, is a reprint (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1906, pp. 105) of articles in the *American Journal of Philology* and the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The work nevertheless forms a unit. It is based on Dr. Robinson's studies at the American School at Athens in 1902 and a visit by him to Sinope in 1903. The author discusses in turn the site, commerce, foundation, history, civilization, and cults of the city. Sinope was probably of Assyrian origin. Its name antedates the Greek settlement, and the Assyrian element continued in force down to the fourth century. By Greeks the city was twice colonized, from Miletos before 756 and again, after the Cimmerian invasion, from Attica about 630. The making of Sinope with its harbor, the best on the southern shore of the Pontus. The importance of the city was such that it was a point for reckoning distances and elucidating geographic details. Before the building of the Roman roads, Sinope was an important port of Eastern trade; and its commerce with the northern shore of the Euxine Dr.

Robinson believes to have been underrated. Sinope's golden age was from 444 to the peace of Antalcidas, which left the Euxine Greeks at the mercy of Persia. In 370 there was a strong Greek element in the city but a Persian political preponderance. The loyalty of the city to Darius was not resented by Alexander the Great. The citizens were, as usual in frontier communities, rough and ready and fearless. The concluding section of the volume, forty pages, deals with inscriptions from Sinope.

Die römische Timokratie. Von Dr. Francis Smith. (Berlin, Georg Nauck, 1906, pp. 161.) This dissertation combats the traditional view that Servius, the next to the last of the Roman kings, established a timocratic division of Roman citizens in five classes. Against this tradition and in sharp contradiction to it, Dr. Smith sets the point that there existed at Rome as late as the second century B. C. a distinction between *classis* and *infra classem*; and the timocratic classification he places comparatively late in Roman history, in the time of Cato and the years following the second Punic War. The general character of the Servian reform Dr. Smith believes to have been military, not political; and in military affairs, classes played a rôle, if at all, only at the levy of the army, not in its organization. To the question when the class principle found entrance into the *comitatus maximus*, Dr. Smith replies that the word *classis* is undoubtedly of military origin, denoting, when used in distinction from *infra classem*, probably an élite body of troops; and the army having political functions, the term *classis* would acquire a political significance. This political significance is acquired before the relation of the term to the five timocratic grades fixed itself in the public mind. Indeed it was necessary for the old distinction of *classis* and *infra classem* to fall into desuetude before a timocratic classification was possible at all; and the Servian *Commentaries* are believed by Dr. Smith to be a late forgery designed to popularize the timocratic classification by casting over it a false halo of antiquity.

The Clarendon Press has issued, in its Tudor and Stuart Library, the *Defence of the Realme* by Sir Henry Knyvett, 1596, with an introduction by Charles Hughes (London and New York, Henry Frowde, 1906, pp. xxxvi, 75). Sir Henry Knyvett, of Charlton near Malmesbury in Wiltshire, sprang from a noble family of Norfolk. He was in favor with Queen Elizabeth, to whom this treatise is addressed. In the early days of her reign Knyvett was wounded at the siege of Leith, and at the time of the Spanish Armada he was active, as a deputy lieutenant for Wiltshire, in the military preparations in the south of England. Knyvett was prompted to write this tract by the capture of Calais from the French by the Spaniards on April 17, 1596, and the consequent fear in England of a Spanish invasion. The tract was written in haste, in fact Knyvett completed it by the end of

April. With respect to the danger of invasion, England's situation then was essentially the same as now; and Knyvett's plan of defense was also a favorite of to-day—a general military training of the citizens. On the technical side Knyvett's treatise is at its weakest. It advocates the use of the antiquated longbow. Knyvett died in 1598, two years after writing this tract, which is printed now for the first time. The manuscript is in the Chetham Library, Manchester.

Another issue of the same series by the Clarendon Press is a reprint of Pepys's *Memoires of the Royal Navy, 1679-1688* (London and New York, Henry Frowde, 1906, pp. xviii, 143). A serviceable introduction is prefixed by the editor, J. R. Tanner, Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys, who wrote his *Diary* between his twenty-sixth and thirty-sixth years, lived to the age of seventy and was long a valued official in the Admiralty. In 1679 he was driven from office by the Popish Plot. He was recalled by the king in 1684. In the interval the office of Lord High Admiral was in commission, with ill results to the navy; and Pepys, as Secretary of the Admiralty, was intimately connected with, and even guided, the subsequent naval reform. These *Memoires* were published originally by Pepys in June, 1690. They are a defense of his own naval administration prior to 1688, and a criticism of that of his opponents. The treatise contains many details concerning the navy at this period. By Pepys it was intended as a forerunner of his projected *Navalia*, a general history of the British navy which he never published nor completed.

Journals of the Honorable William Hervey. In North America and Europe from 1755 to 1814. With Order Books at Montreal 1760-1763. With Memoir and Notes. *Suffolk Green Books*, No. XIV. (Paul and Mathew, Bury St. Edmunds, 1906, pp. lxxvi, 548.) Eleven volumes of the *Suffolk Green Books* have now been published, and volumes XI., XII., and XIII. are still in preparation. The volume containing the *Journals of William Hervey* is numbered XIV.; although there seems to be no special reason why the three still unpublished should precede it in the series. There is neither continuity of time nor similarity of subject in the fourteen volumes. All of them are records of Suffolk, or of Suffolk families, and three contain diaries of members of the Hervey family. Nine are made up of registers, annals, and tombstones of Suffolk townships, and of subsidy and tax returns, while number XIII., which has yet to appear, contains the records of the Bury Grammar School from Edward VI. to Edward VII. The whole series therefore contains merely raw material of history, and this is especially true of the *Journals of William Hervey*. These journals were contained in fifty-eight note-books, dating from 1755 to 1814, which are in the possession of Lord Bristol as head of the Hervey family. Two years (1764 and 1765) of these sixty years are not represented in the diaries; and the first two volumes are of doubt-

ful authorship—the editor is convinced that they were not written by William Hervey, but came into his possession in 1757 during the first year of his campaigning in the French War in America. The other fifty-six diaries are undoubtedly the work of William Hervey, and the editor has culled from them the long series of extracts which fill almost 500 pages of his book. The value of the American diaries and order-books—from 1760 to 1763 order-books take the place of diaries—lies in the evidently truthful and sincere account of an officer who took part in the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, and who sets down impartially particulars as to regiments participating in the campaigns, the character of the country traversed, the conduct of French and Indians during the fighting, and the discipline meted out to deserters and disobedient soldiers. No new light is thrown on the general conduct of the campaigns against the French, either in the United States or in Canada; but the historian can learn from the diaries much of the daily difficulties of the marches; of the methods adopted to guard against surprises, and to convey ammunition and stores. After 1766, the diaries cover only peaceful journeyings on the continent of Europe and in the British Isles. William Hervey's observations throw some light on social and industrial conditions from 1766 to 1814, but it will take much winnowing to find the grain among the chaff. The editor has supplied an excellent subject-index—an index that is a model of its kind; and the portraits, illustrations, and maps add considerably to the value of the work.

A. G. P.

Gouverneur Morris. Un Témoin Américain de la Révolution Française. Par A. Esmein, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1906, pp. 386.) The *point de départ* of this book was evidently a remark of Taine to the effect that four contemporary observers comprehended from the beginning the character and significance of the French Revolution, Rivarol, Malouet, Gouverneur Morris, and Mallet du Pan, and that the greatest of these was Mallet. To Mr. Esmein, on the other hand, it seems that most of the merits ascribed by Taine to Mallet may be claimed for Morris: long residence in France, important connections, abundant information, good judgment, and thorough familiarity with the game of politics. Therefore he has undertaken to compose a history of the French Revolution largely from the writings of this vivid American. He had pieced together the most important descriptions, characterizations, and judgments of Morris into a continuous narrative. His chief source has been the *Diary and Letters* edited by Anne Cary Morris. Some slight use is made of a few other memoirs, such as those of the remaining three of the Taine tetrad, Mallet, Malouet, and Rivarol. But in the main he rarely strays from the two thick volumes of Morris's emphatic impressions.

It may be said at once that Mr. Esmein has put his material together with skill, that its mosaic quality is excellent. But naturally a narrative

so constructed cannot be very full-bodied. The history of the French Revolution can never be written from the *Diary and Letters* of Gouverneur Morris, nor from the diary and letters of any other man. Morris's main interest lies in following the plots and intrigues, the vicissitudes of party warfare. Here his analysis is keen, his information considerable, his statement clear. This is what our author wisely sets forth. Mr. Esmein recognizes in Morris's writings, as in Taine's, where it is far less excusable, that there is no light thrown upon a whole side of the Revolution, and that, too, its most beneficent and permanent side, the varied, searching, wide-ranging reforms in the domain of civil and criminal and commercial law, which later passed largely into the codes, and which still inspire French jurisprudence. Moreover, as Mr. Esmein says, even in regard to constitutional legislation Morris had ideas which, though interesting, hardly harmonize with the French Revolution or even with the American Revolution.

Manifestly this book is not a work of research but rather of popularization. It can be of little value to English readers, who would prefer the original *Diary and Letters*. Whether it is useful to introduce Morris to French readers in this form rather than in a complete translation is a question that no American need attempt to answer.

At the basis of this book lies, of course, the assumption that Morris was an important contemporary witness of the Revolution. Taine to the contrary, the correctness of this assumption may be doubted. Morris was essentially a stern and unbending Tory, more royalist than the king, partizan, trenchant, self-confident, polypragmatic; a man who knew his France superficially and who knew little of the real causes of the Revolution; whose circle was narrow though animated; whose characterizations of prominent men, though always entertaining, were frequently sadly wanting in verisimilitude; whose prophecies were more numerous than inspired. Though his comments have value, they are far from justifying the extravagant estimate of the author of *The Origins of Modern France*.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Napoleon's Last Voyages. Being the Diaries of Admiral Sir Thomas Ussher, R.N., K.C.B. (On Board the *Undaunted*), and John R. Glover, Secretary to Rear-admiral Cockburn (on Board the *Northumberland*). With twenty Illustrations. With Introduction and Notes by J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. xxii, 247.) Of the two diaries forming this book, the first, that of Sir Thomas Ussher, was printed in London in 1840 and in Dublin in 1841. Mr. Unwin reprinted it in 1895. The second recital is fresher information. The author was secretary to Rear-admiral Sir George Cockburn, and the narrative has striking similarities to his diary, first published in Boston in 1883 and reprinted at London in 1888. The reason of its late appearance in the field of Napoleonic history is due to the fact that Mr. Glover, as was natural in the circumstances in which he was

at the time when he wrote it, expressly forbade its publication. But the lapse of time has undone this injunction, and in 1893 the Glover diary first saw the light in magazine form and two years later appeared between covers under the title *Napoleon's Last Voyages*. Practically, therefore, the only thing wholly new about the work before us is the introduction and the notes prepared by the editor. The introduction is a luminous sketch of the personality of Napoleon at St. Helena, in the course of which Mr. Rose emphatically reiterates his conviction that Napoleon actually intended to invade England in 1805. The notes are not abundant but are pithy and to the point. By what seems an excess of conscientious editorship Mr. Rose has translated back into what he surmises to have been Napoleon's actual words the language attributed to him by the diarists. It should be added that there are twenty illustrations, being reproductions of contemporary prints, eight of which at least are rare.

J. W. T.

By request of the French section of the Royal Society of Canada, Dr. N. E. Dionne, Librarian of the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, has undertaken the preparation of a bibliography of publications relating to Quebec and New France. The completed work will be in four volumes, of which the first and second appeared in 1905 and 1906 (Quebec, printed for the author, pp. viii, 175; viii, 155, vi). The third and fourth may be expected in 1907 and 1908. These four volumes are an *Inventaire Chronologique*: the first, of those works in the French language which were published in the province of Quebec from the establishment of the first Canadian printing-press in 1764 to 1905; the second, of those works on Quebec and New France which were published without the province from 1534 to 1906; the third, of works published within the province in other than the French language from 1764 to 1906; and the fourth, of all atlases, charts, and maps bearing on New France and Quebec published in Canada and elsewhere from the discovery of the country to 1907. Of the two volumes now issued the first lists upward of three thousand works and contains a register of the periodical press of Quebec past and present, in number eight hundred, with dates of foundation and, if the journal be defunct, of its discontinuance. The second volume lists two thousand works, with frequent explanatory notes by the editor. Neither of the volumes professes to be exhaustive. In the first there are omitted, in particular, school-books, most devotional works, almanacs, regulations of religious, national, and benevolent associations, electoral pamphlets, and some official literature of minor importance.

Early English and French Voyages, chiefly from Hakluyt, 1534-1608. Edited by Henry S. Burrage, D.D. [*Original Narratives of Early American History*, edited by J. F. Jameson, Volume III.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. xxii, 451.) This work contains

the narratives of the voyages of Cartier, Hore, Hawkins, Drake, Gilbert, Barlowe, Lane, White, Brereton, Pring, Waymouth, and an anonymous narrative entitled "A Relation of a voyage to Sagadahoc, 1607-1608." While the majority of these narratives have been known to students in old Hakluyt and the reproductions in various society publications, the general reader, although well acquainted with the deeds of the above-named adventurers, has only read, as a rule, extracts or abridgments. The ponderous volumes compiled by Hakluyt, Purchas, and others in olden times, combined with old spelling and quaint letters, have been obstacles which have frequently discouraged the general reader. This publication edited by Dr. Burrage is one which meets a long-felt want. The reader has sufficient information about the narrators, both historical and bibliographical, to whet his appetite and increase his interest. The index is copious and the general get-up of the volume is pleasing. The events recorded are indispensable to one wishing to form a correct idea of the early expansion of the New World. Ralph Lane's account of the first expedition sent out by Walter Raleigh to Virginia, in 1585-1586, is just now of timely interest. This expedition landed the first colony in Virginia, under the charge of Lane. One hundred and seven remained with Lane, from August 17, 1585, to June 18, 1586. As the first description of the people and the country it is not only of great importance but also of much historical consequence.

The only map published in this work is the one entitled "Map of Virginia, *i. e.*, the Region of the Raleigh Colonies, made by John White in 1585 or 1586." This map was not originally published in the early edition of Hakluyt, but is reproduced from a manuscript map in the British Museum for the new twelve-volume edition recently published. The map was first known to this country in an article by Dr. Edward Eggleston, in the *Century* for November, 1882, pages 61-83, entitled "The Beginning of a Nation", accompanied by the "Map of southern part of Atlantic coast of North America."

The map, however, which should have accompanied this work is the one spoken of rather indefinitely in note 2 to page 248, as the De Bry map. As this so-called De Bry map, also by John White or With, who accompanied the first Raleigh expedition, is considered the first map and bears the name of Virginia, there is every reason to suppose that it should have been published instead of the other. The only known copy of this map is found in the work published by De Bry entitled *The True Pictures and Fashions of the People in that Part of America now called Virginia*, published in four versions in 1590. This map will be of especial interest in the coming Jamestown exhibit as the first map of Virginia.

P. LEE PHILLIPS.

The Connecticut River and the Valley of the Connecticut. By Edwin M. Bacon. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. xx, 487.) This is an account, intended for the general reader, of the history, navi-

gation, and topography of the Connecticut River. Its historical section comprises three hundred pages. It begins with the arrival of the Dutch at the mouth of the river in 1614, and ends with the collapse of the Eastern and Western Unions in 1782. More attention than usual is paid to the discovery and early settlement of the lower valley by the Dutch. Made plain also are the parts played by the Pilgrims and Puritans in the English occupation of the region. With the river as a thread there then follow the events which made up an important part of the history of New England during a century—the Pequot War, King Philip's War, the French and Indian Wars, the New Hampshire grants, and the attempt at founding a separate state, New Connecticut, in the upper valley. The familiar story is well told and gives the lie afresh to the complaint that picturesque America is lacking in historical associations.

With a wealth of local histories to draw from, Judd, Sheldon, Thompson, Chase, Wells, and others, a very fair proportion has been observed until the subject of Dartmouth College is reached. There undue emphasis is placed upon local politics, while hardly any reference is made to the part which the inhabitants of the upper valley took in the Revolution. The constant fear under which they lived of invasion from Canada is not mentioned; the Westminster Massacre barely appears; and the panic caused by the threatened coming of Burgoyne has no place. By contrast, two chapters are devoted to the political ambitions of the professors of Dartmouth College, in the intricate question of allegiance to New Hampshire or Vermont, which long agitated the river towns of the upper valley.

The second part of the book treats of the navigation of the river from the days of canoes to the end of the steamboat period. We wish that a chapter had been added describing, as clearly as the several paths from Massachusetts to Connecticut are described in chapter III., the ferries and the devious ways by which the settlers' ox-carts travelled along the banks of the river. In part III. the author begins with Pittsburg and West Stewartstown in the extreme north, and makes his bow and pays his compliments, somewhat after the fashion of the county gazetteers, to each town and city on either bank until Saybrook and the Sound are reached. Yet it is one of the assets of the river that so many institutions of learning are situated on its banks, and that so many artists and men of letters should have made their homes beside it.

A few minor slips occur; *e. g.*, Sophia, not Maria, Smith founded Smith College. The book is well printed, and profusely and beautifully illustrated. It has an index, and in its table of contents a synopsis is given of each chapter.

KATE M. CONE.

Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-56, and 1659-60, and their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River. By Warren Upham, Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. (St.

Paul, Reprint from volume X. of the Society's *Publications*, 1905, pp. iv, 146.) When, in 1885, the Prince Society of Boston published the manuscripts of Peter Esprit Radisson—manuscripts that had been preserved by Samuel Pepys and afterward rescued from the wrapping-paper stocks of London tradesmen, finally to enrich the collections of Oxford University and the British Museum—that worthy organization could not have foreseen the apple of discord it was about to toss among the historians of the Old Northwest. Did Radisson and his companion Groseilliers actually discover the upper Mississippi seventeen years before Marquette and Joliet explored the great river? Were the two trader brothers-in-law from Three Rivers the first white men to sail the waters of Lake Superior? Did they also make an overland journey from the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay, thereby getting their first actual knowledge of the region where later they established the great trading company which persists to this day? These are a few of the many queries, on various sides of which scores of investigators have ranged themselves. Without professing to have said the last word on the subject, Mr. Warren Upham, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, has gathered a large amount of evidence to prove that Radisson and Groseilliers did actually come upon the Mississippi at Prairie Island, Minnesota, and that they were the first white men in the present state of Minnesota. Adopting the chronology carefully worked out by Henry Colin Campbell with the aid of the *Jesuit Relations* and the *Journal of the Jesuits*, Mr. Upham reaches the conclusion that the Frenchmen spent the time from April or May, 1655, to June, 1656, at Prairie Island, in the Mississippi, a few miles above Red Wing, without, however, being conscious that they had reached the great river. In his wanderings Radisson came upon the Illinois River, and from the Indians thereabouts he gained his knowledge of the Mississippi. The second journey to the West took place between 1658 and 1660. In neither journey did the Frenchmen reach either the Gulf of Mexico or Hudson Bay, as some writers have been led to believe. Because they themselves failed to discern the geographical importance of the great river they had come upon; and because, so far as possible, they concealed from their countrymen all knowledge of their travels, Radisson and Groseilliers are not entitled, according to Mr. Upham, to be ranked as the discoverers of the Upper Mississippi. It was Marquette and Joliet who literally *discovered* that river by making known to the world that they had found the great waters of which many had heard, and for which they were searching. This judgment has both common sense and historical research to commend it. At the same time it reduces Radisson and Groseilliers to their proper proportions; they were mere traders, who blundered upon the Mississippi without discovering it. Even the fact that they looked upon its waters has remained unknown for more than two centuries. There is a wealth of bibliographical and chronological information in Mr. Upham's paper, which adds to its value to students.

CHARLES MOORE.

King Philip's War, . . . with Biographical and Topographical Notes. By George W. Ellis and John E. Morris. (New York, The Grafton Press, 1906, pp. xiv, 326.) A history of King Philip's War which should be both readable and trustworthy has long been desired by students of early New England. The volume under review meets these requirements, being based upon careful research and written in clear narrative style. Of the two authors whose names appear on the title-page, Mr. Ellis has contributed the narrative with the references, and Mr. Morris has supplied the biographical foot-notes, the local descriptions, and the illustrations.

Mr. Ellis has used his sources with discrimination and impartiality. His attitude toward those clerical annalists who ascribed a failure in arms to supernatural causes, and who laboriously sought the Scriptures to find some text to excuse a merciless or criminal act, is refreshing and convincing. He rightly blames the English for their neglect in the earlier part of the war to take even the simplest precautions against surprise and ambushes, for the long-continued refusal on the part of the authorities to enlist the services of the "friendly" Indians, and for their participation in needless acts of cruelty and torture. The death of Canonchet, says the author (p. 205), "was as honorable to him as its infliction and the shameful mutilation of his body was disgraceful to his enemies. Something of his lofty and dignified character seems to have impressed itself upon the grudging minds of his foes, but it called up no corresponding chivalry of action." Yet in no way should it be understood that the author is a sentimental apologist for the Indian. His unwillingness to place dependence upon any but credited sources and his summary rejection of many of the romantic legends connected with the war evidence his attempt to treat his subject with true historical discrimination.

The volume is singularly free from errors or misquotations from authorities. It was not Williams (p. 26) who purchased the island of Rhode Island, and the author of the recent excellent little history of Rhode Island is not "Reichman" (p. 35). There is no adequate reason for placing the scene of Talcott's victory of July 2, 1676, at Natick, when contemporary evidence shows that it was at Nipsachuck. In its mechanical make-up the book reflects much credit upon the Grafton Press, who publish it as a part of the series edited by Dr. Henry R. Stiles.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Cadwallader Colden: a Representative Eighteenth Century Official. By Alice Mapelsden Keys, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. xiv, 375.) Miss Keys's monograph is based primarily on the Colden Papers, two volumes of which have been printed by the New York Historical Society. She has also used the manuscript minutes of the Executive Council and the principal printed sources for the period covered. It does not appear,

however, that Miss Keys has gone very far afield for illustrative material such as might have been furnished by the Johnson Manuscripts, the newspapers, or the broadside collections. Colden has been presented to us in four characters, or rather as one character playing four parts—savant, surveyor, politician, executive. Aside from the fact that it is difficult to separate the surveyor from the politician, this arrangement does little violence to chronology, and is on the whole probably the best possible one. The style is a bit loose, the manner a bit casual; one is perhaps somewhat at sea in the mass of facts, unrelieved for the most part by any very suggestive generalization. Whatever the “general reader” may think, the specialist will nevertheless be grateful for much new light on the web of intrigue which enmeshed the colonial governors from Burnet to Clinton. And meantime three points of more general interest emerge from the detailed narrative: the extent to which personal and family rivalries dominated New York provincial politics; the incredible neglect of the English government to support its officials in their efforts to check the encroachments of the assembly on executive functions; the uselessness of the well-meaning doctrinaire in practical administration. Miss Keys has appreciated Colden perfectly: “With all his interests, all his learning, all his real worth, he had learned no lesson from experience” (p. 258). The least valuable part of the work is that which deals with the period after 1765. The author has apparently missed the striking significance of Colden’s brief day of popularity after the death of Moore. The meaning of the elections of 1768 and 1769 is not correctly appreciated. Statements with respect to the election of the Committee of Fifty-One and the election of the delegates to the First Continental Congress are misleading (p. 355). An unfortunate blunder of the publishers has resulted in a systematic misplacement of the pages from 352 to 369. The citation of authorities is not so full as could be wished, and there is no critical bibliography.

CARL BECKER.

The Writings of James Madison. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. Vol. VI., 1790–1802. (New York, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906, pp. xvii, 464.) There is little that is new in this sixth volume. About half of it consists of Madison’s speeches in the First Congress, for which the text in the *Annals* seems to be taken as sufficiently ample and authoritative, his various contributions to Freneau’s *National Gazette*, “Helvidius”, his speech on the Jay treaty, and his Virginia report of 1799–1800. The rest is correspondence, embracing a dozen or so of family letters not printed in the former or Congressional edition, but of small importance, dealing largely with the errands which a son or brother visiting Philadelphia would inevitably do for a country family or neighborhood in Virginia. There are also a few other new letters, and from Madison’s assumption of the secretaryship of state in May, 1801, an important series of instructions to the American representatives in England, France

and Spain. The foot-notes, though not numerous, are almost uniformly good. That on p. 411 seems open to criticism. Madison says, speaking of Adams in a letter to Jefferson, January 10, 1801, "The follies of his administration, the oblique stroke at his Predecessor in the letter to Coxe, and the crooked character of that to T. Pinkney, are working powerfully against him." Under the name of "T. Pinkney" Mr. Hunt says, in a foot-note, "Pickering is meant". It seems much more natural to suppose no error, but to infer that the reference is to Adams's conciliatory letter of October 27, 1800, to Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina, called out by the publication of his unfortunate letter of May, 1792, to Tench Coxe, and by Pinckney's request for an explanation.

It is not easy to reconcile one's self to the mode of arrangement which the editor has followed in the case of letters contemporary with the public papers printed. The principle has been to give the latter the first place, at the top of the pages, and to "run in" the letters below, in smaller type, though elsewhere letters have a larger type than documents. Letters, documents, foot-notes, and even foot-notes to foot-notes, run across from page to page in such a manner that we sometimes have on the same page four strata of typography. Thus on pp. 43-123, beneath the newspaper contributions, we have twenty-seven letters, forty-seven foot-notes to the text and foot-notes to foot-notes, and a group of documents, the most interesting of all, relative to Washington's proposed farewell address of 1792. The effect is both ugly and confusing.

Pubblica Dimostrazione di Simpatia per il Papa Pio IX. e per l'Italia avvenuta a New York, Lunedì 29 Novembre 1847, tratta dai Rendiconti inglesi di quell'anno, con Prefazione, Note, ed Appendici, di H. Nelson Gay. (Roma, Roux e Viarengo; Boston, N. J. Bartlett and Company, 1907, pp. 94.) With this volume Mr. H. Nelson Gay begins what promises to be a useful series of publications on the more important phases of the *Relations between the United States and Italy, 1847-1871*. The book relates to a great mass-meeting held in New York in favor of Italian independence, the first gathering of this character convened outside Italy. The greater part of the volume is an Italian translation of the rare report of the *Proceedings*, prepared under the supervision of the committee of arrangements. The report, which includes letters and addresses from several of the most prominent citizens of the United States, welcoming as an extension of popular constitutional government the reforms instituted by the new Pope, constitutes one of the earliest and truest declarations of faith in a free and united Italy. No historian of either country mentions the meeting, yet it is important as a declaration of American public opinion and as marking the beginning of a quarter of a century of good relations between the United States and the constitutional states of Italy.

The volume contains a brief preface and appendixes including sketches based in part upon unpublished documents of the lives of the

two distinguished Italian exiles, Giuseppe Avezzana and Eleutario Felice Foresti, both highly honored in America.

Causa Mandada Formar á D. Leonardo Márquez por Desobediencia é Insubordinación como General en Jefe del Primer Cuerpo del Ejército de Operaciones. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, publicados por Genaro García y Carlos Pereyra, Tomo VIII.] (Mexico, 1906, pp. viii, 288.) The alleged acts of disobedience and insubordination of General Márquez to which relates the series of documents published under this title—some of them given in full, and some merely calendared—were committed during the year 1859 in the course of the War of Reform in Mexico. The charges were based upon Márquez's failure, in several instances, to direct his movements or handle his troops as ordered by the Miramón government, and on the tone of his letters to the minister of war, which were characterized as breathing insubordination and even inciting rebellion.

The manuscript followed in printing this series of documents (except for the list in the appendix) is said to have belonged originally to J. F. Ramírez, then to J. M. Andrade, and finally to the nephew of the latter, V. de P. Andrade, from whom Señor García obtained it. To the documents contained in the manuscript Señor García has appended many others relating to Márquez and his operations in the latter part of 1859, several of them being taken from the *Diario Oficial del Supremo Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*. Some that would naturally belong to the record of the case are not given at all, e. g., the "excepción declinatoria" of Márquez denying the jurisdiction of the council of war to which the military code assigned such cases. The argument of this "excepción" can be judged only by the summary of it given in the opinion of the assessor (p. 61).

The printing of this volume bears evidence of a certain degree of carelessness. Among the errors which must be charged to proof-reader and printer are "ofeció" for *ofreció* (p. 76, l. 3), "ui" for *ni* (p. 90, l. 18), "ey" for *ley* (p. 256, l. 14), and "conideradas" apparently for *considerada* (p. 244, ll. 3, 4). The italicized passage on page 118 ought to be precisely the same as the corresponding passage on page 48, since both are from the same original; but the change in position of a semicolon, transferring the word "después" from one clause to another, has made an essential variation in the meaning. This may be the fault of the manuscript used by the editor; but the few annotations he has made refer to just such points, and a foot-note dealing with this, if it be in fact due to the manuscript, might fairly have been expected.

While this series of "Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros" hardly affords the same abundant proof of Señor García's ability and erudition as some other works of his, notably his *Carácter de la Conquista Española*, he is doing historical science in America a real service in the publication of the series, and his enterprise certainly deserves sympathy and support.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

Gettysburg and Lincoln: The Battle, the Cemetery, and the National Park. By Henry Sweetser Burrage, Brevet Major, U. S. Vols. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. xii, 224.) The title of this book gives a summary of its contents. Part I. contains a brief and well-written account of the battle of Gettysburg. Part II. is devoted to the movement for a national cemetery at Gettysburg, and to the consecration services of that cemetery. The most original and interesting parts of the book are the chapters in part II. which give a detailed discussion of Lincoln's address at Gettysburg. Major Burrage has collected all of the available information regarding the composition of this now famous address, and presents his account in an interesting manner. Part III. contains a history of the work of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, and of the National Park Commission. The book is clearly written, and should be of much interest to those who have taken part in the preservation of our most famous battle-field.

Documentary History of Reconstruction. By Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., Professor of History in West Virginia University. Volume I. (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906, pp. xix, 492.) The purpose of this volume, as the author tells us in his preface, is to make some of the sources relating to the political, military, social, religious, educational, and industrial history of the Reconstruction period more easily accessible to the student and the general reader. It is to the former class, however, that the book will be more valuable, for it is scarcely the kind of matter that will hold the attention of the general reader on account of its necessarily fragmentary nature. From such a collection, large as it is, it would be manifestly impossible for one to gain a definite idea of Reconstruction conditions, but from it may be gained quite a definite idea of Reconstruction sentiment. So far it will be valuable to the general reader. To the close student of the period it will, naturally, prove of far more interest and value. The selections are well made and are to a high degree illustrative of public sentiment at the time. It is in these respects and as a guide to the period of Reconstruction that the book is most valuable.

In this first volume the documents show a decided leaning to Radical sentiment and opinion. In his preface, Dr. Fleming states that the contrary will be the case in the second volume. In all there are 252 separate documents, of which the origin is as follows: 148 are accounts from Northern men; 62 are from ex-Confederates; 22 from Southern Unionists and Radicals; 12 from negroes; and 2 from foreigners. There are also 25 state laws and 17 Federal laws. Of the non-legal documents, 118 are from the Northern standpoint; 64 are from the Southern; and about 70 are indifferent or impartial.

The first chapter, entitled "The South after the War: Economic and Social Conditions", contains, among other things, much interesting matter relating to the period immediately succeeding the suspension

of hostilities, such as the treatment of the negroes, the destruction of property, the privations and suffering of both blacks and whites, and opinions as to what was necessary to restore the South to a condition of loyalty and prosperity. The second chapter, "Plans, Theories, and Problems of Reconstruction", gives clear contrasts of the views held on the subject by Lincoln, Johnson, and Congress, with other documents illustrating the views of Sumner, Stevens, prominent Southerners of different parties, and of Abolitionists. Chapter III. deals with Presidential restoration. The next two chapters are devoted exclusively to the freedman, chapter IV. illustrating the discussion of the race and labor problems and the attempts to settle them by the so-called "Black Codes", and chapter V. being composed of matter—and very interesting and valuable matter too—relating to the Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Bank. The sixth and last chapter deals with Congressional Reconstruction. Each chapter has an introduction by the author with references to the various documents. There is also a bibliography to each chapter. The work has the limitations which are inseparable from all source-books of limited size, but it also has what many source-books have not, namely, interest. It can scarcely be called with accuracy a history, even though a documentary one, of Reconstruction, but it is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

A Frontier Town and Other Essays. By Henry Cabot Lodge. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. 274.) Senator Lodge has collected into this volume a number of essays and addresses, most of which have appeared in print before. The essays may be roughly grouped as biographical, political, and historical. Of the biographical essays the one of most interest is that which is devoted to the late Senator Hoar. Although delivered as a memorial address before the Massachusetts legislature, it is not a simple eulogy of its subject, but a careful summary and characterization of the public services of the late Senator from Massachusetts. Of the political essays that upon "The Senate of the United States" is the most important. Senator Lodge is naturally not one who believes that the Senate has gained more than its rightful share in the government of our country, although, as he says, "the Senate is to-day the most powerful single chamber in any legislative body in the world" (p. 83); he contends that its great power is a direct result of the wise provisions inserted into the Constitution by its framers in 1787.

The essay upon "History" is the most interesting and stimulating of the historical essays. Senator Lodge expresses a somewhat prevalent feeling that scientific history has lost its literary character, and has become uninteresting and dull. History as a science has been developed at a serious loss to history as literature, and while the author recognizes the very great service of scientific standards in historical studies, he disapproves of the too judicial attitude and strongly dissents

from Professor Bury's statement that "history is not a branch of literature." Like many others, Senator Lodge would find the true purpose of history to be that of discovering a theory of human development, of laying down principles which shall explain past events and forecast the future. While advocating a philosophy of history, he admits that no one theory will explain everything, and points to the failure of such philosophies as have been developed in the past. The scientific historian of the present will hardly agree with the conclusion expressed in the following sentences: "A new period, bringing with it forces and conditions hitherto unknown, confronts modern history. Unless she can solve the problem it presents, unless she can bring forth a theory of the universe and of life which shall take up the past and from it read the riddle of the present and draw aside the veil of the future, then history in its highest sense has failed" (p. 127).

All of the essays are written in Senator Lodge's agreeable manner; he, at least, has preserved a literary finish in these essays upon historical and allied subjects. It is often refreshing to find such a book, which does not pretend to add to the store of human knowledge, but presents old views and known facts in a pleasing and attractive form.

TEXT-BOOKS

Outlines of Nineteenth Century History, by Philip Van Ness Myers (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1906, pp. v, 138), is a reprint of the chapters of the same author's *Mediaeval and Modern History*, which cover the nineteenth century after 1815. The opportunity has been taken to revise the text with respect to the Russo-Japanese war. In a note on page 4 reference is made to the recent separation of Norway and Sweden, but with an unfortunate typographical error which places the dissolution of the union as occurring in 1805. In this separate form the book will be useful as a brief introductory work upon the history of the nineteenth century. It would have been better, however, to include the chapters upon the Napoleonic era; the elementary student would be somewhat embarrassed if introduced without preparation to the complex problems presented at the Congress of Vienna.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Frederick William Maitland, Downing Professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge University, died at the Grand Canary on December 21, aged fifty-six. The impetus that he gave to the studies of institutional and legal history in England is incalculably great, as is the loss that historical studies have suffered through his death. He was educated at Eton and Trinity, and practised as a barrister for several years, returning to Cambridge only in 1884 as Reader in English law. In this same year he published his book *Gloucester Pleas*, and in 1887 his celebrated edition of *Bracton's Note Book*. His productivity during the following years was remarkable; of most importance were the numerous volumes of texts, furnished with long and illuminating introductions, that he edited for the Selden Society; the *History of English Law* (1895), produced in co-operation with Sir Frederick Pollock, but in greater part his own; and *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897), in which his extraordinary insight enabled him to interpret a record hitherto obscure. He had a genius for investigation, for criticism, and for interpretation, and his vivacity and unfailing sense of humor produced a lightness of touch that makes his legal learning eminently readable. His last work, *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (1906), although outside the historical field, may be mentioned here as throwing light on the character of the biographer. Those American students who are fortunate enough to have known him will not soon forget his rare kindness and his power of enkindling other minds.

Henry Francis Pelham, President of Trinity College, Oxford, Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University, and Fellow of the British Academy, died on February 12, aged sixty. His writings include *Outlines of Roman History* (1890) and several articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, and elsewhere, which show his mastery of the results of research in the field of Roman History. An able administrator, he did much to organize the study of history and archaeology at Oxford, aided the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens, and was the chief founder of the British School at Rome.

Ernest Désiré Glasson, one of the principal historians of French law, member of the Institute, and Professor in the Faculty of Law at Paris, died on January 6, at the age of sixty-seven. Of his numerous works on legal and institutional history, the most important are the *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions Politiques, Civiles et Judiciaires*

de l'Angleterre comparés au Droit et aux Institutions de la France depuis leur Origine jusqu'à nos Jours, six volumes (1882-1883); the *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de la France*, in eight volumes, which stops with the end of the Middle Ages and which M. Glasson had intended to bring down to modern times; and *Le Parlement de Paris, son Rôle depuis Charles VII. jusqu'à la Révolution*, two volumes (1901).

M. Paul Guiraud, member of the Institute, professor of ancient history at the Sorbonne, and follower and biographer of Fustel de Coulanges, died recently in his fifty-seventh year. Among his more notable works are *La Propriété Foncière en Grèce jusqu'à la Conquête Romaine* (1893), in which he treats of landownership in Greece in close connection with its political history, and his recent volume *Études Économiques sur l'Antiquité*.

The veteran Professor Godefroid Kurth has been appointed director of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome.

It is rumored that the Reading Room of the British Museum will be closed for six months including the approaching summer.

Recent numbers in Professor G. von Below-Meinecke's *Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte* (Munich, Oldenbourg) are Professor Luschin von Ebengreuth's *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* and a volume containing Professor Oswald Redlich's *Allgemeine Einleitung zur Urkundenlehre* and Professor W. Erben's *Die Kaiser- und Königsurkunden des Mittelalters in Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien* (pp. x, 369).

It is announced that a French translation of the archive handbook - *Handleiding voor het Ordenen en Beschrijven van Archieven*, compiled by S. Muller, J. A. Feith, and R. Fruin, is being prepared by T. Cuvelier and H. Stein, and will include an introduction by H. Pirenne. A German translation has already appeared.

A useful volume for workers in the Archives Nationales, especially for students of modern history, is M. Ch. Schmidt's *Guide pour les Recherches d'Histoire Contemporaine aux Archives Nationales*. (*Les Demandes de Recherches, la Salle de Travail, les Inventaires; les Sources de l'Histoire d'un Département, d'un Arrondissement, d'un Canton ou d'une Commune aux Archives Nationales.*) The book, which is reprinted with numerous additions from three articles that appeared in the *Révolution Française*, is published by the house of Champion, Paris.

Morals in Evolution: a Study in Comparative Ethics (Chapman and Hall, two volumes), by L. T. Hobhouse, late Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, aims at reaching a conception of the main trend of human development by an historical classification of the different forms of ethical ideas.

The Macmillan Company is publishing a series entitled *The Church Universal*, edited by Rev. W. H. Hutton. Each of the eight volumes

will contain an outline of the history of the church during a given period. The following volumes have been issued: *The Church of the Fathers*, by Mr. Leighton Pullan; *The Church of the Barbarians*, by the editor; and *The Reformation*, by Rev. J. P. Whitney.

The celebrated history of the Councils of the Church by C. J. von Hefele (*Konziliengeschichte*), continued in the second edition by Cardinal Hergenröther, has been translated into French by a Benedictine of Farnborough under the title *Histoire des Conciles* (Paris, Letouzey). The old French translation by M. Delarc, made from the first German edition and thus not including Hergenröther's volumes, has long been difficult to procure. The new translation, based on the second German edition, has been brought up to date through the inclusion of additional matter in notes, appendixes, and bibliography and will be continued so as to include the Council of the Vatican. The work will be issued in twenty-four volumes.

The Marquis de la Mazelière's three-volume work on *Le Japon: Histoire et Civilisation* (Paris, Plon) covers the ancient and feudal ages and the Tokugawa.

A brochure by Professor C. Seignobos on *L'Histoire dans l'Enseignement Secondaire* (Paris, Colin, 1906, pp. 55) will be of especial interest to teachers who are using any of the text-books written by Professor Seignobos for his *Cours d'Histoire*. The author explains his conception of the aim and method of history and why he has tried to create a new instrument adapted to the new needs. By examples taken from different parts of his *Cours*, he shows how his method is to be applied in special instances.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. L. Poole, *Mary Bateson* (*English Historical Review*, January); L. Erhardt, *Die Anfänge und Grundbedingungen der Geschichte* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, XCVIII. 2); O. Redlich, *Historisch-Geographische Probleme* (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXVII. 4).

ANCIENT HISTORY

At a recent meeting of the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft in Berlin, Professor Hugo Winckler reported on the remarkable remains at Boghaz-Köi in the heart of Asia Minor, which he is to investigate under the auspices of the Society, and which he has identified with the city of Kheta, the central seat of the Hittite kingdom. The finds made there amount to over two thousand items, and include many letter fragments, tablets, etc., containing among other things treaties with the kings of Egypt and with subordinate potentates.

The Carnegie Institution has published in a volume embracing 62 pages of text and 106 plates *Egyptological Researches: Results of a Journey in 1904*, by Dr. W. Max Müller. The main object of the volume is the study of the monuments recording the relations of ancient Egypt to foreign countries, especially to Asia and Europe.

The third volume of the *History of Egypt* (pp. 406), published by Scribner's, extends from the nineteenth to the thirtieth dynasties and is by W. M. Flinders Petrie. The book is solidly packed with facts, and includes translations of documents and many illustrations.

The Archeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions (S.P.C.K., pp. 220), by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, embodies the Rhind lectures on archaeology which Professor Sayce delivered at Edinburgh last October, and also an article published in the *Contemporary Review* in August, 1905.

The next volume in the series of publications of the President White School of History and Political Science at Cornell will be the enlarged doctoral thesis of Albert T. Olmstead, entitled *Sargon and Western Asia in His Time, 722-705 B. C.*, the materials for which were collected when the author accompanied Professor Nathaniel Schmidt's expedition through Syria and Palestine in 1904-1905.

Old Babylonian Temple Records, by Dr. R. J. Lau, forms the third volume in the Columbia University Oriental Studies (Macmillan).

Late Babylonian Letters (pp. xxxvi, 226), by R. C. Thompson, is a volume of transliterations and translations of letters in Babylonian cuneiform, chiefly during the reigns of Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, published in Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series.

Professor T. D. Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age* (Macmillan, 1906) attempts to state as the poet presents them the facts relating to the civilization of the age.

Life in Ancient Athens: the Social and Public Life of a Classical Athenian from Day to Day, by Professor T. G. Tucker, is a recent addition to the series of Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities published by Macmillan. The book contains many illustrations.

Schools of Hellas: a Study of the Practice and Theory of Greek Education in the Classical Period, by the late K. J. Freeman, has been edited by Mr. M. J. Rendall and will shortly be published by Messrs. Macmillan. The first part of the book deals with education in Sparta and Crete, Athens, and the rest of Greece. Separate chapters are devoted to primary, physical, and secondary education and one relates to the Ephebi and the University. The second part treats of the theory of education.

L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité (Paris, Fontemoing, 1906, pp. 476), by A. Merlin, which forms the ninety-seventh fascicle of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, is a careful and detailed study based upon documentary evidence and a study of the locality.

Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus (University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. 113) is the subject of a Chicago doctoral dissertation by B. C. Bonduant, whose interpretation of the motives and conduct of Decimus Brutus differs essentially from that given in M. Paulus's dissertation on the same subject (Münster, 1889).

The influence of Hellenism upon the Roman world has often been considered. The opposite influence of Rome upon Hellenic and Eastern civilization up to the time of Hadrian is the subject of Dr. L. Hahn's study, *Rom und Romanismus im Griechisch-Römischen Osten* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1906, pp. xvi, 278).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. J. Webb, *The Alleged Phoenician Circumnavigation of Africa* (English Historical Review, January); B. Niese, *Über Wehrverfassung, Dienstpflicht und Heerwesen Griechenlands* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 2); E. Gabrici, *Il Problema delle Origini di Roma, secondo le Recenti Scoperte Archeologiche* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N.S., II. 1); G. Spagna, *Sulla Popolazione dell'Antica Siracusa* (ibid.); N. Feliciani, *L'Anno dei Quattro Imperatori: Galba, Ottone, Vitellio, Vespasiano* (ibid.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Rev. J. P. Whitney has been appointed an editor of *The Cambridge Medieval History* in place of the late Miss Mary Bateson.

Sir Rennell Rodd has published through Arnold a two-volume study of Greece in the Middle Ages, entitled *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea*.

Der Sieg Heinrichs IV. in Kanossa (Braunschweig, Goeritz, 1907, pp. 76), by Dr. A. Dammann, is a critical investigation in which the author concludes that Henry IV. did not under humiliating conditions beg the pope to remove the ban, but that as king and at the head of his great army he demanded its removal.

Gustave Schlumberger, of the Institute of France, has published a work on *Campagnes du Roi Amaury I^{er} de Jérusalem* in Egypt of the twelfth century.

Father P. G. Golubovich, O.F.M., is compiling a *Biblioteca Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, of which the first volume covers the period 1215-1300 (Quaracchi, Collège Saint-Bonaventure, 1906, pp. viii, 479).

A contribution to the commercial history of a limited portion of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is Léon Gauthier's *Les Lombards dans les Deux-Bourgognes* (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. xiii, 397); the *pièces justificatives* number 172.

Of two recent works entitled *L'Inquisition*, one by Abbé Vacandard (Paris, Bloud, 1906) is an historical and critical study of the coercive power of the Church; the other, by Monsignor Douais (Paris, Plon, pp. 371), treats of the origins and procedure of the institution studied.

Documentary publications: Leto Alessandri, *Inventario dell'Antica Biblioteca del S. Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi, compilato nel 1381*, with notes (Assisi, Metastasio, 1906, pp. xlv, 270).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales*, V. *Les Fausses Décrétales. Le Saint-Siège*, concl. (Revue

d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); H. Niese, *Normannische und Staufische Urkunden aus Apulien* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 2); F. Schneider, *Bistum und Geldwirtschaft: Zur Geschichte Volterras im Mittelalter*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 2); H. Otto, *Die Eide und Privilegien Heinrichs VII. und Karls IV.* [with unprinted documents] (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 2).

MODERN HISTORY

Professor W. H. Woodward, of the University of Liverpool, treats of the development of the idea of a liberal education in his volume of *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600* (Cambridge University Press, Contributions to the History of Education, II., pp. xx, 336).

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami (London, Frowde) is intended to be a complete edition—the first for two centuries—of the correspondence of Erasmus, including the prefaces to his works. The first of the five or six intended volumes covers the period from 1484 to 1515, and is edited by P. S. Allen of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The first volume of a collection of treaties between Austria and England, edited under the title *Österreichische Staatsverträge—England* (pp. xiv, 813) by Professor A. F. Pribram of the University of Vienna, extends from 1526 to 1748, and is the third in the series of *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs* (Innsbruck, Wagner).

Études sur la Politique Étrangère du Duc de Choiseul (Paris, Plon), by A. Bourguet, is composed of four studies: one on the Austrian alliance, another on the negotiations with Holland, and the last two on the peace negotiations with England (1759 and 1761). The same author has published a work on *Le Duc de Choiseul et l'Alliance Espagnole*.

The Vicomte Jean d'Ussel's account of *La Défection de la Prusse (Decembre 1812—Mars 1813)* is based upon a study of the original documents (Paris, Plon).

The *Memoirs of "Malakoff"* are extracts from the correspondence and papers of the late W. E. Johnston, edited by his son, R. M. Johnston. The book is largely made up of Mr. Johnston's letters written from Paris to the *New York Times*, over the signature of "Malakoff", and dealing with the Crimean War, the liberation of Italy, Napoleon III., and our Civil War. The work is published by Hutchinson in two volumes.

Der Krimkrieg und die Österreichische Politik is the subject of a valuable monograph by Heinrich Friedjung, based on manuscript material, published by Cotta (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1907, pp. 198).

Father T. Granderath's *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils von seiner ersten Ankündigung bis zu seiner Vertagung* (Freiburg, Herder, pp. xxi, 748) has been concluded by the publication of the third volume.

La France et Guillaume II. (Paris, Colin, 1907, pp. 315), by Victor Bérard, aims at giving a complete idea of the relations between France and the German Emperor.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Müller, *Nürnberg's Botschaft nach Spanien zu Kaiser Karl V. im Jahre 1519* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 2); L. Willaert, *Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598-1625), 2. Intervention des Archiducs en faveur du Catholicisme en Angleterre*, V. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); de Fréville, *Lally et Bussy aux Indes, Avril, 1758-Mars, 1761* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); G. Servièrès, *Un Épisode de l'Expédition d'Irlande: L'Extradition et la Mise en Liberté de Napper Tandy (1798-1802)* (Revue Historique, January-February); J. E. Driault, *Napoléon et la Paix en 1813, à propos du dernier Volume d'Albert Sorel* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, December).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The second volume of Professor J. Hatschek's important work, *Englisches Staatsrecht* (Tübingen, Mohr, pp. 710), deals with the Constitution.

In *The Origin of the English Nation* (pp. 351), by H. Munro Chadwick, the author "has sought to make use of all branches of ethnological study—history, tradition, language, custom, religion, and antiquities." The book is published by the Cambridge University Press in the Cambridge Archeological and Ethnological Series.

An attempt to examine and arrange scientifically the legends of St. Edmund, king and martyr, is made in the volume entitled *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* (London, Murray), which will include much from hitherto unpublished manuscripts, and a preface by Lord Francis Hervey.

His Grace the Steward and the Trial of Peers, by Mr. L. W. Vernon Harcourt, is a history of the origin and development of the Stewardship of England, announced for publication by Messrs. Longman. The work is based on original documents, many of which are unprinted.

The Domesday Inquest, by Adolphus Ballard, issued in the series of Antiquary's Books (Methuen), contains some new views on the question of the sokemen.

The Rev. S. Baring Gould and the Rev. John Fisher will publish, under the auspices of the Cymmrodorion Society, a work in four volumes on the *Lives of the British Saints*, containing unpublished pedigrees, original texts, and illustrations.

In C. G. Chamberlayne's dissertation on *Die Heirat Richards II. von England mit Anna von Luxemburg* (Halle, Kaemmerer, 1906, pp. 82), the author treats of the marriage and of its results, especially with reference to England's relations with Germany.

The Earl of Crawford intends to issue in the spring of 1908 a bibliographical description, précis, and census of copies of all Tudor and Stuart proclamations, manuscript or printed, that can be found. The material for the work has lately been sent to the printer; it will be published by the Clarendon Press.

Professor C. H. Firth and Mrs. S. C. Lomas have compiled a useful handbook entitled *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603-1688* (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1906, pp. 47), consisting of lists of English ambassadors and diplomatic agents from England to France and from France to England, with references showing where the letters and instructions of each ambassador are to be found, both in manuscript and in print.

We should have noted earlier an interesting book by Lewis H. Berens on *The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth*, as revealed in the writings of Gerrard Winstanley, the Digger, Mystic and Rationalist, Communist and Social Reformer (London, Simpkin, pp. 260).

Miss Eva Scott continues her history of the Continental wanderings of Charles II. down to his return to England in May, 1660, in her volume on *The Travels of the King*, announced for publication by Messrs. Constable.

In his *Essai d'une Psychologie de l'Angleterre Contemporaine, Les Crises Belliqueuses* (Paris, Alcan), M. Jacques Bardoux treats of the development of English political thought during the past century with reference to the national attitude toward the questions of peace and war.

New volumes in the series of *Victoria County Histories* are Lincoln, vol. II.; Norfolk, vol. II.; Northampton, vol. II.; Essex, vol. II., and Hertfordshire Families, a genealogical volume of the *History*.

Elizabethan Ireland, Native and English (Dublin, Sealy, Bryers, and Walker, pp. xvi, 294), by G. B. O'Connor, is a survey of Ireland in Elizabethan times including a copy of the map of Ireland made by John Norden between 1609 and 1611, and preserved in the State Paper Office, London.

British government publications: *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, vol. I.; on the manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury; on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, vol. II.; on manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle, new series, vol. IV.; on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, part XI.; and "manuscripts in various collections", vol. IV.; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1675-1676*; *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1663-1665*.

Other documentary publications: J. K. Floyer, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral*

[edited and revised by S. G. Hamilton] (Worcester Historical Society, pp. 214); W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618-1621*, a Calendar of Documents in the Indian Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. xliii, 379); R. V. Hamilton and J. K. Laughton, *Recollections of James Anthony Gardner*, Commander R.N. (1775-1814) (Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XXXI.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Powicke, *The Angevin Administration of Normandy*, II. (English Historical Review, January); W. M. Bryce, *Mary Stuart's Voyage to France in 1548* (English Historical Review, January); Louise F. Brown, *The Religious Factors in the Convention Parliament* (English Historical Review, January); Hume Brown, *The Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, 1707* (Scottish Historical Review, January); *The English Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh Review, January); *The First Earl of Durham and Colonial Aspiration* (Edinburgh Review, January).

FRANCE

M. E. Rouard de Card has published through the house of Pédone, Paris, a collection of the *Traité de la France avec les Pays de l'Afrique du Nord: Algérie, Tunisie, Tripolitaine, Maroc* (pp. xv, 422). The earliest document included is the treaty between France and Tunis concluded in 1270; the latest, the general act of the conference of Algeciras.

Le Royaume de Bourgogne is the title of a large volume by M. René Poupardin, announced for immediate publication by Champion, Paris.

M. L. Halphen's *Étude sur les Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise* (Paris, Champion, 1906, pp. 64) is a continuation and a criticism of Mabille's study of these chronicles. *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e Siècle* (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. xxiv, 428), by the same author, is an elaborate investigation from the territorial and internal point of view of the development of the county in the eleventh century. The work includes a catalogue of the *Actes* of Fulk Nerra, Geoffrey Martel, Geoffrey the Bearded, and Fulk Rechin.

La Jeunesse de Louis XI., 1423-1445 (Paris, Perrin), by Marcel Thibault, is a well-documented study, not only of the young king, but also of France in the fifteenth century. The book by the same author on the youth of Isabel of Bavaria, queen of France (1370-1405), was crowned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

The third volume of the excellent *Histoire de la Marine Française* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1906, pp. 612), by Charles de la Roncière, bears the subtitle *Les Guerres d'Italie: Liberté des Mers*, and comprises the period within the years 1494 and 1559. The second part of the volume throws light on French enterprise in American waters.

The Société d'Histoire Moderne, whose annual volumes, the *Répertoire Méthodique de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France*,

furnish a complete bibliography of writings on modern French history published since 1898, has undertaken the useful task of producing a bibliography of the writings relating to French history after 1500, published from 1866 to 1897. The portion of the work relating to the history of France since 1789, which has been deemed of most urgent importance and has therefore been first compiled by P. Caron, will shortly be issued under the title *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, Cornély).

A collection of *Mémoires et Souvenirs sur la Révolution et l'Empire*, with many hitherto unpublished documents, edited by M. G. Lenôtre, is announced by Messrs. Perrin. The first volume is on the *Massacres de Septembre* and includes the official *dossier des massacreurs*.

The fifth series of Professor A. Aulard's *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Alcan) contains the following studies: The Thermidorian reaction at Paris; the origins of the separation of the churches and the state; notes on the history of the concordat; the text of the discourse of Danton; Danton and the avocat Lavaux.

In the new volume by A. Mathiez, entitled *Contributions à l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1907, pp. xii, 272), the author regards the Revolution as a religious phenomenon, thus maintaining the position held in his earlier contributions to the same subject.

The house of Manzi, Joyant, and Co. (Paris) announce for publication during the current year *Le Livre du Sacre*, containing reproductions of the designs of Isabey, Percier, and Fontaine, executed for the ceremony of Napoleon's coronation and preserved at the Louvre. The plates will be accompanied by a text by Frédéric Masson. Only 350 copies will be printed, which will be sold at from 300 to 500 francs each.

L'Épiscopat Français depuis le Concordat jusqu'à la Séparation (1802-1905), the work of ninety collaborators, has been published under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society (Paris, Librairie des Saints-Pères, pp. xvi, 720). This useful volume contains brief notices of each bishopric, accounts of all the titularies of every see, and bibliographies. In connection with the Canon Paul Pisani's *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Épiscopat Constitutionnel* noted in the last number of this journal, it is reviewed by M. Lanzac de Laborie in *Le Correspondant* of February 10 (pp. 475-486).

Mr. Oscar Browning is publishing through Mr. John Lane a work entitled *The Fall of Napoleon*, a companion volume to *The First Phase*, later published under the title *The Boyhood and Youth of Napoleon*. The new book begins with Napoleon's return to Paris after the Russian disaster and ends with a history of his surrender at Aix.

Messrs. Chapelot announce M. Ed. Bonnal's work, *Les Royalistes contre l'Armée, 1815-1820*, based on documents found in the archives of

the War Ministry, recording the persecution inflicted by Louis XVIII.'s government on the marshals and generals of Napoleon's army.

The first volume of a historical work on *La France Moderne et le Problème Colonial* (Alcan), by M. Christian Schefer, professor at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, deals with traditions and new ideals, the administrative reorganization, and the revival of expansion from 1815 to 1830.

The ninth volume of the great *Histoire Socialiste* (Paris, Rouff) of M. Jaurès is the history of the *République de 1848* by M. G. Renard, professor of the history of labor at the National Conservatory of Arts and Trades, and founder of the Society for the History of 1848. The part of the book that treats of economic history is almost entirely new. A brochure of *Notes et Références* (pp. 33), with indexes to the volume, has been published separately through Cornély.

The *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission des Travailleurs de l'Assemblée Constituante*, edited by M. Georges Renard, will form the first volume in the *Bibliothèque* of the Society for the History of the Revolution of 1848.

Rome et Napoléon III., 1849-1870 (Paris, Colin, pp. 370), by MM. É. Bourgeois and É. Clermont, is an important study of the origins and downfall of the Second Empire, based upon documents many of which are cited in full.

Documentary publications: E. Deville, *Cartulaire de l'Église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger* (Paris, Champion); Dietrich von Lassberg, *Mein Kriegstagebuch aus dem Deutsch-Französischen Krieg, 1870-1871* (Munich, Oldenbourg, pp. viii, 347).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Espinas, *Une Bibliographie de "L'Histoire Économique de la France au Moyen Age"* [review of P. Boissonnade's *Les Études relatives à l'Histoire Économique de la France au Moyen Age*] (*Le Moyen Age*, November-December); H. Baraude, *Le Siècle d'Orléans et Jeanne d'Arc, 1428-1429*, concl. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); G. Ascoli, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Idées Féministes en France, du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution*, concl. (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, October); V. Pinot, *Les Physiocrates et la Chine au XVIII^e Siècle* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, December); O. Thiele, *François Quesnay und die Agrarkrisis im Ancien Régime* (*Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV. 3); P. Sagnac, *Étude Statistique sur le Clergé Constitutionnel et le Clergé Réfractaire en 1791* [with map] (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, November); A. Mathiez, *L'Exercice du Culte sous la première Séparation, 1795-1802* (*Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, January); P. Muret, *La Question des Alliances en 1869 et 1870, d'après des Publications Récentes* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, November); C. Jullian, *Augustin Thierry et le Mouvement Historique sous la Restauration* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, October).

ITALY, SPAIN

M. Champion of Paris is publishing a revised and enlarged edition of M. Pierre de Nolhac's two-volume work on *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*.

Documenti per la Storia dei Rivolgimenti Politici del Comune di Siena dal 1354 al 1369 (Paris, Picard) contains besides the documents, which occupy more than three-quarters of the volume, an introductory commentary thereon, and an account of the earlier political history of the republic by the editor, M. G. Luchaire.

Signor F. Lemmi's book on *Le Origini del Risorgimento Italiano; 1789-1815* (1906, pp. vii, 458) forms one of the *Collezione Storica Villari*, published by Hoepli, Milan.

A new collection of documents for the history of Castile, *Fuentes para la Historia de Castilla*, has been undertaken by the Benedictines of Silos. The first volume, containing documents prior to the sixteenth century relating to the Benedictine monastery of El Moral, has been edited by Father Serrano under the title *Coleccion Diplomatica de San-Salvador de El Moral* (Valladolid, 1906, pp. lxviii, 280).

The development of the study of the history of Spanish law is the theme of a *discours d'ouverture* delivered at the Central University of Madrid by Rafaël de Ureña y Smenjaud: *Universidad Central: Discours leído en la Solemne Inauguracion del Curso Académico de 1906 et 1907* (Madrid, Imprenta Colonial, 1906, pp. 156).

Documentary publications: G. Bourgin, *Fonti per la Storia dei Dipartimenti Romani negli Archivi Nazionali di Parigi* [inventory of the documents in the Archives Nationales concerning the Roman State during its reunion to the French Empire, 1809-1814] (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX.); C. Cecchini, *Lettere Inedite di Giuseppe Mazzini* (Archivio Storico Italiano, XXXVIII.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Güterbock, *Die Lage der roncalischen Ebene* (Quellen und Forschungen, IX. 2); Andrew D. White, *The Statesmanship of Cavour* (Atlantic Monthly, March); Fidel Fita, *Concilio de Gerona en 1117* (Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, July-September); *El Monasterio de San-Servando en la Mitad del Siglo XI.* (*ibid.*, October); *El Concilio Nacional de Burgos en 1080* (*ibid.*, November).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The first volume of *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Städtewesens*, by Hugo Preuss, deals with the *Entwicklungsgeschichte der deutschen Städteverfassung* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1906, pp. xii, 379), beginning with the Roman *civitas* upon German soil and coming down to the year 1906.

A prize work by Dr. Wilhelm Kisky, *Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert* (Weimar, Boehlaus, 1906, pp. viii, 197), sketches the history

of the formation of cathedral chapters of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, and gives lists (drawn from manuscripts and printed sources and as nearly complete as possible) of the members of these chapters.

The first fascicle of *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Reichsstadt Frankfurt* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1906, pp. ix, 172) includes two studies by Dr. F. Bothe, one entitled *Aus Frankfurt's Alten Rechenbüchern*, in which he explains their importance as sources for the history of civilization; the second treating of the economic condition of the population of Frankfort at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In the *comptes-rendu* of October 10, 1906, of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, Professor J. Loserth published a report on his investigations in the archives of Hungary, Styria, and Croatia, undertaken in connection with the publication of the second part of his *Akten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Inner-Österreich unter Ferdinand II.*

The first part of the new publication of the Commission for the Modern History of Austria, *Archivalien zur neueren Geschichte Österreichs* (Vienna, Holzhausen, pp. vi, 113), contains notices of the private archives of the noble houses of Bohemia.

J. Strieder's *Kritische Forschungen zur Österreichischen Politik* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1907, pp. viii, 101), extending from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the beginning of the Seven Years' War, forms the second volume of Leipzig Historical Essays, edited by E. Brandenburg, G. Seeliger, and U. Wilcken.

Geschichte der Deutschen in Galizien bis 1772 (1907, pp. xxii, 369), part of a general history of the Germans in Carpathian lands, has been contributed by Professor R. F. Kaindl to the division of *Deutsche Landesgeschichten* in Professor Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes).

Documentary publications: A. F. Fuchs, *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Aufgehobenen Kartause Aggsbach V.O. W.W.* [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abtlg. II., *Diplomataria et Acta*, Bd. 59] (Historical Commission of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, Vienna, A. Hölder, 1906, pp. xxix, 442).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Wehrmann, *Vatikanische Quellen zur deutschen Landesgeschichte* (Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, January); F. Keutgen, *Hansische Handelsgesellschaften, vornehmlich des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV. 3); W. Ebstein, *Die letzte Krankheit des Kaisers Sigmund* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 4); J. Müller, *Die Hauptwege des nürnbergischen Handels im Spätmittelalter* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, V. 1); A. H. Loeb, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Zentralverwaltung im ausge-*

henden 16. Jahrhundert (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII. 4).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Netherlands government has authorized Professor G. W. Kernkamp, of Utrecht, to examine the archives of Denmark and the cities of the Baltic for historical material relating to the Netherlands. This is a continuation of Professor Kernkamp's exploration of Scandinavian archives, on which he has already published several reports.

Professor F. J. L. Kraemer is publishing through the house of Nyhoff, at the Hague, a third series of the *Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, which will cover the period from 1688 to 1795. The first volume, which is furnished with an historical introduction and notes (pp. lviii, 642), contains 500 letters, dating from 1689 to 1697, drawn from the correspondence of William III. with Antonius Heinsius.

Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, Secretary of the Dutch Royal Historical Commission, has published the second volume of the *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840* (The Hague, Nyhoff, 1906, pp. cxxx, 1035). The volume contains the text of 842 documents relating to the history of the Batavian revolution, from 1795 to June 12, 1798, and an extended introduction.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Bigwood, *Gand et la Circulation des Grains en Flandre, du XIV^e. au XVIII^e. Siècle* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV. 3).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Romanes lecture for 1906 was on *Sturla the Historian* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 24), by W. M. Ker, Fellow of All Souls College. Sturla was a member of one of the great families of Iceland in the thirteenth century and the author of a large part of the *Sturlunga Saga*.

U. L. Lehtonen's work on the early relations of the Russian government to their Polish subjects has been translated from the Finnish by Gustav Schmidt under the title *Die polnischen Provinzen Russlands unter Katharina II. in den Jahren 1772-1782* (Berlin, Reimer, 1907, pp. 634).

The Russian Academy of Sciences (section of the Russian language and literature) proposes to begin in 1907 the publication of a complete collection of the works of ancient Russian literature from the end of the eleventh century to the time of Peter the Great. Preliminary to this undertaking is the volume by Professor N. Nikolsky, of the ecclesiastical academy of St. Petersburg, on *Materialy dlia sovremennago spiska russkikh pisatelei i ikh sotchinenii* (Materials for the knowledge

of the extant codices containing works of Russian writers) (St. Petersburg, 1906).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The staff of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been strengthened by the accession of Professor Edmund C. Burnett, formerly of Mercer University, who will have special charge of the work on the letters of the delegates to the Old Congress. Miss Davenport has returned from England with the materials necessary for making complete Professor Andrews's *Guide* with respect to the lesser repositories of American material in London—the archives of the House of Lords, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the archbishop of Westminster, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Hudson's Bay Company, Sion College, etc. As soon as these materials can be properly combined with Professor Andrews's text, the book will be ready for the press. Mr. Waldo G. Leland will go to Paris in June, for a year's work in the preparation of a similar guide to the materials for American and, by arrangement with the Canadian archives office, also Canadian history in the Parisian archives. It is expected that Professor H. E. Bolton will be able at the same time to proceed to Mexico. Mr. Pérez's *Guide to the Archives of Cuba* has gone to press. Professor Shepherd's Spanish report is expected to be finished in May. Mr. Leland's revised edition of Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government in Washington* is ready for the press. Dr. H. M. Bowman has labored upon the preliminaries of the proposed edition of the American debates in Parliament.

In an article on "Gaps in the Published Records of United States History", published in this journal last July, in a passage relating to gaps that might be filled from English sources, four chief desiderata of that sort were noted: a series of the colonial items in the Registers of the Privy Council, a series of the royal proclamations relating to America, a series of the colonial acts of Parliament, and a series of the debates in Parliament on American subjects. It is pleasing to know that all four gaps are already in a fair way to be filled. The Lords of the Treasury have provided for the printing of the first, and the editorial expenses seem likely to be met by English, American and Canadian contributions. A committee of the American Antiquarian Society, appointed to consider the second, has strongly recommended its adoption. Professor William MacDonald had already undertaken the third; and the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution is making preparatory investigations toward the fourth.

The Secretaries of War, the Interior and Agriculture have jointly issued, under the act of June 8, 1906, a set of regulations for the supervision of historic and prehistoric ruins, archaeological sites, monuments,

and structures and other landmarks of scientific interest, located within the jurisdiction of the departments indicated. These regulations prescribe the manner in which permits for the work of exploration, examination or excavation shall be given, and the conditions under which objects of interest may be removed from their original locations.

A short comprehensive history of the United States is about to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons: *A Bird's Eye View of American History*, by Leon C. Prince.

Under the direction of the Department of Economics and Sociology in the Carnegie Institution Miss Adelaide R. Hasse has prepared an analytical index to the economic material in the various documents of the American state governments. The analysis for each state will be issued as a separate book. The first of these, Maine, has just been sent to the press. The next to follow will be New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

Messrs. Henkels and Morrison of Philadelphia issue a prospectus of a *Bibliography of the State, Town, County and Territorial History of the United States*, compiled by Thomas L. Bradford, M.D., and edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels. It is expected to embrace about seven thousand titles and to be published in about five octavo volumes. It is proposed to arrange the titles alphabetically by authors, a mode the worst possible for the use of historical scholars, though perhaps convenient for collectors. It is sincerely to be hoped that a geographical order or one alphabetical by place-names, recommended by obvious considerations and usual in such works, will be substituted before publication. In the specimen page (Acrelius) we note fourteen misprints.

The more special fields in political science are coming to be occupied by American reviews of the first grade. In the pages corresponding to these in the last issue we announced the appearance of the *American Political Science Review*. It is an equally pleasant task to announce the first issue (January) of another quarterly of similar grade though in a more special field, the *American Journal of International Law*, published by the American Society of International Law under the supervision of Professor James B. Scott, solicitor of the Department of State, as managing editor, assisted by Messrs. C. N. Gregory, Robert Lansing, J. B. Moore, W. W. Morrow, L. S. Rowe, O. S. Straus, G. G. Wilson, T. S. Woolsey and D. J. Hill, who constitute the board of editors. The first issue aims to cover the year 1906 and is on that account more bulky than the succeeding issues will be. The leading articles are by Hon. Elihu Root, "The Need of Popular Understanding of International Law"; John W. Foster, "International Responsibility to Corporate Bodies for Lives Lost by Outlawry"; J. B. Moore, "International Law: Its Present and Future"; George B. Davis, "Doctor Francis Lieber's Instructions for the Government of Armies in the

Field"; A. S. Hershey, "The Calvo and Drago Doctrines"; G. G. Wilson, "Insurgency and International Maritime Law"; C. B. Elliot, "The Doctrine of Continuous Voyages"; and Robert Lansing, "Notes on Sovereignty". The regular departments of the journal are devoted to a chronicle of international events, to a survey of public documents relating to international law, to a summary of judicial decisions involving questions of international law, to book-reviews and notes, and to the periodical literature of the subject. As a supplement, separately bound, is published a body of official documents recently issued or bearing on recent international events.

The collection of *State Documents on Federal Relations*, edited by Herman V. Ames, the final installment of which was noted in these pages in January, has been issued in book form by the department of history of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 320). It includes 155 documents bearing on the relations of the states to the federal government, 1789-1861, and "comprises typical papers covering the official action of various states in different sections of the country, relative to the chief political and constitutional issues in our history."

The Government Printing Office has recently put forth as House Document No. 326, 59th Congress, second session, on *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation and Protection Abroad*, the report of the commission consisting of Messrs. James B. Scott, David J. Hill, and Gaillard Hunt, appointed in accordance with the report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs of June 9, 1906. The report takes up in detail the protection of the American citizen abroad, the protection abroad of those who have made the declaration of intention to become citizens, expatriation, and citizenship of married women and of alien-born minor children. Three appendixes contain much documentary material.

In *The Stars and Stripes and Other American Flags* (Little, Brown) the author, Peleg D. Harrison, deals with the origin and history of the various American flags, the regulations of the War and Navy Departments respecting them, legislation relating to the national standard, and the flags of the Confederacy.

The issues of the *Magazine of History* for October, November and December devote a generous amount of space to reprinting material from other publications: H. Addington Bruce's "New Light on the Mecklenburg Declaration", from the *North American Review*; Thomas Featherstonhaugh's "A Private Mint in North Carolina", from the *Publications of the Southern History Association*; as well as several other contributions of this class. Of the new material we note Warren Upham's article in the October number, on the "Founders of the Fur Trade in Northern Minnesota".

American Public Men, by John A. Larkin (Dodd, Mead, and Company), is intended as a manual for autograph collectors. It contains, for example, lists of the members of the Stamp Act Congress, of the generals of the Revolutionary War, of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, and Constitution, of the members of the Continental Congress, of the governors or presidents of the thirteen independent colonies, of the parents and ancestors of the Presidents of the United States, of the justices of the Supreme Court, and of many other groups of public men, including a somewhat apocryphal list of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The volume should prove of use for the purpose intended.

Four American Leaders, by Charles W. Eliot (Boston, American Unitarian Association), is a group of addresses dealing with the influence upon American life and progress exerted by Franklin, Washington, Channing, and Emerson.

The *Pennsylvania German* for March continues its symposium on "German Migrations in the United States and Canada".

The November and December issues of the *German American Annals* continue the diary of Rev. Andreas Rudman from July 25, 1696, to June 14, 1697, and contain (December) the address on Carl Schurz delivered by Professor Eugene Kühnemann in Carnegie Hall, New York, on November 21, 1906.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

Sophus Ruge et ses Vues sur Colomb, by Mr. Henry Vignaud, has been reprinted from the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, tome III., numéro 1.

The Sociedad Astronómica de México has printed a little volume of the proceedings in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Columbus (Mexico, J. I. Durán y cia.). It contains among other matters a paper by Jesus Galindo y Villa: "Algunas Reminiscencias sobre la Navegacion Maritima después del Descubrimiento de América".

In a communication to the *Nation* for January 10, 1907, Mr. G. R. F. Prowse, of Manitoba, states that he has recently discovered evidence by which he is convinced that the island designated as "Litus incognitum" in Waldseemueller's World Map of 1507 was copied at first hand from the lost chart made by Cabot in 1497. He claims thus to place beyond dispute the fact of Cabot's landfall on June 24, 1497, at Cape Bonavista, and to determine approximately the extent of his exploration from Cape Freels around Bonavista Bay to Catalina Harbor, in Trinity Bay.

In the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History" the second volume (third to be issued), *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543*, has now appeared. The fourth

volume, *The Voyages of Champlain*, edited by Mr. W. L. Grant, is in the press. The fifth, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, edited by President Lyon G. Tyler, is almost ready. Bradford and Winthrop, edited respectively by Hon. William T. Davis and Dr. James K. Hosmer, are in active preparation.

Miss Adelaide R. Hasse of the New York Public Library is making preparations for the publication at some future time of a complete series of the commissions and instructions issued to governors of the American colonies.

Mr. W. K. Bixby has in the press, for private printing, a journal kept by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a physician of Baltimore, who took a trip through New England and the Middle States in 1754. The volume will have an introduction by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart.

The first volume of *The Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Benjamin Franklin, under the Auspices of the American Philosophical Society* has appeared. It contains the speeches and letters brought out by the Franklin bi-centennial observed in Philadelphia last April.

A new volume in the series of "True Biographies" (J. B. Lippincott) is in preparation: *Patrick Henry*, by George Morgan.

The De Burians of Bangor have put forth as volume III. of their publications *The Revolutionary Journal of Colonel Jeduthun Baldwin, 1775-1778*, edited with a memoir and notes by Thomas Williams Baldwin.

We have received three reprints from volume XXXII. of the *Proceedings* of the United States Naval Institute, of Mr. C. O. Paullin's recent contributions to that journal: "The Conditions of Continental Naval Service", "Early Naval Administration under the Constitution", and "Naval Administration under Secretaries of the Navy Smith, Hamilton, and Jones, 1801-1814."

Jefferson's Germantown Letters, compiled by Mr. Charles F. Jenkins, and issued by W. J. Campbell of Philadelphia in an edition of 500 copies, contains sixty-eight letters to and from Jefferson during November of 1793, when he, together with the other members of Washington's cabinet, was in Germantown. The volume is the third in a series of books dealing with Germantown.

Pilots of the Republic, from the industrious pen of Archer B. Hulbert (Chicago, A. C. McClurg), deals with the early westward movement with the purpose of showing the part played therein by the "pioneer promoters", among whom are classed Washington, Richard Henderson, Rufus Putnam, David Zeisberger, George Rogers Clark, Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, Marcus Whitman, and others.

We have received volume VII. of the *Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier*, collected and edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, by Lieutenant-colonel E. Cruikshank (Wel-

land, 1905, pp. 280). The present volume covers the period August-October, 1813.

Mr. W. K. Bixby is privately printing the letters of General Zachary Taylor from Matamoras and Brownsville regarding the Mexican War.

Volume XV. of *The History of North America* is by the general editor, Francis N. Thorpe: *The Civil War: the National View* (Philadelphia, G. Barrie and Sons, pp. 535).

A recent regimental history, *History of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1862-1863*, has been prepared by the regimental committee (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott).

Messrs. Baker and Taylor announce that they will publish this fall the autobiography of General O. O. Howard.

The recent centennial of Robert E. Lee has called forth not a little literature respecting that general. Aside from works mentioned in previous issues we note *General Lee, his Campaigns in Virginia, 1861-1865, with Personal Reminiscences* by Walter H. Taylor (Norfolk, Virginia) and *Life of Robert Edward Lee*, by Henry E. Shepherd (Neale Publishing Company). The address delivered by Charles Francis Adams at Lexington, Virginia, on January 19, 1907, has been printed in pamphlet form: *Lee's Centennial*.

A volume that should prove to be of unusual interest among the many similar volumes now being published is announced by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons: *Military Memoirs: a Critical Narrative*, by General E. P. Alexander, who was chief of ordnance in the Army of Northern Virginia and later was general and chief of artillery in Longstreet's corps.

Two volumes of reminiscences of services in Mosby's band of partizan rangers have recently appeared: *Reminiscences of a Mosby Guerilla*, by John W. Munson (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company), and *Mosby's Men*, by John H. Alexander (Neale Publishing Company). It is worth noting that in the former the charge that Mosby's followers sometimes disguised themselves in blue uniforms is denied.

The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt, by Emma M. Maffitt (Neale Publishing Company), is a biographical account of Captain Maffitt of the Confederate navy. Maffitt was attached to the frigate *Constitution* in 1835, and the volume contains considerable material relating to the service of that vessel. At the opening of the war he became a privateer in the Confederate service, in which capacity he was conspicuously successful, and was rewarded with a regular appointment. Much of the material in the present volume is taken from an autobiographical document bearing the title of "Nautilus".

The Neale Publishing Company have put forth a *Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd*, edited by his daughter, Nettie Mudd, with a preface by D. E. Monroe. The volume contains Dr. Mudd's letters written from Fort Jefferson on Dry Tortugas Island, where he was imprisoned for four

years for alleged complicity in the assassination of Lincoln, together with statements made by him and by Mrs. Mudd and Edward Spangler regarding the assassination, and the so-called "diary" of John Wilkes Booth.

Under the title *Speeches Incident to the Visit of Secretary Root to South America* the Government Printing Office has issued a volume of 300 pages, composed of the speeches made by Secretary Root and by the officials of the South American republics during the former's recent tour. Over fifty addresses are recorded.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

New England Town Law, by James S. Garland (Boston Book Company), is a digest of statutes and decisions, and is intended mainly to serve a practical purpose. In the long introduction, however, is an account of the history and functions of the New England town, which is of considerable historical interest.

On February 27 the Maine Historical Society dedicated its new library building on Congress Street, Portland. Addresses were delivered by Hon. James P. Baxter, Rev. J. C. Perkins, Hon. A. F. Moulton and Professor Allen Johnson. An elaborate account of the exercises is printed in the *Portland Daily Press* of February 28.

An enormous amount of material of local importance has been gathered and put into a book of 700 pages by Francis B. Greene, *A History of Boothbay, Southport and Boothbay Harbor, Maine* (Portland, Loring, Greene, and Harman). The volume is illustrated with maps, cuts, and portraits, and contains the genealogies of many of the families of the region.

The *New Hampshire Genealogical Record* for January prints another group of documents bearing on Revolutionary naval service. They are an account of the launching of the Continental frigate *Raleigh*, taken from the *New Hampshire Gazette* of May 25, 1776; the report of Captain Hector McNeil to the Marine Committee of Congress, relating to the first cruise of the *Boston*, a list of the officers and men attached to the *Boston*, and extracts from the journal of one of that vessel's crew, Benjamin Crowningshield.

In the *Granite State Magazine* for January we note the "Life and Character of Ruel Durkee"; "Rogers's Scout at Lake George, September 14-24, 1755" (document), edited by G. Waldo Browne; and "First Glass Making in America, An Industry of a New Hampshire Town", by Charles B. Heald.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has received from the estate of the late Charles E. French his large collection of manuscripts, books, pamphlets, broadsides, newspapers, etc. The collection is very miscellaneous, but appears to include much of value, especially several

thousand manuscripts, among which are many letters of Revolutionary personages, civil and military, statesmen, literary men, and others.

The Massachusetts State Library has recently come into possession of the log-book of the *Constitution* for the period from June 26, 1825, to November 7, 1826.

The third volume of the Bostonian Society's publications contains an account of the preparation for the expedition to Nova Scotia in 1710, together with papers relating to Faneuil Hall, reminiscences of Boston in 1813, and a map of the harbor in 1711.

The Boston Athenaeum has produced a beautifully made book in *Topliff's Travels*. This contains letters from Europe in the years 1828 and 1829, by Samuel Topliff, proprietor of the old Merchants' News Room in Boston, printed from the original manuscript owned by the Athenaeum, and edited with a memoir and notes by Ethel S. Bolton. Of most interest perhaps in the volume is Topliff's account of his visit to Lafayette.

There has recently been printed at the Riverside Press, for private distribution, a biographical sketch of *Nathaniel Goddard, a Boston Merchant, 1767-1853*.

Of note in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for January are "An Etched Profile Portrait of Washington, by Joseph Hiller, Jr., 1794", by Charles Henry Hart, and further Revolutionary letters to Timothy Pickering from George Williams of Salem.

The first volume of the *Proceedings* of the newly organized Cambridge Historical Society is at hand. The volume, like the corresponding publication of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which it somewhat resembles in general form, consists of the reports of the meetings of the society and of the communications made at the meetings. Of most historical moment among these are: "Reminiscences of Old Cambridge", by Charles Eliot Norton; the address by Reverend Alexander McKenzie, bearing on the Customs of the First Church in Cambridge; the report of the Committee on the Identification and Marking of Historic Sites in Cambridge; and addresses by Messrs. Joseph Willard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Woodward Emery, dealing with their reminiscences of the late John Bartlett.

A History of the Town of Middleboro, by Thomas Weston (Houghton, Mifflin), should prove of interest and service to those interested in the local history of Massachusetts. Another contribution to the same field is *Plymouth Memories of an Octogenarian*, by William T. Davis (Plymouth, Mass., Bettinger Brothers). The volume is of especial interest for its bearing on the history of shipping in Plymouth.

"The Physical Evolution of New York City in a Hundred Years, 1807-1907", by John Austin Stevens, is one of the more important contributions to the January number of the *American Historical Magazine*.

Volume IX. of the *Publications* of the Buffalo Historical Society, edited by Frank H. Severance, contains, as usual, several contributions of more than ordinary historical value. "The Johnson's Island Plot", by F. J. Shepard, is an interesting monograph on one phase of the operations of the Confederate government in Canada and New York. "Millard Fillmore and His Part in the Opening of Japan", by Dr. William E. Griffis, is said to mark the beginning by Dr. Griffis of an elaborate biographical study of President Fillmore; of particular interest perhaps is the information given by the writer respecting the destruction of Fillmore's papers. The two contributions just noted are followed by a long paper by Frank H. Severance relating to Joncaire, and by a number of shorter papers relating to the burning of Buffalo and to events of the Niagara frontier before and during the War of 1812. There should also be mentioned some documentary material relating to Louis Le Couteulx.

In *Cape Vincent and Its History* (Watertown, N. Y., Hungerford-Holbrook Company) the compiler, Mrs. Nellie H. Casler, has included a large amount of documentary material taken from the transcripts of documents in the British archives, on file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, relating to the Revolution and to the part played by Cape Vincent as a base of supplies and as a fortification.

An Oneida County Printer, by John C. Williams (Scribner's Sons), is a bibliography of Utica imprints from 1803 to 1838, and an account of the life and work of William Williams.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, 1906, is by Lina Sinnickson, on Frederika, Baroness Riedesel, the wife of the general commanding the Brunswick troops in the Revolution. The Baroness accompanied her husband to America, and the article, illustrated with several old prints, deals largely with her experiences in this country. Other articles and contributions are: "The Wilson Portrait of Franklin", by Charles H. Hart, "Journey of Isaac Zane to Wyoming, 1758", communicated by Joseph H. Coates, and continuations of documents already noted.

The Maryland Historical Society prints in the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* a paper read before the society by B. U. Campbell in 1846, on "Early Missions among the Indians in Maryland". Another paper, read in 1878, by Reverend George A. Leakin, on "The Labadists of Bohemia Manor", is also printed. Several interesting documents find place in the present issue, especially a letter from a Jacobite exile, of June 2, 1717, and a letter from John R. Caldwell of August 31, 1807, relating to the capture of a French pirate.

Part I. of Bernard C. Steiner's *Maryland during the English Civil Wars* has been published as Nos. 11-12, series XXIV., of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. It is

a continuation of the *Beginnings of Maryland* (1903), by the same author.

The Columbian Historical Society has in preparation a volume containing all the letters written by Washington with respect to the planning and establishment of the District of Columbia and the capital city.

Among the articles in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January are three of historical interest. "Lee in Defeat", by Thomas Nelson Page, is perhaps more marked by the writer's appreciation of Lee's greatness of character than by sound historical judgment. A contribution by J. C. Hildt of "Letters relating to the Capture of Washington", is composed mainly of extracts from the papers of Brigadier-general William H. Winder, now at the Johns Hopkins University; while J. G. de R. Hamilton's article, "A Notable Achievement in Historical Writing", is a review of the concluding volumes of James Ford Rhodes's work.

The November issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* opens with a document from the Cuban archives, edited by L. M. Pérez, relating to the expedition of Lopez of 1850-1851: "Narrative of Events Connected with the Late Intended Invasion of Cuba. By Duncan Smith, i. e., Dr. Henry Burtneft (July, 1851)". Following is an article by General Marcus J. Wright on "Benedict Arnold: The Good in Him".

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for January contains the proceedings of the annual meeting held in December, 1906, including the President's report by Mr. Joseph Bryan. Among the accessions therein noted should be mentioned an index to names in the Minute Books of the General Court of Virginia from 1670 to 1676, and a collection in two volumes of all the references to Revolutionary officers and soldiers appearing in the journals of the Conventions and of the House of Delegates during its first fifteen years. Among the documents presented in this number are the "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions" from November 9, 1738, to May 1, 1739; a deposition by William Crew of November 11, 1775, relating to the boundary dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania; various intercepted letters of Norfolk and Portsmouth Tories of 1775; letters from county committees of November, 1775; and some papers bearing on Bacon's rebellion from the Library of Congress, together with a list of sources for the history of that uprising.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for February contains the beginning of a list of works relating to Virginia possessed by that library.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* for January reprints a contribution to the *London Magazine* of July, 1746, "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America"; continues the "Journal of the President and Masters or Professors of William

and Mary College"; and prints the oath of allegiance imposed by the legislature of Virginia in 1780, together with other documentary material.

A timely publication in view of the Jamestown Exposition is Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard's *The Story of Bacon's Rebellion* (Neale Publishing Company).

We are glad to note the *First Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia*, by Virgil A. Lewis, state historian and archivist (Charleston, W. Va., 1906, pp. 271). The report contains an account of the various efforts that have been made to promote the historical interests of the state of West Virginia, the act of February, 1905, establishing the Bureau of Archives and History, and a description of the material now in the custody of the bureau. There are printed a list of the regular sessions of the legislature of West Virginia, an account of the legislative archives, bibliographical accounts of the public documents and state papers relating to the period of the reorganized government, and of the same class of material emanating from the government of Virginia and relating to West Virginia, together with much information respecting the seals and flags of the state, members of Congress from that part of Virginia now included in the state of West Virginia, newspapers printed within the state, pioneer forts, stockades and block-houses, Indian names of rivers in West Virginia, etc.

It is encouraging to note that an effort is being made in North Carolina to secure proper treatment for the state archives, which have long been neglected. We have received recently a pamphlet reprinted by the North Carolina Historical Commission from the *North Carolina Booklet*, which contains an address delivered by Mr. R. D. W. Connor before the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association on *A State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records*. Mr. Connor describes graphically the disordered state of the archives and points out clearly the urgent need of making immediate and adequate provision for their security and arrangement. The legislature has just made an appropriation of \$5,000 for the maintenance of the Historical Commission, which will probably enable active measures to be taken at once.

The critical examination by Miss Adelaide L. Fries of the Moravian evidence to the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence", mentioned in this section of the last issue, has been reprinted from the *Wachovia Moravian* in pamphlet form, *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence as Mentioned in Records of Wachovia* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton), illustrated with several photographic facsimiles.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for October and January continues the series of letters from Lafayette to

Henry Laurens, January-February, 1778, and the order-book of the First Regiment of the South Carolina line. The editor furnishes among the "Historical Notes" in the October issue an index to the fourth volume of Bounty Grants (Revolutionary) in the office of the secretary of state, and an illustrated account of the seals of South Carolina.

Volumes three and four of the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* have appeared. They contain "The general account of all monies and effects received and expended by the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America for the carrying on the good purposes of their trust . . . (1732-1752)" and "A journal of the proceedings in Georgia, beginning October 20, 1737. By William Stephens, esq., to which is added, a state of that province, as attested upon oath in the court of Savannah, November 10, 1740", reprinted from the original edition, London, 1742.

Among the contributions in the January *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society, we note accounts of governors James F. Robinson and Thomas E. Bramlette. We may perhaps call attention to the opportunity the *Register* has of printing valuable original material from the state archives, and question if the proper function of the magazine would not be better performed in that way than by devoting as many pages as the present issue does to anecdotes and relatively unimportant material.

At the December meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society Mr. Charles T. Soniat presented a detailed list of 121 original documents in the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid, relating to Louisiana. This list was published in full in the *New Orleans Picayune*.

The annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association was held at the University of Texas on March 2. The addresses were by Herbert E. Bolton on "The Hasinai Indians of East Texas at the Coming of the Spaniards", and by Charles W. Ramsdell on "The Break-up of the Confederacy in Texas."

Part II. of the thirty-first annual report of the (Texas) Commissioner of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics and History, contains the report of the state librarian for the year ending August 31, 1906, and the second and third annual reports of the classifier and translator of manuscripts. Much information is given respecting the archives of the state and the special collections of manuscripts in the State Library, together with a sketch of the growth of the manuscript collections, and calendars of the Manuel de Salcedo correspondence, 1810-1812, in the Archivo General y Publico of Mexico, and of the Henderson-Yoakum papers, 1845-1857. From the point of view of Texan historical interests, the document is a most encouraging one.

"The Founding of Mission Rosario", by Herbert E. Bolton, is the leading contribution in the October issue of the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association. The article deals especially with

the relations of the Spanish and the coast tribes, and with the inner history of the mission. "The Seat of Government of Texas", by Ernest W. Winkler, in the same issue, deals with the temporary locations of the Texan capitals, from 1824 to 1837.

The "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* for January continues the autobiography of Governor Allen Trimble, and prints a number of selections from his papers.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for January is devoted to an account by Lucy E. Keeler of "The Croghan Celebration". The occasion was the celebration by the town of Fremont of the anniversary of the victory on August 2, 1813, of Major William Croghan over General Proctor and Tecumseh.

The issue of the *University Studies* for November-December, published by the University of Cincinnati, is devoted to "The Growth of Ohio", by Frank P. Goodwin. This is intended to serve as a manual of state and local history for the schools of southwestern Ohio, and consists for the most part of excerpts from sources, so arranged as to illustrate the topics included in a well-planned syllabus. Especial emphasis has been placed on the history of Cincinnati and the Miami country.

In the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for December is much material relating to the battle of Tippecanoe. An account by Judge Isaac Naylor, recently discovered among his papers, describes the writer's experiences in the battle, and is said to contain some new material respecting the conflict. John Tipton's journal of the Tippecanoe campaign, reprinted from the *Indianapolis News* of May 5, 1879, contains a circumstantial account of much interest; the entries extend from September 12 to November 24, 1811. There is also printed the campaign song of 1840, "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too", together with the music as remembered by a contemporary.

Under the title of *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, the "commission for the purpose of devising a plan to provide for the preparation of the history of the Wisconsin soldiers in the Civil War" presents its report (Madison, 1907, pp. 9). The commission indicates four lines of work which should promote the attainment of the object in view: the reprinting of rare published materials and the publication of contemporary manuscripts; the stimulation of research among younger students; the "calling out of meritorious personal recollections, or company and regimental histories, by survivors of the war"; and provision for scholarly monographs and papers based on the material secured in the ways indicated above. In connection with the first suggestion the commission prints a list of Wisconsin regimental histories, indicating those that are most rare.

Of chief moment in the January *Annals of Iowa* is Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh's "Report on the Public Archives", also issued

as a separate pamphlet. The report was prepared in compliance with the request of the trustees of the State Library and Historical Department, for recommendations relative to the installation of a Hall of Public Archives in Iowa under the provisions of the act of the general assembly of April 10, 1906, "providing for the care and permanent preservation of the public archives". The document consists of general information respecting archive matters, especially in the various states of the United States; of an account of the situation in Iowa, and a statement of the problems relative to the public archives in that state; concluding with a specific recommendation as to the method of caring for them. Of especial interest is the scheme of classification of the administrative archives as presented in the report. It may not be out of place in this connection to call attention to the desirability at least in those states where archives are now being rearranged, that uniform plans of arrangement should if practicable be followed. In the same number of the *Annals* is printed an interesting document by William Salter, "Journal of a Missionary in Jackson County, Iowa Territory, 1843-1846."

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January continues Mr. Buffum's article on "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa" and prints "The History and Principles of the Whigs of the Territory of Iowa", by Louis Pelzer, and a long communication from Edgar Hull, defending General William Hull against the condemnations in the diary of Robert Lucas, published in the July number of the *Journal*.

Volume II. of the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Science and Letters of Sioux City, Iowa, for 1905-1906, is at hand. Among the contributions of historical interest may be noted "Reminiscences of John H. Charles", by F. H. Garver, "Result of the Investigation of the Indian Mounds at Broken Kettle Creek", by W. T. Stafford, and "Bibliography of Sioux City Authors", part II., by F. H. Garver.

The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado has brought out as No. 1 of its "Historical Series" of *Publications* (Denver, 1906, pp. 159) an illustrated volume by the late William C. Whitford, on *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War: The New Mexico Campaign in 1862*. The preface is written by Jerome C. Smiley.

A large amount of material relating to the Pacific northwest has been collected by Professor E. S. Meany and will be published by Macmillan in a book on *Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for March commences the reprint of a book of which only two copies are known to exist: "Route across the Rocky Mountains with a Description of Oregon and California . . . by Overton Johnson and Wm. H. Winter of the Emigration of 1843: Lafayette, Ind., John B. Seamans, Printer, 1846". Among other material in this number may be noted "Recollections of an Oregon Pioneer of 1843", by Samuel Penter, and "The First Fruits of the Land", a brief history of early horticulture in Oregon, by Dr. J. R. Cardwell.

The Diary of a Forty-Niner, edited by Chauncey L. Canfield (New York and San Francisco, Morgan Shepard Company), is a record of life in a mining-camp on one of the forks of the Yuba River from May 18, 1850, to June 17, 1852. Some question has been raised as to the authenticity of the volume, and internal evidence has been cited to arouse doubts as to its authorship.

The Discovery, Conquest, and Early History of the Philippine Islands, by E. G. Bourne, is published by A. H. Clark Company (pp. 87).

The recently formed Champlain Society, with headquarters at Toronto, intends publishing two volumes annually. It has in the press an English translation, accompanied by the French text, of Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. The translation is the work of Mr. W. L. Grant, Beit Lecturer in Colonial History at Oxford, and the introduction will be contributed by Mr. H. P. Biggar, author of "The Early Trading Companies of New France." To be published also during 1907 is a new edition with translation of Denys's *Description Géographique*, a very rare work, published in 1672, describing the North American coast. This work is in the competent hands of Professor W. F. Ganong, of Smith College. Professor W. Bennett Munro, of Harvard University, whose *Seigniorial System in Canada* (Harvard Historical Studies, XIII.) is just out, is also editing for publication this year a volume of hitherto unpublished *Documents relating to the Seigniorial Régime in Canada*. Professor Adam Shortt, of Queen's University, Canada, is also editing for appearance this year a volume of *Cartwright Papers*, dealing with the Loyalist movement from the United States to Canada, and with the early history of the present province of Ontario. The Society has many other volumes in preparation, *e. g.*, one of naval records of the conquest of Canada, and one on Louisbourg, and promises to be very active. The membership is limited to 250, a number already reached, and libraries are accepted as subscribers to the additional number of 250.

Lord Dorchester, by A. G. Bradley, is the latest addition to the "Makers of Canada" series (Toronto, Morang).

In the January *Acadiensis* we note "The History of Pokemouch", by W. F. Ganong, continuing the series of sketches of the north-shore settlements.

Mr. W. W. Blake of the City of Mexico is about to publish, in two volumes, *Memorias de mis Tiempos*, by Guillermo Prieto, a conspicuous, upright and interesting figure in the politics of the last generation. The volumes, which cover the years 1828 to 1853, are edited by Dr. Nicolas Leon.

A pamphlet of 59 pages, issued by the Museo Nacional of Mexico, is devoted to *Porfirio Diaz, sus Padres, Niñez y Juventud* by Sr. Génaro García. The text is in three chapters covering the career of Diaz to 1854, and documents and a bibliography are appended.

We have received a volume of nearly 600 pages devoted to Cuban local history: *Historia de la Villa de Sagua la Grande y su Jurisdiccion*, by Sr. Antonio M. Alcover y Beltrán, author of *El Periodismo en Sagua*. The volume is made up of "documentos, apuntes, reseñas, monografías, y consideraciones" (Mexico City, Tip. Alcover y Hermano), and treats in detail a wide variety of local topics.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: James A. Burns, *Early Mission Schools of the Franciscans* (Catholic University Bulletin, January); P. A. Bruce, *The Social Life of England's First Colony* (Gentleman's Magazine, January); George S. Hellman, *Some Unpublished Letters of George Washington* (Harper's Magazine, January); C. W. Bowen, *A French Officer with Washington and Rochambeau* (Century Magazine, February); W. M. Sloane, *Von Moltke's View of Washington's Strategy* (Century Magazine, February); C. O. Paullin, *The Massachusetts Navy in the American Revolution* (New England Magazine, January); William S. Rossiter, *The First Census of the United States* (Outlook, December 29, 1906); Burt E. Powell, *Jefferson and the Consular Service* (Political Science Quarterly, January); John F. Simmons, *The Monroe Doctrine: Its Status* (Michigan Law Review, February); A. T. Mahan, *Our Navy Fifty Years Ago* (Harper's Magazine, February); Morris Schaff, *The Spirit of Old West Point* (Atlantic Monthly, February, March); E. P. Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke and the Financing of the Civil War* (running in the Century Magazine); E. P. Alexander, *The Battle of Bull-Run* (Scribner's Magazine, January); E. P. Alexander, *Grant's Movement against Petersburg* (Scribner's Magazine, February); F. T. Hill, *The Alabama Arbitration Case* (Harper's Magazine, January); Id., *The Hayes-Tilden Contest* (ibid., March); Ida M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times* (running in the American Magazine).

The
American Historical Review

MORTMAIN 'IN MEDIEVAL BOROUGHES

THE Middle Ages were replete with conflicts between church and state. Besides those of national importance, like the great struggles of the Emperor Henry IV. with Gregory VII. and Henry II. with Becket, which have evoked many learned disquisitions, there were frequent dissensions in the boroughs or cities of England and the Continent between clergy and laymen, to which historians have devoted little attention. These local conflicts are worthy of careful study, not only because they are concerned with questions of vital interest to the municipalities, but also because they exerted some influence upon national legislation and helped to prepare the way for the reformation of the church in the sixteenth century; for the fiscal and jurisdictional barriers of the church were assailed and broken down by the burgesses long before Luther assailed its doctrines.

Such conflicts were inevitable because the estate of a bishop or abbot within the town formed what was called in England a "soke", a privileged district with its own independent jurisdiction and its own laws or customs, a sort of state within the municipal state, a sanctuary from which the town bailiffs and tax-collectors were excluded; and within the walls of a town there might be several sokes of this sort.¹ Most frequently the dissensions between the rival authorities were caused by the sokemen's claim of exemption from the payment of burghal taxes and by their refusal to recognize the competence of the municipal courts over offences or cases in which they were concerned. The town authorities wished to assert

¹ Within the limits of the corporate authority of Canterbury there were still in 1835 about fifteen precincts exempted from its jurisdiction. *Municipal Corp. Com. Report*, 1835, p. 31.

their control or supremacy over all the inhabitants within the walls, sokemen as well as burghers, to make all submit to the municipal courts and bear their share of taxes and other burdensome obligations.

Sometimes the struggle between the contending parties was so fierce that the king interfered. For example, in 1272 in a brawl with the servants of the prior of Norwich some of the citizens were killed, and the city coroner caused a warrant to be issued for the arrest of some of the prior's men. Thereupon the prior excommunicated the citizens, and, not content with the use of spiritual arms, his followers assailed the citizens and killed several of them. The men of Norwich retaliated by despoiling and burning the principal priory buildings, and by slaying many of the monks. Soon afterwards the prior gathered a body of armed men, who slew many of the citizens; the bishop of Norwich placed the city under the interdict; and Henry III. came to Norwich with his judges, who sentenced thirty-four of the chief offenders to be put to death, and he seized the liberties of the city.¹ Philip Augustus intervened in like manner at Noyon in 1223. The civic magistrates had arrested a servant of the chapter of Notre-Dame, and the city was placed under the interdict. Thereupon a mob of citizens, with shouts of "Commune! Commune!", demolished the gates of the cathedral and wounded some of the church officers.²

Many other examples of such jurisdictional contests might be enumerated,³ but we are mainly concerned in this paper with an aspect of the subject regarding which information in the published sources is less abundant, namely, the attitude of the burgesses towards gifts or bequests of burgage lands to the clergy. Alienation of such lands in mortmain was regarded with disfavor by the burgesses mainly because the sokemen, the tenants of church estates in the towns, were usually exempt from taxes, and therefore grants of land to the church diminished the total amount of taxable property and tended to increase the tax-rate or to curtail the total municipal revenue. The question of the exemption of sokemen from the payment of tallages or direct taxes gave rise, however, to many bitter contests in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In 1402 the Commons complain that when tenths and fifteenths are levied the people of the church in cities and boroughs

¹ Blomefield, *Norfolk*, III. 53-58.

² Lefranc, *Histoire de Noyon*, 37-40.

³ Green, *Town Life*, I. 190-192, 317-383; Pauffin, *Essai sur l'Organisation et la Juridiction Municipales*, 204-282; Lavissee et Rambaud, *Hist. Générale*, II. 460-461, 464-466.

are unwilling to contribute their share;¹ and such opposition of the clergy to the demands of lay tax-collectors was supported by the canon law.² Sometimes the clergy were obliged to pay the taxes,³ but they often succeeded either in maintaining their right of exemption⁴ or in effecting a compromise by which only men or tenants of the church engaged in trade as merchants were tallaged.

Similar disputes arose regarding the payment of tolls or indirect taxes. The men of many boroughs and religious houses were exempted from tolls throughout the realm, and burgesses in their own town were either exempt or paid lower rates than others.⁶ Therefore we should not expect that conflicts regarding the clergy's claim of this immunity would arouse such bitter opposition as did their claim of freedom from tallage, which placed the clergy in a more privileged position than the burgesses. But dissensions regarding tolls were frequent, and in some cities, especially on the Continent, they evoked much bitter feeling, because the clergy competed with the citizens in the sale of wine and other wares.⁷ In the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. the clergy of England claimed to be free from murage and other tolls.⁸ This claim was

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 503.

² Löning, *Das Testament im Gebiet des Magdeburger Stadtrechtes* (1906), 128. The bull *Clericis Laicos*, 1296, applied to *rectores civitatum* as well as to princes. Wilkins, *Concilia*, II. 221.

³ *Historic Documents*, ed. Gilbert, 78-81, 360-361; Gilbert, *Cal. of Dublin Records*, I. 91, 133; *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, 212 (Grimsby); Hedges, *Wallingford*, II. 349; Morris, *Chester*, 134; *Cartul. S. Johannis de Colecestria*, ed. Moore, 506-508 (cf. *ibid.*, 28, 108); Blomefield, *Norfolk*, III. 47; Ryley, *Placita*, 259; Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 270-271; Zeumer, *Städteuern*, 81-82; Des Marez, *Étude sur la Propriété*, 175-178; von Maurer, *Städteverfassung*, II. 782-789, 863-868; Flammermont, *Hist. de Senlis*, 18, 142.

⁴ *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 203; *Historic Documents* ed. Gilbert, 247; *Rot. Hundred.*, I. 203 (Canterbury); Duncumb, *Hereford*, I. 304; Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 270. For the Continent, see von Maurer, *Städteverfassung*, II. 789-790, 864-868; Lau, *Verf. der Stadt Köln*, 239; Reinicke, *Gesch. der Stadt Cambrai*, 214; Labande, *Hist. de Beauvais*, 104.

⁵ *Stanley v. Mayor of Norwich*, 6-10; Blomefield, *Norfolk*, III. 71; *Red Paper Book of Colchester*, ed. Benham, 42; Izacke, *Exeter* (1731), 12-13; *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1334-1338, pp. 15-19; Drake, *Eboracum*, 555; Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 271, 273; Gross, *Gild Merchant*, II. 140-141; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I. 345-346 (Bristol). For the Continent, see Keutgen, *Aemter und Zünfte*, 61-73; Espinas, *Les Finances de Douai*, 347-355; Lefranc, *Hist. de Noyon*, 137-140; Flammermont, *Hist. de Senlis*, 32-34.

⁶ Gross, *Gild Merchant*, I. 43-44; Green, *Town Life*, II. 50-53; Davies, *Southampton*, 227-230; von Maurer, *Städteverfassung*, I. 309-318.

⁷ Liebe, *Die Städte und die Kirche*, in *Neue Jahrb. für Klass. Alterthum*, 1901, VII. 216.

⁸ *Papers from Northern Registers*, ed. Raine, 72; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, VI. 362. Cf. *Stanley v. Mayor of Norwich*, 8; Morris, *Chester*, 124.

sometimes successfully resisted in the boroughs.¹ Usually, however, it was allowed,² especially when the clergy or their tenants bought provisions for their own use, or sold their grain and other products of their lands; in short, when they did not buy and sell as professional traders.³

The town authorities soon perceived that to prevent loss through the exemption of church estates from taxation, the flow of gifts and bequests to the clergy must be checked. Accordingly on the Continent from the thirteenth century onward many municipal ordinances forbade all alienation of land or houses to the church.⁴ In some towns it was enacted that land acquired by the church should be alienated to burghers within a year, or if it remained in the hands of the clergy should be subject to municipal law and taxes.⁵ Another continental device to prevent loss by the *transformation des biens taillables en biens mainmortables* was the imposition of a heavy tax on property passing out of the hands of the burgesses.⁶ We even meet with laws prohibiting the donation to the clergy of movables beyond a certain amount, or forbidding burghers to enter the church or church fraternities, for fear that their property might pass into the dead hand of the clergy.⁷

X In England prohibitions to alienate burgage land and tenements to religious houses are mentioned as early as the second half of the twelfth century, and they become quite common in the first half

¹ *Shillingford's Letters*, ed. Moore, 138; *Cardiff Records*, ed. Matthews, I. 11; Lau, *Köln*, 238-239.

² *Cartul. S. Johannis de Colecestria*, ed. Moore, 28; *Red Paper Book of Colchester*, ed. Benham, 39; *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1334-1338, pp. 15-19; Drake, *Eboracum*, 555; Duncumb, *Hereford*, I. 297; *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. Gilbert, I. 135, 396-397; Geering, *Handel und Industrie von Basel*, 154.

³ *Rot. Hund.*, I. 12, 356; *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1391-1396, pp. 423-425; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV. 314; Blomefield, *Norfolk*, III. 73; Merewether and Stephens, *Hist. of Boroughs*, I. 396-397; *Cardiff Records*, ed. Matthews, I. 11. See also Espinas, *Les Finances de Douai*, 355-358; Martin Saint-Léon, *Hist. des Corporations*, 138; Boos, *Städtekultur*, I. 437. At Aachen in 1349 the clergy of St. Mary's church were granted the right to sell wine without paying toll, but at Worms the claim of the clergy to exercise this right was bitterly contested. See Höffler, *Verf. der Stadt Aachen*, 14; Boos, II. 212; Arnold, *Freistädte*, II. 20, 335-337, 430-440; cf. von Maurer, *Städteverf.*, II. 866.

⁴ Varges, in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie*, ed. Conrad, 1895, LXIV. 518-520; Arnold, *Freistädte*, II. 177-178; Espinas, *Les Finances de Douai*, 348-355; Des Marez, *Étude sur la Propriété*, 160-161; Pertile, *Storia del Diritto Italiano*, IV. 386-395. The earliest prohibitions against mortmain in Germany seem to fall in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

⁵ Liebe, in *Neue Jahrb. für Klass. Alterthum*, 1901, VII. 216; Varges, 519; Arnold, *Freistädte*, II. 177-178; Des Marez, *Étude*, 161-163.

⁶ Espinas, *Les Finances de Douai*, 223-226.

⁷ Von Below, *Städtewesen und Bürgerthum*, 112-113.

of the thirteenth.¹ Complaints were sometimes made by the burgesses regarding the extensive possessions in the grip of the dead hand. In 1275 the Hundred Rolls give the names of fifty-three religious houses having rents or tenements in the city and suburbs of Lincoln, the annual value of which amounted to about £196;² "these messuages used to be geldable, and liable for customs and services to the king and the city, but now they are withdrawn, to the great damage of the king and the city".³ In 1276 a jury asserts that the abbot of Osney has acquired in Oxford and its suburbs tenements which yield about £300 in annual rents; they were wont to be tallaged, but now all tallages are withdrawn, so that the burgesses have paid £46 13s. 4d., owing to the withdrawal of these and other tenements in the hands of religious houses. In like manner, the prior of St. Frideswide has acquired tenements yielding about 100 marcs, which are no longer subject to taxation, to the great loss of the burgesses.⁴ Many other entries in the Hundred Rolls show that much land in the boroughs had been alienated to the clergy, and that this was felt to be detrimental to the interests of the king and the burgesses through the loss of taxes, rents, and escheats.⁵

Similar complaints were made in the fourteenth century. In 1312 the citizens of London sent a letter to the king regarding the cost of the repairs of the city walls, in which they say that "whereas in justice they ought to be levied from all those who have rents and tenements and movables within the city, (they) commonly fall upon one part of the citizens only, and not upon persons of the religious

¹ See below, p. 739.

² This valuation includes the rents and tenements of the bishop and canons of Lincoln.

³ *Rot. Hund.*, I. 312-313, 316, 326. It is also affirmed (*ibid.*, I. 316) that these estates were wont to be tallaged with the citizens, but now it is claimed that they are free. One of the articles of inquiry on which the returns in the Hundred Rolls are based is: "De feodis militaribus cujuscumque feodi et terris aut tenementis datis vel venditis religiosis vel aliis in prejudicium regis et per quos et a quo tempore" (*ibid.*, I., introd., 14).

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 36. Six other religious houses had real property in Oxford which yielded rents amounting to about £55.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 120, 131, 352, II. 1, 2, 79-80, 356-360, etc. At Cambridge, according to the Hundred Rolls, the canons of Barnwell in 1279 had about 390 acres of arable land. Maitland believes that this estimate is too low, and says that more than half the strips in the Cambridge fields went to religion (*Township and Borough*, 63, 159; cf. *ibid.*, 69, 149-158, 161). Gifts to religious houses in rural parts of England are also mentioned in the Hundred Rolls, II. 304-305, etc. The brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem are accused of taking men under their protection in order to make them free of toll (*ibid.*, I. 83, 96, etc.). The complaints in the Hundred Rolls may have influenced the legislators who made the statute *De Viris Religiosis* in 1279.

orders and others who have franchises by charter and in almoign, to the amount indeed of the third part of the rental of the said city. And such persons are not willing to give any portion thereof or any aid or contribution or any assistance thereto, although they are saved just as much throughout the said city as the rest of the citizens."¹ In 1327 the mayor and commonalty of Canterbury tried to force the convent of Christ Church to contribute to the expenses of twelve knights for the king's service. The citizens say that the prior and convent have within the franchise £200 of rent and five acres of land, which were at all times contributory to the city; and they threaten to demolish their mills, to prevent any one from selling provisions to them, and to resort to various other measures of reprisal, if the monks persist in refusing to be taxed for the expenses of the twelve knights.² In 1331 a jury asserts that it would be to the damage of the king and the citizens of Norwich if he should allow three messuages in the city to be assigned to the convent of the Holy Trinity, because a great part of the city which is inhabited is in the hands of this convent and other religious houses, whereby the inhabitants (of the monastic lands) cannot be taxed to the tallages and aids of the king and the city, and they cannot serve on juries; therefore the citizens are burdened and grieved more than usual by such gifts, to the great detriment of the farm of the king and of the citizens.³ In 1394 Richard II. confirms an agreement made in 1262 by the bishop and the citizens of Hereford, allowing those who dwell in the city on the lands of the bishop and canons to buy and sell quit of toll, provided that they are not merchants (*excepta gente de advocaria*). In return for this concession the bishop, dean, and chapter agree that in the future they will not acquire any of the king's burgages in Hereford, but that they will be content with the lands and tenements which they had in the city before this agreement was made.⁴

The attitude of the burgesses toward the alienation of land in mortmain is clearly stated in the old laws and usages of Dublin

¹ Riley, *Memorials of London*, 98. William II. grants that the canons of St. Paul, London, shall hold the twenty-four hides which they have in or near the city of London (*juxta civitatem*) free of all gelds, and this charter was confirmed by Henry I. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IX. 45, 60.

² *Litterae Cant.*, ed. Sheppard, I. 212-221. Each of the malcontent citizens swore that he would have from the shrine of St. Thomas a gold ring for every finger of both hands.

³ *Stanley v. Mayor of Norwich*, 24-25. In a declaration of the old customs of Waterford, made in 1574, it is stated that a great part of the land in the city belongs to "the church and to inheritors not dwelling within the same". *Hist. MSS. Com.*, X. pt. v. 333.

⁴ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1391-1396, p. 423.

and Waterford, which were set forth about the year 1300. Every citizen, it is here declared, may devise lands or rents within the bounds of the city to his heirs or friends, except to houses of religion and to persons unable to aid the city in time of need. No one shall give a rent of assize to a religious house, for if the rent is not paid within a certain period, the religious can get possession of the tenement, to the disherison of the heirs and of the city. If every citizen were to do this, the city might soon in large part pass into the hands of the clergy. For when religious houses enter upon property, they do nothing for the town (in payment of tallages and customs), the heirs are reduced to poverty, and the city is deprived of young men for its defence in time of war.¹ In 1224 the archbishop of Dublin agrees that his men who enjoy the liberties of the city shall be tallaged with the citizens, and that the latter are to have their court concerning lands which hereafter shall be bought, given, or bequeathed to the archbishop or to his clergy;² and a papal letter of 1261 complains that the ecclesiastical judge is impeded when he tries to compel the execution of wills of citizens who have bequeathed houses or burgages to any church or religious body.³

That the hostility of the burgesses and their lords to the alienation of land in mortmain was widespread in England and Ireland is evidenced by the following references to charters of liberties containing prohibitions of sales, gifts, or bequests to religious houses or to the clergy:

Agardsley, 1263: *English Hist. Rev.*, XVI. 334.

Altrincham, 1290: Ingham, *Altrincham*, 71, 73.

Bolton-le-Moors, 1253: *English Hist. Rev.*, XVII. 292-293.

Burton-on-Trent, 1273: *Archæol. Assoc. Journal*, VII. 424.

Cambridge, 1313: Cooper, *Cambridge*, I. 74.

Chard, 1230: *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1281-1292, p. 216.

Congleton, c. 1272: Ormerod, *Chester*, second ed., III. 36.

Haverfordwest, 1219-1231: *English Hist. Rev.*, XV. 518.

¹ *Historic Documents*, ed. Gilbert, 247, 262 (cf. *ibid.*, 261, 263); *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 95, 202-203 (cf. *ibid.*, II. 101, 201-204).

² *Historic Documents*, ed. Gilbert, 81; Gilbert, *Cal. of Dublin Records*, I. 90-91. Cf. *ibid.*, I. 133; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, I. 570; *Historic Documents*, 360-361.

³ *Charta Hiberniæ*, 30; *Historic Documents*, 173, 177. In 1197 John, earl of Mortain, grants to the canons of the church of St. Thomas, Dublin, all burgages that have been given to them or shall be given to them of which they have or shall have the charters of donors; and the canons are to have one burgage quit of all customs (tolls), tallages, and demands, except land-gavel and pleas of the crown. See *Charta Hiberniæ*, 8; *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, II. 387. In Dublin, Waterford, and Drogheda the Templars or Hospitallers were to have only one man or messuage quit of common customs (tolls). *Charta Hiberniæ*, 14; *Historic Documents*, 54, 133.

- Kells, c. 1210: *Charta Hibernia*, 16.
 Kilkenny, 1202-1210: *ibid.*, 34.
 Knutsford, c. 1292: Ormerod, *Chester*, second ed., I. 489.
 Leeds, 1208: Wardell, *Leeds*, app., p. iv.
 Leek, c. 1214: Sleigh, *Leek*, 16.
 Macclesfield, 1261: Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, II. 460.
 Newport (Monmouthshire), 1385: *Archæologia*, XLVIII. 440.
 Okehampton, before 1162: Bridges, *Okehampton*, new ed., 160.
 Pontefract, 1194: *Hist. MSS. Com.*, VIII. 269.
 Salford, c. 1230: Tait, *Manchester*, 67.
 Scarborough, 1253: *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, I. 417.
 Shrewsbury, 1205: *Rotuli Chartarum*, 142.
 Stockport, c. 1260: Tait, *Manchester*, 66-67.
 Thomastown, c. 1210: *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 93.
 Warton, 1246-1271: *English Hist. Rev.*, XVII. 294.
 Wells, 1174-1180: *Archæologia*, L. 351; cf. *ibid.*, LI. 103.
 Wexford, 1317: *Charta Hibernia*, 47.

In most of these charters the burgesses are granted power "to give, sell, and pledge" or "to give, sell, and bequeath" their lands, houses, or burgages¹ except to monks (*exceptis viris religiosis* or *exceptis domibus religiosis* or *nisi in religionem* or *nisi religioni*). In the charters of Agardsley, Bolton, Burton, Chard, and Stockport the Jews are also excepted. At Warton the exception covers "religious men, clerics, and Jews"; at Chard, "religious houses or churches".² At Cambridge and Newport the burgesses are allowed to bequeath lands and tenements except "in mortmain". At Chard and Wells burgages could be alienated to the monks with the consent of the lord of the town (the bishop of Bath and Wells); at Scarborough, with the consent of "the community" of the borough. The charter granted to Shrewsbury contains a direct prohibition: "quod nullus burgensis aliquod tenementum det domui religiose ad detrimentum servicii nostri". This and the grants to Cambridge and Scarborough are the only royal charters in our list;³ the others were granted by barons or prelates.⁴

The information contained in these charters is supplemented by

¹ Rents are also mentioned in the grants of Chard, Newport and Scarborough.

² The "chief lord" of the fief is also excepted in the charters of Knutsford and Stockport.

³ The king was less liable to sustain loss through gifts in mortmain than other lords, because most of the royal boroughs had *firma burgi*.

⁴ The grants of Chard and Wells were made by the bishop of Bath and Wells; that of Burton by an abbot; the other charters in the list emanate from baronial lords. The charter of Burton bestows power of alienation "*exceptis omnibus viris religiosis aliis a domo nostra de Burthon*".

some passages in borough customals,¹ and by a clause found in grants of land allowing the same to pass to the grantee's heirs or assigns, excepting men of religion or religious houses.²

This anti-clerical movement in the boroughs is of some importance for national as well as local history, especially as regards its relations to the Statute of Mortmain (1279). This statute forbade any monk or other person (*religiosus aut alius*) to buy and sell or receive any lands or tenements whereby they may come into mortmain. The statute intimates that the earlier laws on this subject had been ineffective. The Charter of Liberties of 1217, ch. 43, had provided that no one was to give land to a religious house resuming it to be held of that house, and the Provisions of Westminster (1259), ch. 14, had enacted that religious men were not to enter the fee of any one without the licence of the chief lord from whom the property was held.³ The statute of 1279 seems to apply to the secular clergy as well as to the monks, and was so applied by Edward I. and his successors;⁴ but the contemporary chroniclers speak of it as though its application was limited to the monks,⁵ and the *Articuli Cleri*, issued between 1279 and 1285, request that it should not apply to the secular clergy.⁶ The movement in the

¹ Besides the restrictions on alienation in the customals of Dublin and Waterford (above, page 738), see those in the customals of Godmanchester, 1324, Scarborough, 1348, and Hereford, 1348. *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 97, 201; *Municipal Corp. Com. Report*, 1835, p. 2838. In 1298 a jury declares that, according to the custom of Scarborough, every tenant may, on his death-bed, devise his tenements to whomsoever he will, except to religious men. *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, ed. Brown, III. 93; cf. *ibid.*, I. 220.

² London, 1181-1222, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IX. 1, 50; Grimsby, Hen. III., *Rot. Hund.*, I. 291; Bath, 1250-1260, King and Watts, *Records of Bath*, app. p. xvii; Canterbury, 1269, *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, II. 123; Lynn, c. 1271, Parkin, *Freebridge Hundred*, 125; Nottingham, a lease, Edw. I., *Records of Nottingham*, ed. Stevenson, I. 364; Dublin, 1284, 1290, Gilbert, *Cal. of Dublin Records*, I. 103, 106; Rye, Wycombe, and Dartmouth, Edw. I., *Hist. MSS. Com.*, V. 505, 559, 599-601, 606. This restrictive clause also appears in some manorial grants of arable land. *Ibid.*, XV. pt. x. 131, and *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, IV. 70; Roper, *Church of Lancaster*, 309; *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, ed. Brown, II. 91. Some of these burghal and manorial deeds also forbid alienation to Jews. Cf. Bracton, f. 13, ed. Twiss, I. 104.

³ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 347, 404, 458; cf. *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 88. In 1258, at the Parliament of Oxford, the barons prayed remedy that men of religion may not enter the fees of earls, barons, and others without their will, whereby they lose forever their wardships, marriages, reliefs, and escheats. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 383. The Statute of Marlborough, 1267, re-enacted the Provisions of 1259, but omitted ch. 14.

⁴ *List of Inquisitions ad Quod Damnum* (Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes, No. 17). The statute *Quia Emptores*, 1290, repeats the prohibition of 1279 without limiting it to the religious. See also Fleta, bk. III., ch. v; Statute of Westminster II., ch. 32. Even the enactment of 1217 was applied to "any ecclesiastical persons". *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 88.

⁵ *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, II. 392, III. 282, IV. 282, 479; Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Luard, 158; *Flores Hist.*, ed. Luard, III. 53.

⁶ *Papers from Northern Registers*, ed. Raine, 78; "ubi dicitur manum mortuam ibi oportet suppleri scilicet predictorum religiosorum."

towns was directed primarily against the monks; the seculars are rarely mentioned in the prohibitions against alienations in mortmain.¹ Already in the time of Edward I. it became customary, however, to petition the king for licence to alienate real property either to regulars or to seculars, and permission was freely granted in return for the payment of a "fine".² But some of the boroughs claimed the right to substitute the licence of the town authorities for that of the king.³

Finally, attention should be called to the fact that the prohibitions in the boroughs against the acquisition of real property by religious houses preceded national legislation on the same subject. We find such prohibitions in the boroughs long before 1217, and many examples of the more stringent legislation of 1279 are found in town charters during the century preceding Edward I.'s statute.⁴ Though this statute seems to have been passed mainly to safeguard the lords from the loss of their escheats and services, a precedent for such legislation existed in the boroughs and may have exerted some influence on the minds of the law-makers in 1279, just as in Germany the municipal prohibitions of grants in mortmain were copied by the territorial princes.⁵ Because "the living hand was lively"⁶ in the boroughs, the pressure of the dead hand was felt there earlier than elsewhere; and agitation to relieve this pressure began in the portmote earlier than in parliament.

CHARLES GROSS.

¹ See above, p. 740 (especially the charters of Chard and Warton), and *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IX. 1. The customal of Godmancheser, 1324, mentions "priests, religious men. or any foreigner"; at Hereford, 1348, tenements may be bequeathed "preter in manum mortuam". *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 97; *Municipal Corp. Com. Report*, 1835, p. 2838. Some grants of land made by the clergy to laymen contain the restriction that it is not to pass to any religious house. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IX. 50; Parkin, *Freebridge Hundred*, 125. In 1269 the citizens of Canterbury gave land to Thomas of Sandwich, cleric, to be held by him and his assigns "not being religious houses". *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, II. 123.

² See *List of Inquisitions ad Quod Damnum*; *Year Book 32-33 Edw. I.*, ed. Horwood, 499. For the power of the king to grant licence, see also Britton, ed. Nichols, I. 227; Fleta, bk. III., ch. v.; *Statutes of the Realm* (1810), I. 111, 131, 302.

³ This right was claimed by Scarborough, Winchelsea, Rye, and Hastings. *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 201-202; Lyon, *Dover*, II. 355, 375; Holloway, *Rye*, 146. A royal grant of 1327 allows the citizens of London to bequeath their tenements in mortmain; Lincoln and Bristol also claimed to have this custom. *Historical Charters of London*, 53-54; Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 23; *Borough Customs*, ed. Bateson, II. 202; *Ricart's Kalendar*, ed. Smith, 97. For alienations in mortmain with the consent of the town council, on the Continent, see Löning, *Das Testament im Gebiet des Magdeburger Stadtrechtes*, 125-127.

⁴ See the list of charters, above, p. 739.

⁵ Arnold, *Freistädte*, II. 178; von Maurer, *Städteverf.*, I. 400.

⁶ Maitland, *Township and Borough*, 63.

NICHOLAS FULLER: A FORGOTTEN EXPONENT OF ENGLISH LIBERTY

IN 1604, Nicholas Fuller, barrister at law of Gray's Inn, opposed the royal measures in Parliament, and offended the King by his caustic utterances. When the Puritan ministers were deprived in the following year, he sought to block the episcopal proceedings against them by attempting to transfer their cases to the common law courts. Finally, he impugned the authority of the High Commission; declared it illegal; denied in fact the existence of the royal prerogative under which the letters patent to the Commissioners had been issued; and maintained his contentions in the face of the High Commission, the common law courts, the Privy Council, and the King himself. Fuller was thus one of the first men of great ability who persistently employed their energy and talents in constitutional opposition to the Crown. It is true that Peter Wentworth, in known contravention of Elizabeth's wishes, had demanded liberty of speech in the House of Commons in 1576; that the election of Sir Francis Goodwin to Parliament for Buckinghamshire had furnished the pretext for a quarrel between the King and the House of Commons which had momentous constitutional results; and that two years later, John Bate, a London merchant, took to law the question of the import tax on currants. Yet in none of these cases was there actual constitutional opposition to the Crown. Wentworth invoked only an ethical right, Goodwin took no part in the dispute which bears his name, and Bate had requested and had received an authoritative decision of what the law was, but made no further attempt to avoid its application. It remained for Fuller in 1607 to attack the King's prerogative more explicitly. When defeated on one ground, he resumed the struggle upon a second, and then upon a third, until James and Salisbury began to think they would never silence "the graceless rogue". In truth, he has a place in English constitutional annals and in the long fight of Parliament against the Crown, because he voiced in his speeches, perhaps for the first time in such unmistakable fashion, the political theories which Hakewill and Coke developed into a system and which Pym and Hampden finally carried to victory in the Long Parliament.

When Fuller was arrested in 1607 by the High Commission for impugning its authority by his speeches in defence of Ladd and Mansell, he was already a marked man. A barrister of standing and a member of Gray's Inn, he sat in James's first parliament and had made his presence felt by his activity in committees and on the floor of the House. He had declared himself in favor of delaying the subsidies of which the King stood in such dire need.¹ He had presented bills complaining of pluralities and non-residence among the clergy of the Established Church, and urging that all ministers be limited to one cure and be required to reside upon it.² When the Puritan ministers were deprived in 1605 for their refusal to conform to the canons of the church he spoke in the House in their favor and attempted to defend them in the courts.³ Bate's case and the imposition on currants, a matter which James had much at heart, did not fail to stimulate Fuller to new exertions.⁴

But his greatest activity and most offensive conduct appeared in regard to the union with Scotland. King James, like most other Scotchmen, could ill brook derogatory flings at his country and the notorious poverty and quarrelsomeness of its people. He was furthermore eager to see that nation united to England and fondly hoped to bear in history the proud cognomen of peacemaker, as the king who had buried the old feuds by a bloodless conquest. But the English people as a whole did not look with favor on James's plans, and none was more outspoken in expressing his reasons than was Fuller. In committee and on the floor of the House he vigorously fought the new union. He likened England to a rich pasture surrounded by a fence and pictured the Scots as lean and hungry kine roaming eager-eyed along the boundary, seeking an opening. He dilated upon the dearth of good things which Englishmen would experience when that hungry herd from the North entered the rich fields by a broad and open gate.⁵ There was not room in England for a single Scotchman, he declared. The fact that Fuller had expressed the sentiment of the majority of Englishmen did not render him less objectionable to James and his councillors.

Fuller's activity in Parliament by no means exhausted his energy. Inclined to Puritan doctrines himself, he placed his legal learning at the disposal of such of his co-religionists as were unfortunate enough to come into contact with the courts. Deprived ministers and laymen captured at conventicles were in the habit of seeking

¹ *Commons Journals*, I. 276.

² *Ibid.*, 286.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 285.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 334.

his advice in hope of finding some legal loophole by which they might escape the impending sentence.¹ Ladd, the client whom he was defending when he delivered the speech against the High Commission, was a Puritan layman caught at a conventicle. In the month previous to the audacious outburst which so nearly proved fatal to him, (April, 1607), Fuller had only just missed coming into conflict with the Commission on a similar case. That body had summoned some twenty persons in Yorkshire to appear at London to answer various charges against them, and on their failure to come had imposed a fine upon them, as was provided by the ordinary process of the Commission. Fuller, whom the delinquents retained as their counsel, at once made a motion in their favor at the bar of the Exchequer, asking for a writ of habeas corpus from that court, which if granted would have freed them for the time at least from the Commission. He seems also to have made a similar request in the King's Bench. In one or the other court he had hinted pretty broadly that he did not think the commissioners were competent judges in such matters and that at any rate their use of the oath *ex officio* seemed to him flatly illegal; on examination before the Commission, he had maintained his position and was told that if he continued to express such opinions to the derogation of that body, he would be imprisoned in short order.²

Fuller, therefore, must have known that he was by no means an insignificant man who could say what he pleased with little chance of its being noticed by those in authority. Yet with the threat of the archbishop still ringing in his ears, he possessed so unusual a degree of courage that he proceeded to deliver in public within a month an even more scathing arraignment of the High Commission. This speech was therefore no chance effusion uttered in a thoughtless moment by a man of no standing and caught up and prosecuted by a querulous and tyrannical government.³ It was another of a

¹ Papers found on Melancthon Jewel, a fanatical Puritan arrested in December 1604, contained a memorandum "To shewe Mr Nicholas Fuller what the Bishop proclaymeth of hime, and to requier his verie beste." State Papers, Domestic, James I., X., no. 81.

² *The Argument of Nicholas Fuller in the case of F. Lad and R. Maunsell, his Clients. Wherein it is plainly proved that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have no power, by vertue of their commission to imprison, or put to the oath ex officio or to fine any of his majesties subjects* (London, 1607; reprinted, London, 1641), pp. 22-23. This evidence comes from Fuller himself, and seems trustworthy. But inasmuch as the tract was published by Fuller's friends long after he was imprisoned in hope of exciting public sympathy in his favor, it is just possible that this may be a distortion of a real occurrence inserted to show that the Commission was persecuting him.

³ Such has been the ordinary view taken of Fuller's case.

long series of overt and unqualified attacks upon the plans of the government by a man who had many times demonstrated his animus and his ability to accomplish whatever he undertook under its spur.

Thomas Ladd, Fuller's new client,¹ was a merchant of Yarmouth, and had been tried in the ecclesiastical court at Norwich for attending a conventicle at the house of one Jackler, a nonconformist minister, who had been deprived for his refusal to observe the canons of the church. The record of his institution at Norwich shows that he had conformed in 1603, and that he possessed no degree of any sort from any university. He was therefore neither a consistent nor a learned man. Ladd declared in his defence that he and his friends had held no conventicle, inasmuch as they only met privately to go over the sermon preached on Sunday morning by the minister of the Established Church; but there can be little doubt that those present added statements of their own and that the meeting was in strict law a conventicle. This however was not the issue in the case. Ladd had made some difficulty about taking the oath *ex officio*, and after he had testified and a considerable discrepancy between the various answers became apparent, he was summoned to Lambeth upon a charge of perjury. There he refused to take the oath *ex officio* at all unless he was first allowed to peruse the answers he had made at Norwich. The procedure of the High Commission made it impossible to grant this request and he was therefore committed to prison, March 29, 1607. Fuller's other client, Mansel, a nonconformist minister, had been arrested as one of the movers of a petition to the House of Commons, which the government thought offensive, and having also refused to take the oath *ex officio* unless he was allowed to see the charge against him, was likewise imprisoned.

At this juncture, Fuller was retained as counsel for the two prisoners and at once took charge of the case. He soon procured

¹ The authorities for this most interesting episode are (1) Lansdowne MSS., 1172, f. 97, which is the only trustworthy source for the dates and actual facts. It purports to be a full report of the case and contains a long Latin account of the events leading up to Fuller's commitment by the High Commission, then quotes the writ of committal in full in English, then gives in Latin the consultation issued by the King's Bench, and closes with some further notes of the case in Latin. It was probably prepared either for use at the hearing before the King's Bench in September, 1607 on the consultation on the prohibition, or was employed by Hobart in the hearings on the habeas corpus in November, 1607. It is just possible that it was prepared by a newswriter and circulated for information. In any case it is far more trustworthy than (2) the tract entitled *The Argument of Nicholas Fuller*, which is only an ex-parte statement by Fuller's own friends, which we know omits much that he admitted he said, and which adds more which it is reasonably certain he did not say.

from the King's Bench writs of habeas corpus for the two men (April 30, 1607) and secured May 6 as a date for the hearing. In his argument, he proceeded to prove¹ to his own satisfaction at least, that his clients must be released because the High Commission had no legal authority to imprison them. That court, he declared, was based upon the statute of 1 Elizabeth, c. 1., section VIII., which gave to the commissioners only such power as the bishops of the Church had possessed before the passage of that statute. By references to acts of Parliament, and by somewhat questionable deductions and analogies from them, he sought to demonstrate that the bishops had never had authority previous to 1559 to fine or imprison. The Commission therefore could possess such a power, he asseverated, only by an act of Parliament, and the statute of 1 Elizabeth, the only one which could legalize the exercise of such authority, did not sanction it. He then read the act in court and interpreted it for the edification of his audience. Finally he proceeded to compare the extensive powers which every one knew the Commission employed, with the grant of authority to them in the act, and pointed out in voluminous detail and with many comments derogatory to the Commission, the discrepancies between the two. He paid little attention however to the fact that the royal letters patent which the statute did authorize, conferred on the High Commission by express language or by implication every power it put in practice. It was enough for him that the statute itself did not directly make any such comprehensive grant.

His argument was offensive enough, but his comments² made it "smell to heaven". He declared that the manner of proceeding in the commission was "popish"; that "the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction was Anti-Christian" and "not of Christ but of Anti-Christ"; that the power of the Commission was being used to suppress the sacrament and true religion. To his mind, the bishops "did proceede in these dayes by taking an ell whereby they had but an ynch granted them, and in examining men upon their oathes at their discretion

¹ Exactly what Fuller said at these two hearings is very difficult to determine satisfactorily. The indictment of the High Commission against him given in Lansdowne MSS., 1172, does not detail his speech but only recounts the points to be used legally against him. The tract which is ostensibly the actual speech he delivered, is certainly only a speech which he drew up (if he ever wrote it at all) after these two hearings, for use before the twelve judges in September, 1607 (Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 59). The tract was printed in December, probably without his knowledge (Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 81). Nevertheless, the main legal contention there set forth may be accepted without much hesitation as the substance of what he said on May 6 and June 13 much expanded and embellished, and with many significant omissions.

² These are to be found only in Lansdowne MSS., 1172.

and indiscretion as such their dealings were now lamentable". The oath they administered tended "to the damning of their souls that take it". Men were imprisoned whenever the commissioners saw fit, and "they detained them in prison as long as they list". Having said this much and more on May 6 and finding himself still at liberty, he took heart and at the second hearing on June 13 launched forth upon a further set of diatribes which capped the climax of his "insolence". He did not scruple to hint that the commissioners embezzled all the fines they collected and were in process of extending their authority so as to embrace every branch of criminal and civil law. The judges of the King's Bench, before whom this remarkable argument had been delivered, debated among themselves, but made no decision in the matter, and instead reserved the case for further hearing before all the judges. But Fuller never argued the question further, for he was taken into custody by the High Commission. His indiscretion in making such virulent comments caused the main point which he had raised—the illegality of the High Commission—to drop out of sight, and with it disappeared Ladd and Mansel, whose fate we do not know.

Dr. Gardiner states¹ that Fuller procured from the King's Bench for Ladd and Mansel a consultation, "a modified form of prohibition". There is however no statement in any of the authorities that the court took any action at all beyond ordering a new hearing before the assembled judges, which, according to Fuller himself,² was certainly commanded, for which Fuller prepared the speech afterwards printed, but which hearing never was held, inasmuch as Fuller himself was a prisoner when the court met in September. Furthermore a consultation was not a modified form of prohibition, but the authoritative annulling of a prohibition by the court which had issued it. On "consultation" with the lawyers from the court prohibited, the judge perceived that he had issued the prohibition wrongly and authorized the court prohibited to proceed as if no such writ had been issued. A consultation could only follow a prohibition, and could in no case issue as an original writ, as Dr. Gardiner elsewhere infers. Moreover as Ladd was before the King's Bench on habeas corpus and not upon prohibition, the court either must remand him to prison or free him altogether; there could be no half-way procedure. Dr. Gardiner seems to have confused the consultation issued to Fuller himself in September on the prohibition he procured in July for himself, with the action taken by the King's Bench in Trinity Term on the habeas corpus granted in April to Ladd.

¹ *History of England*, II. 37.

² Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 59.

The High Commission acted promptly and arraigned Fuller in July¹ upon a long list of "scandalous" things he had "factiously and falsely" affirmed "to the slander of the Church, to the hardening of the Papists" and "to the malicious impeachment of his majesty's authority in Causes Ecclesiasticall". The case was heard before Bancroft, the archbishop, Ravis, bishop of London, and other leading men of the High Commission. Fuller however had been not less prompt than the commissioners, and before the case could be put through the necessary legal stages preceding sentence he had procured a prohibition from the King's Bench. This writ, granted by Justices Fenner and Croke in the vacation after the close of Trinity Term, forbade the Commission to proceed further against Fuller on the ground that the case should properly be heard in the King's Bench.² Pending the return of the prohibition and argument in its defence (which because of the long summer vacation of the courts could not be heard till late in September) the matter perforce rested. Although the High Commission could not convict Fuller, he none the less spent the intervening months in jail at the White Lion, Southwark.

When the news of Fuller's daring and its consequences reached James and his counsellors, they were angry indeed and were besides in a measure apprehensive of further developments. Lord Salisbury, the secretary of state and practical ruler of England, wrote to Sir Thomas Lake, the secretary in personal attendance upon the king, that Fuller's actions would end by affecting the stability of the government—"noe monarchy beeing able to stand where the Church is in anarchy". The "absurd" action of the judges in granting such a man a prohibition for so slender a reason had, he thought, "given so apt occasion to make a president for the like mischeife as in the effect thereof may be well resembled to fayre fruite gathered from rotten trees".³ James, too, feared evil results if the au-

¹ Fuller was protected until July 4, when Parliament was prorogued, by his parliamentary privilege; he was present in the Commons on July 1, so cannot have been imprisoned until the second week in July.

² Dr. Gardiner states that Fuller was not imprisoned or proceeded against by the High Commission till November; but Lansdowne MSS., 1172, says explicitly that he was arraigned early in July (just after the close of Trinity Term), and in that same month secured a prohibition from the King's Bench. Here again Dr. Gardiner repeats the curious error that a prohibition and a consultation are the same. Fuller's own statement (in a paper that could hardly have been written later than the following March, 1608) that he had been in jail nine months, exactly tallies with this reading. He was certainly released for good in April, 1608, and could not have spent nine months in jail between November, 1607, and March, 1608.

³ Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 135, July?, Salisbury to Lake. Draft.

thority of the Commission was seriously impeached. Constitutionally timid, the discovery in succession of Watson's Plot, Cobham's Affair, and the Gunpowder Treason, had led James to fear an outburst of anarchy from almost any source. "I praye yow," he wrote to Salisbury with his own hand somewhat later, "forgette not Fullers maitter that the ecclesiasticall comision maye not be sufferid to sinke besydes the euill desairtis of the uillaine, for this farre darre I prophecie unto you, that quhen soeuer the eclesiasticall dignitie together with the Kings gouuernemente thairof shall be turnid in contempte and beginne to euanishe in this kingdome, the kinges heirof shall not long prosper in thaire gouernment and the monarchie shall fall to ruine, quhiche I praye god I maye neuer liue to see and so fairwell."¹

In due time the judges returned from the summer circuits, and toward the end of September resumed their duties on the bench at the opening of Michaelmas term. One of the very first matters brought up was the prohibition issued to Fuller. In view of the importance attached to his attack on the Commission, the judges of the King's Bench took counsel upon the prohibition with the judges of the Common Pleas and with the barons of the Exchequer. The practice of the King's Bench rendered such a writ valid to stay proceedings in the Commission only until an argument could be had before the bar of the court upon the respective rights of the two jurisdictions to take cognizance of that particular matter. Only two courses were properly open to the judges: they could uphold the prohibition and thus declare their sole right to adjudicate the case, which was in fact what Fuller wanted; or they could issue a consultation annulling the prohibition and giving the High Commission leave to proceed. The latter would practically be a confession that they had acted hastily in forbidding the Commission to proceed against Fuller, that they recognized the Commission's right to hear the suit, and therefore licensed them to conclude the case as if no prohibition had ever issued. When opinions had been exchanged, it developed that the judges were divided: some wished to maintain the very letter of the prohibition, others wished to annul it altogether, but in the end, after much argument, and after probably several propositions had been submitted in writing for settling the difficulty, they agreed to issue a consultation.

It was a curious document, that writ of consultation, drawn up

¹ Hatfield MSS., 134, f. 126. Holograph. October 19, 1607. Dr. Gardiner gives this date (*History of England*, II. 39) as "November 7". But the letter is plainly endorsed on the back in Cecil's own hand: "The K. to me. October 19, 1607."

early in October, 1607.¹ In one sense it deprived the Commission of authority, in another it fully recognized the whole of its contentions. The Commission was authorized to proceed "with all due and proper speed according to your ecclesiastical authority against the schism, heresy, impious error or pernicious opinions of the aforesaid Nicholas Fuller". In truth, although these phrases seemed to deny power to proceed in the present instance against Fuller, who was indeed accused of slander and contempt and not of heresy and error, they nevertheless did sanction action by the Commission, for several charges concerning heresy and schism had been included (probably by chance) among the counts of the indictment. In any case, if the commissioners were the sole legal interpreters of the language of the consultation, it would have been plain enough from their standpoint that Fuller's views were, to say the least, "pernicious opinions". The gist of the consultation contained, therefore, nothing to hinder the Commission's action.

Having finished the usual form of consultation, the judges added several sentences in the nature of explanations and qualifications. "Nor is there any question by us made, of the authority or validity of the letters patents to you and to others directed, nor of the exposition of the statute of 1 Elizabeth, nor of certain scandals or other matters which by the Common Law and the Statutes of this Realm of England are to be punished or concluded." Technically of course these phrases were not part of the consultation and were merely declaratory of the opinions of the judges. The innuendo therefore in the last clause insinuating that Fuller could be tried only at common law even for the slander of the High Commissioners was of no legal effect, and if it might have been, the two preceding clauses completely nullified it, inasmuch as they declared valid the letters patent

¹The consultation will be found in Latin in Lansdowne MSS., 1172, f. 97. The wording in the text is an attempt to render it freely in the legal English of the period. It was certainly issued late in September or early in October before Fuller's conviction by the Commission (it must be borne in mind that he had been simply arraigned in July) and not, as Dr. Gardiner states, in November after his conviction. Dr. Gardiner also treats the document printed in 12 Coke's *Reports*, f. 41, as the actual consultation. In an article in the *English Historical Review* for October, 1903, the present writer has stated his reasons for regarding as highly suspicious anything in that volume of the *Reports* which does not fully agree with the evidence from other sources. But in this case the document is so long and rambling and so devoid of legal form that it can hardly be credited as against the one in the Lansdowne MSS. It is not on the face of it a consultation, but an argument why the consultation should contain certain limiting clauses. There is no proof that it was more than a private memorandum of Coke's own ideas, and there is no reason at all to suppose that it was ever meant to have legal effect. There is just enough similarity between it and the Lansdowne paper to make it reasonably certain that both refer to the same event.

and the commissioners' exposition of the statute of 1 Elizabeth, both of which contained ample authority to try slanders of all descriptions whether against the Commission or not.¹ In fact the consultation contained so many mutually contradictory phrases and so many antagonistic claims that it could hardly be considered to have placed a limitation upon the Commission's powers. By refusing to support Fuller's appeal and assume jurisdiction of the case themselves, the judges had abandoned him to the discretion of the High Commission.

Despite the confused phrasing of the writ, the ecclesiastical authorities attempted to follow its letter and spirit, in order to give Fuller and the judges themselves no cause for complaint. They therefore arraigned him for schism and erroneous opinions and probably on October 20 or 21 convicted him, fined him £200, and sentenced him to imprisonment during pleasure.²

But Fuller had by no means exhausted the resources of the common law, and found the judges ready to assist him in pushing the matter still further. His counsel applied to the King's Bench for a habeas corpus³ which should force the keeper of the prison where Fuller lay to produce him at the bar of the King's Bench and state his authority for detaining him. The habeas corpus issued in the first week of November, raised a new question for the judges to decide: was the unquestionably regular process of commitment used by the High Commission legal by strict law? The argument over the prohibition had debated the respective rights of the Commission and the King's Bench to punish Fuller for his slander of the former court which he had uttered in a pleading before the latter. Now

¹ Just at this time the common law courts were trying to draw all cases of slander from the ecclesiastical judges to their own tribunals.

² *12 Reports*, 44. This happened before November 14, because on that date Fuller's fine was granted to John Patten of the king's closet. State Papers Domestic, Docquet, November 14, 1607. On October 19 the King wrote to Salisbury to bear in mind Fuller's case (Hatfield MSS., 134, f. 126.) and on October 23 Lake wrote to Salisbury that the King was "exceedingly well pleased" about "the prohibition". (Hatfield MSS., 122, f. 150.) When Fuller's case came up again it was on a habeas corpus. Hence this trial would seem to have come on October 20 or 21.

³ Dr. Gardiner here inserts the famous altercation between Coke and the King in which the chief justice told James that he was not fitted to understand the law of England by the ordinary rules of reason, and that the King himself was in fact protected by the law. The present writer has attempted to show in the *English Historical Review* for October 1903: (1) that the date in *12 Coke's Reports* is a year out of the way; (2) that the account he gives of the affair is at least partially wrong, if we can judge from the holograph notes in Lansdowne MSS., 160, taken by Sir Julius Caesar while the debate took place; as well as from other contemporary letters; (3) that the whole question at issue was that of the legal status of tithes. The affair therefore did not grow out of Fuller's case and had nothing to do with it.

however Fuller brought to the fore precisely the question which he had argued in the objectionable speeches that had first embroiled him with the Commission—the right of that court to commit him to prison at all. He made no charge that the process used was irregular, that he was committed for a crime for which others were not detained, nor that the Commission possessed no such authority in its letters patent. He virtually declared it illegal and asked confirmation of his opinions from the King's Bench.

This movement brought him into collision with the state. Hitherto, James and Salisbury had been interested observers of the case, concerned lest it should take a dangerous turn. They were now perfectly satisfied that the affair had gone far enough. It was high time they took a hand in the matter if they were to prevent the discrediting of the Commission by so "euill" a "uillaine" as Fuller. James considered his prerogative threatened and in fact there could be no question that he was right in so thinking. Stripped of its legal technicality, Fuller's argument said nothing less than that the letters patent gave the Commission a power which the statute of 1 Elizabeth did not confer upon the king, and which therefore he could not delegate to a Commission. Both Elizabeth and James had issued such letters patent, and if they had done so, as Fuller claimed, without authority either from their prerogative or from statute, they had committed a grave illegality; and what was worse, if the contention was true, the crown did not possess an important ecclesiastical prerogative which it had long exercised. James was therefore literally right in asserting that his prerogative was at stake. While apparently arguing merely that the High Commission had illegally imprisoned one Nicholas Fuller, the lawyers would be in reality debating whether or not the king possessed the power to create such a High Commission as his letters patent of 1605 specifically sanctioned. It was James's unshakable opinion that "the absolute prerogative of the Crown" was "no subject for the tongue of a lawyer", nor was "lawful to be disputed."¹ He therefore directed Salisbury to take charge of the

¹*Works of James I.* (London, 1616) p. 550.—The case was duly appreciated and followed outside the court. On November 22, William Walton met George Knight at Paul's; "Howe nowe Mr. Walton, said Knight, do you thinke to carry away the cause betweene you and Mr. Ponde in this manner from my Lorde of Canterburie round before the judges of the King's Bench. . . . the Lorde Archbyschopp I warrant you will bring the same therethence againe in spight of their teethes. . . . His Grace had allready committed one Fuller to the Fleete and so would them (*i. e.*, the judges of the King's Bench) if they would not grant a consultation." Walton's Deposition. *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, XXVIII., no. 94.

defence of "his honour", and see that no argument took place over his prerogative: Hobart, the attorney-general, was ordered to argue against Fuller in support of the High Commission and to prevent any dispute as to its legality or illegality.

On Tuesday, November 24, 1607, the warden of the Fleet Prison brought Fuller to the bar of the King's Bench as the habeas corpus required.¹ The court room was thronged with an interested audience, for the case had by this time attained a certain amount of notoriety. When the warden had presented the warrant for Fuller's commitment and when the document had been read, Fuller declared that he wished to except to it, "both in matter and forme". In the first place he had not spoken the words with which it charged him; secondly, if he had, he had uttered them merely "by way of argument" for his client, a fact which he thought ought to be taken into account, and of which he found no mention in the return. It seemed essential to him, he said, that the return should state the truth and that it should do so in proper form. He therefore excepted to it as insufficient.

Hobart, the attorney-general, argued on the other hand, that the King's Bench had no authority to examine the facts of the case in order to determine whether or not they justified any action at all, for that court had recognized in its own consultation that it had no right to try the substance of the charge against Fuller, and therefore no jurisdiction to decide whether or not the facts of the case supported the warrant. If the warrant alleged a good *prima facie* cause of imprisonment and had been made out in due form, it was sufficient in law, he declared, to keep Fuller in the Fleet. Unless it showed on its face that the Commission had proceeded against him in a manner forbidden by the consultation, the judges must declare it valid. He then compared the return with the consultation and showed beyond doubt that the two agreed. With this argument, which was in truth good law, the judges were satisfied and remanded Fuller to prison. In their opinions, they added, wrote Salisbury to James, "larg profeshions how much it became them in duty to eschew any blemishe to such a commission", and made in fact no scruple of declaring that they believed he had uttered all the words charged against him, and that he ought to be punished for such an offence. Fuller was completely defeated, but he was not yet overwhelmed. He said that he had been without counsel to defend him and begged for a new hearing where he might be privileged

¹ Hatfield MSS., 124, ff. 137 b, 138 a. Salisbury to the King. Holograph draft, corrected. This was the report sent off that evening to James, who was outside London, hunting.

to have lawyers on his behalf. After a good deal of hesitation, the judges granted the request, expressing at length their surprise at his continued intractability and their hopes that when he returned he would make a complete submission instead of aggravating his offence by new obstinacy.

The judges' apprehension of further insolence from Fuller was shared by James and Salisbury, both of whom believed that too much consideration had already been shown so graceless a rogue. To them, the writs of habeas corpus to Ladd and Mansel, the prohibition and consultation, and then the habeas corpus to Fuller himself, seemed to point either to an opinion among the judges that the High Commission was illegal, or to the judges' desire to expand their jurisdiction regardless alike of the character of the cause they espoused or of the effects of their acts upon the safety of the state. When, therefore, after refusing to maintain three such writs in succession, the judges allowed Fuller a new hearing and gave him, contrary to all common-law precedent, the privilege of counsel, James was frankly puzzled. He strongly suspected them of some purpose of their own which boded ill to him and his prerogative and which they would stick at nothing to accomplish. For the nonce, however, he found scant confirmation of his fears.

The second hearing took place on Thursday, November 26.¹ Quick to appreciate the legal situation, Fuller saw that he must attack not the substance but the form of the warrant whose validity was the present issue, and he was keen enough to direct his counsel to cling fast to their legal exception and say nothing about the illegality of the Commission or the substance of his case before that court. His lawyers therefore argued that the warrant, to be good, must show on its face that the Commission possessed from the King sufficient authority to fine and imprison Fuller. According to the return the Commission had imprisoned Fuller because of schism and heresy and had left it to be assumed that it possessed sufficient authority for its action. Although there could be no doubt, continued the lawyers, that it had the authority, and although the judges themselves might know it, they could not take legal cognizance of it unless that fact was expressed in the return. The judges were visibly impressed with this argument, which was at least specious. In his reply, Hobart met the objection by stating that the contents of royal letters patent and of the statutes of the realm were public and did not need to be pleaded specially and mentioned in every act performed under their authority, for it was part of

¹ Our sole authority is again Salisbury to the King. Draft corrected by Salisbury himself. Hatfield MSS., 123, f. 59. November 28, 1607.

the judges' duty to keep themselves informed of the contents of such documents. This argument won the day and the judges remanded Fuller to prison for good and all.

But they wove into their speeches various statements of political theory which, with Fuller's pamphlet, later published, mark the case as important in the annals of English constitutional history. They declared that "they were one of the Kinges strongest armes", and dilated upon their own importance and dignity. They hoped, they said, that all men who had spoken disrespectfully of their authority would "learn and understand" that the temporal courts possessed a perfect right to grant prohibitions, and intended to continue issuing them whenever they saw fit. Their intention to grant them in instances like Fuller's was expressed in the declaration that all prohibitions issued in the past had been properly granted.

When the news reached James, who was hunting outside London, he was at once pleased and displeased. So satisfactory was the settlement of the case to him that he sent profuse thanks to all who had labored to bring it about, especially to Chief Justice Coke of the Common Pleas, who had been playing the mediator between the Commission and the King's Bench. But he declared and

bownd it with an oath that the judges hed don well for themselves as well as for him for that he was resolved if they had don otherwise and mainteyned their habeas corpus he wold haue committed them. And uppon that point which your lo: mentioneth of their declaration that they wold grant prohibitions he spake angrily that by their leaves they should not use their libertie therein but be prescribed.¹

Fuller returned to the Fleet prison and soon began to try what could be accomplished toward freeing himself by his own submissiveness and his friends' importunity. After the second hearing he had intimated to Hobart while still in the court room, that "*if* he had offended" he was sorry and begged pardon, but was at once assured that such conditional submissions were of no avail and that a complete retraction of his words without "*ifs*" and reservations was required. Within a week after his recommitment, he forwarded to the archbishop a submission which seemed at the moment likely to satisfy all parties.² To prepossess the authorities in his favor, his wife journeyed down to Newmarket over the bad roads, to present a petition to James on her husband's behalf. Lake and other officials, getting a sight of it, persuaded her to redraft it into less enigmatical shape. She presented the altered petition

¹ Hatfield MSS., 123, f. 55 (November 27, 1607, Lake to Salisbury, holograph); and Hatfield MSS., 123, f. 66 (November 30, 1607, same to same).

² *Ibid.*, f. 90 (December 9, 1607, holograph, same to same).

to James just as he was starting out on the hunt. The king, in good humor at the prospect of his favorite sport, received it good-naturedly, remarking that he was glad Fuller was penitent.¹ The lady returned to London to importune Salisbury in the same manner.

Fuller himself was a chief bar to his own freedom, for after all he refused to make the final submission required of him. Moreover his wife and friends, for some inexplicable reason, secured from him a retraction of his first submission,² and then, as if they had not thereby placed him in sufficient jeopardy, proceeded with unaccountable stupidity or rashness to publish about the middle of December some of his letters written since his confinement, and a pamphlet which purported to be the very speech for which he had been fined and imprisoned by the High Commission. If they believed that these documents would start a wave of public opinion in his favor which would compel the government to release him, they totally miscalculated the number of Englishmen who favored Fuller's views, and failed to see the hopelessness of reaching them. In truth they only placed him in greater danger, for while no one gave serious attention to the pamphlets, the government visited its wrath upon Fuller.

Fuller, however, insisted that he knew nothing of the printing of the speech, and after examining him thoroughly, the attorney-general concluded that he was telling the truth.³ To show his penitence, Fuller at once wrote to the archbishop and to the Company of Stationers to urge the suppression of the pamphlet.⁴ He further claimed that (as was evident enough) it was not the speech that he delivered, but another that he intended to use when he was incarcerated. However that may have been, the pamphlet stated on its title-page that it was the very speech for which Fuller had been fined and imprisoned, but it contained not one syllable of the disrespectful words about the High Commission which had really caused his punishment and added a great many highly offen-

¹ Hatfield MSS., 123, f. 90 (December 9, 1607). On December 10, Fuller's fine was taken from Patton to whom it had been granted, apparently because it had been remitted. State Papers, Domestic, Docquet, December 10, 1607.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, January 5, 1607/8, State Papers, Domestic, XXXI., f. 2.

³ Hobart to Salisbury, Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 81, undated. Dr. Gardiner places this letter in January, 1607/8, but it seems to belong here. Chamberlain says distinctly that Fuller's friends published several books in December, and Hobart speaks here of "any of the books" and later mentions twelve; whereas Whyte, on whose letter in Lodge, *Illustrations*, III. 225, Dr. Gardiner depended, mentions but one book.

⁴ Fuller's Submission, Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 59.

sive statements regarding the royal prerogative which it seems fairly certain he never uttered before either the High Commission or the King's Bench. In general, moreover, it displayed Fuller as a learned and conservative lawyer, seeking truth and justice, and as a valiant defender of English liberty. In fact it made him seem like a worthy, patriotic man oppressed by a tyrannical government, which he had provoked by revealing its misdeeds. And posterity, satisfied to derive its information from the same source, has held almost universally a similar opinion of him.

Fuller was represented as declaring that "the lawes of England are the High Inheritance of the Realme by which both the King and the subjects are directed". "Without lawes, there would be neither King nor inheritance in England, which lawes . . . are so fitted to this people and this people to them as it doth make a sweet harmonie in the government." The law, continued this remarkable document, which is equally important and equally a landmark whether Fuller wrote it or not, "admeasureth the King's prerogative so as it shall not extend to hurt the inheritance of the subjectes. And the law doth restrayne the liberall words of the King's grant for the benefit both of the King and the subjects and to the great happines of the Realme, especially when the Judges are men of courage, fearing God, as is to be proved by many cases adjudged in these Courtes of King's Bench and Common Pleas, which Courtes are the principall preservers of this high inheritance of the law." The king might not dispense "with the common law nor alter the same . . . nor put the subjects from their inheritance of the law . . . which was alwayes accompted one of the great blessings of this land, to have the law the meatyeard and the Judges the measurers. For in all well governed Commonwealthes, Religion and Justice are the two principall pillars wherein the power of God appeareth."

These phrases alone suffice to give this pamphlet, and Fuller's case, a place in English constitutional history, for these are among the very first enunciations, if not the first, of that great theory of English constitutional law and history which Hakewill was to use so effectively in the case of *Impositions* in 1610, and which St. John was to render ever memorable in the great case of *Ship Money* in 1637. Some of the best known sentences attributed to Chief Justice Coke might be almost a quotation from this pamphlet. The brochure became so well known and was so much admired by the radical party that it was reprinted in 1641 as a manifesto of the Great Rebellion.

Whatever may be the historical importance of this pamphlet,

certain it is that it was intentionally printed to give an entirely false view of Fuller and of his treatment by the High Commission. He was by no means innocent of reprehensible conduct, and the High Commission was not guilty of harsh or unusual measures toward him. Considered from the point of view of modern ideas on free speech and general leniency toward criminals, the punishment was both severe and unwarranted. But we give such a judgment because we believe it wrong to fine or imprison anyone for his utterances and because most historians would say that Fuller told the truth when he said that the High Commission was illegal. At that time, however, literally no one advocated free speech, and very few indeed, and those mostly men of Fuller's stamp, had any doubts in regard to the legality of the High Commission in the year of grace 1607.

In view of the provocation, the government treated Fuller with much leniency. None of the letter-writers of the time would have been surprised to have seen him "shrewdly handled", but he was allowed to pay his fine about December 30,¹ and after some further trouble over the form of his submission, he was released on January 8, 1607/8.² Soon after, a new book appeared "on the discipline of the Church" which the government suspected emanated from Fuller, and therefore January 20 found him a close prisoner of the Privy Council in the custody of the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral.³ Late in February or early in March, he drew up another submission⁴ which was apparently satisfactory, for about April 10 he was released under bonds to secure his good behavior, and licenced to practise at the bar till his case had been heard in the Star Chamber.⁵ In July following the matter was not yet concluded and in August it was still dragging along.⁶ In the fall of the year 1608, Fuller was probably freed.

Thus by the hand of chance, Nicholas Fuller became famous for a speech which he never delivered and which he perhaps did not write in the form in which posterity has read it. He has been called a martyr to the cause of liberty, when, in reality, judged by

¹Chamberlain to Carleton, December 30, 1607, State Papers, Domestic, James I., XXVIII., f. 128. Remitted December 10, the fine seems to have been reimposed after the appearance of his books.

²Chamberlain to Carleton, State Papers, Domestic, James I., XXXI., f. 4. January 8, 1607/8.

³Lodge, *Illustrations*, III. 225. Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 59.

⁴This is connected with the paper in Hatfield MSS., 124, f. 59.

⁵Additional MSS. (British Museum) 11402. Abstract of Privy Council Register, under the date April 10, 1608. The original register is lost.

⁶Notes by Bacon, July 25, 1608. James Spedding, *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon*, IV. 53; August 6, 1608, *ibid.*, IV. 95.

the standards of the time, he committed a serious offence and displayed considerable disrespect for authority. Still, every one who pleads against injustice couched in the forms of law must appear as a disorderly and factious person. On the other hand, many seem to feel that the High Commission was at liberty to decide whether or not it would proceed against Fuller. Yet it is clear that it had no choice, for if it was legally a court, it had no other recourse than to proceed against a man who denied its right to exist. To have tamely allowed Fuller to go unchallenged after three such public offenses, would have meant that the High Commissioners themselves believed their powers illegal. It is one of the fundamental maxims of law that no court can entertain any plea against its own legality, nor under any circumstances fail to do its uttermost to punish the offender, for its own existence is at stake. In reality there comes at such times an irreconcilable clash between the conscience of the man pleading for liberty and the undoubted duty of the court he questions. He feels himself impelled by the forces within him to cry in the spirit of Luther at Worms, "I cannot do otherwise." But the court at whose bar he stands owes a duty to society which is not less plain: the judges may sympathize with his plea, but they know that their only duty is to apply the rules of the institution as they find them. Not on them but upon the past generations that created the institution rests the responsibility. Whether or not the nation would have been happier had that institution never been evolved, time alone can prove, and at any rate they have no right to decide so momentous a question. As against the sanction of the whole community, comes the cry of this one individual, with nothing to prove him a herald of a great future and not a harbinger of evil. The safety of society demands that the burden of proof rest upon him who desires a change.

The barrister of Gray's Inn was therefore in the wrong; yet if he sinned, he sinned gloriously. He did oppose the wishes of the king in a truly constitutional manner, claiming the laws of the land as his defence; the cause he espoused became in later years the popular standard; his ringing words heartened the members of the Long Parliament in their belief in the righteousness of their cause. The name of Nicholas Fuller thus deserves to live not as that of a victim of the petty tyranny of a querulous government, but as one of the earliest of those great men who freed Parliament from the yoke of the Crown.

ROLAND G. USHER.

THE RISE OF MANUFACTURES IN THE MIAMI COUNTRY

THE rapid advance in the development of manufactures between the date of the Embargo, 1807, and the close of the War of 1812, was one of the results of our strained foreign relations in the early period of our national existence. In the beginning, this industrial expansion was confined to the Atlantic States, but by the close of the period the movement had extended to the West, and it was well under way before the steamboat introduced a new economic factor by furnishing cheap transportation for the imports and exports of the Mississippi valley. The rise of industries in the West, however, was based on conditions different from those that existed in the East; and, in spite of the conscious effort to imitate the East, their development proceeded along lines peculiar to the needs of the Westerners. It is the purpose of this article to point out the difference between conditions in the West and those in the East, and to present the growth of industries in the Miami Country during this early period as an illustration of the development of manufactures under primitive conditions in the West. The Miami Country, it may be explained, is the region drained by the Great Miami and Little Miami Rivers, and includes an area of about 5000 square miles most of which is within southwestern Ohio. Our study will extend to 1817, when Captain Shreve's steamboat *Washington* made the trip from New Orleans to Louisville in twenty-five days and thus ushered in the steamboat era.

With the possible exception of the settlement at the headwaters of the Tennessee, the motive that impelled emigration to the West was economic, and in every instance the basis of development was agricultural. Four centres of settlement in the Ohio valley—the Blue Grass region of Kentucky, the Muskingum valley, the Miami Country, and the Scioto valley,—were selected by the pioneers because of their productiveness and general desirability from an agricultural standpoint. A fifth centre, Pittsburgh, at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, became important at an early day because its situation made it the chief point of debarkation for the farther West. The early economic development of each of these centres of population was distinctly colonial; hunt-

ing, trapping, and agriculture were the only pursuits, and these occupations produced the only articles of export.

In the beginning settlers were largely dependent upon home-made utensils, furniture and clothing; but the production of a surplus soon furnished a means for the purchase of "store goods", and the pioneer merchant began to import manufactures from the Atlantic States and from Europe. Early in the history of pioneer communities, however, it is found to be inconvenient to depend entirely upon goods manufactured abroad, and the various centres of colonization in the Ohio valley did not furnish an exception to this rule. Besides, the long haul from the Atlantic Coast with primitive means of transportation was so expensive and inconvenient that it was soon found to be more desirable to import artisans than to import certain classes of manufactured goods. It was under these conditions, then, that manufacturing began in the West.

The history of manufacturing in the Miami Country may be divided into two periods. It will be seen that the limits of this article include the first and the beginning of the second period. The first period, extending from the beginning of settlement to about the close of the War of 1812, was characterized by household and small-shop industries. Practically no power machinery was used and no attempt was made to supply more than the demands of the immediate community. By 1815 the Miami Country had developed enough to support industries on a larger scale and the rise of mills and factories ushered in the second period of its industrial career. The industries thus established at the beginning of the second period continued to grow with the expanding commerce of Cincinnati and, within a few years, were supplying large quantities of manufactured goods to the Ohio and Lower Mississippi valleys.

We will first consider the character and extent of the industries established during the earlier period. It is probable that, outside of the simplest household manufactures, a tannery was the earliest industrial enterprise in the Miami Country; at any rate, we find a tanner advertising for an apprentice in the *Centinel of the Northwest Territory*, February 22, 1794. On October 3, 1795, George Kyler and Son, potters, begged leave to inform the public that they were carrying on the business of making potters' ware of all kinds at their shop opposite the printing-office. A little later the advertisement of a ropewalk appeared in the same paper. As early as 1799 blacksmiths, millers, saddlers, hatters, dyers, tanners, bakers, potters, gunsmiths, and cabinet-makers were advertising in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*. In 1804 James Ritchey es-

established himself in the blue dyeing business and advertised that he also would conduct a school where reading, writing and arithmetic would be taught. James Dover apparently anticipated the coming Teutonic invasion of the forties by establishing what was probably the first brewery in Cincinnati; for in *Liberty Hall* of August 4, 1806, we find him advertising for five hundred pounds of hops, one thousand bushels of barley, and one thousand gallons of honey to be delivered at his brew-house. All told, eighty-one artisans were following various trades in Cincinnati in 1805: they were two printers, one bookbinder, fifteen joiners and cabinet-makers, eight blacksmiths, two coppersmiths, four hatters, three tanners, seven shoemakers, five saddlers, three silversmiths, seven tailors, five bakers, two brewers, three tobacconists and twelve bricklayers. This list indicates a somewhat rapid industrial development for a settlement that ten years before needed the protection of a stockade.

By 1809 Cincinnati seems to have attracted a variety of workmen almost sufficient to meet the needs of the frontier metropolis. In that year the city was visited by John Melish, an observing and intelligent traveller, and to him we are indebted for a good account of the condition of manufacture at that time. After mentioning two cotton factories and some considerable breweries and distilleries, he also enumerated the following long list of artisans who found employment in Cincinnati: masons, stonecutters, brick-makers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, coopers, turners, wheelwrights, smiths, nailors, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, silversmiths, gunsmiths, clock and watchmakers, tanners, saddlers, boot and shoemakers, glove and breechmakers, weavers, dyers, tailors, printers, bookbinders, ropemakers, tobacconists, soap-boilers, candle-makers, comb-makers, painters, pot- and pearl-ash makers, butchers, bakers, brewers, distillers, cotton spinners.¹

Melish was sanguine in regard to the opportunities for the rise of manufactures in Cincinnati, but he made the mistake that many of her own citizens made in anticipating that the manufacturing expansion would be along the line of textile fabrics and glassware. Still, in consideration of the communication with the South that was beginning just then and the interest in sheep culture that was spreading to the West, it was not unreasonable to suppose that Cincinnati would soon become a centre of cotton and woollen manufactures. Of course, the influence of improved means of transportation and the great development in the water power of New England could not then be foreseen. Melish was also of the opinion that the manu-

¹ Melish, *Travels in the United States*, II. 126, 127.

facture of pianos on a small scale would succeed,¹ but it was many years before the West demanded such articles in sufficient quantity to call for the manufacture of them in the Ohio valley. At that time, however, there was not a steam-engine in Cincinnati, and the only power machinery in the Miami Country was an occasional horse-power or ox-power mill, and the grist and fulling mills run by water power on the streams of that region. Even as late as 1814, a saw-pit was in operation and builders were using whip-sawed lumber in Cincinnati.²

Not until more than a year after the beginning of the War of 1812 was there a conscious effort to develop manufactures in the Miami Country; all industrial development that came was because of the natural demand of the community. Economically the region had not advanced far enough from a colonial condition to take part in any way in the rage for the founding of "infant manufactures" that prevailed in the East after the Embargo of 1807. There was hardly what we today should call a factory, although here and there might be found a proprietor of a shop employing several journeymen and apprentices. The craze for manufactures that arose in the East after the Embargo of 1807 resulted from necessity and patriotism, but, with the exception of Lexington and Pittsburgh, the various colonial centres of the West were hardly old enough to give attention to an extension of industries.

It may be well, at this point, to inquire what industrial development had taken place in the last-named towns before the War of 1812. Lexington was a manufacturing centre of considerable importance before 1808. After the export trade in flour which that section had enjoyed during the early Napoleonic wars was ruined for a time by the peace that followed the treaty of Amiens, Kentucky commenced to grow and manufacture hemp and this doubtless stimulated manufacturing interests in the vicinity of Lexington.³ At that time the metropolis of the Blue Grass region was by far the most populous and progressive town in the lower Ohio River basin. It then produced annually sixty tons of nails, ten thousand dollars worth of copper and tinware, thirty thousand dollars worth of hats, thirty-six thousand yards of baling cloth, fifteen hundred gallons of linseed oil, seven thousand gallons of whiskey, and three hundred tons of cordage, as the output of forty-two shops and factories, employing two hundred and eighty-five workmen.⁴

¹Melish, *Travels in the United States*, II. 127.

²*Liberty Hall*, June 21, 1814.

³McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III. 498.

⁴Cummings's *Tours*, in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, V. 181-189.

Pittsburgh, however, was the leading industrial centre west of the Alleghenies before the War of 1812, and continued to be so for a few years after. In 1811, a large number of artisans were following some forty different occupations at this place; the principal industrial establishments were one steam flour-mill four stories high, two cotton factories, three glassworks, three breweries, three distilleries, two air furnaces, two steam-engine factories, four nail factories, one white-lead factory and seven tan-yards.¹ It is worthy of note that, although Cincinnati's list of artisans was long, as shown by previous enumeration, still we have no record of so large an output as was produced by Lexington; nor were the industries so varied and extensive as those of Pittsburgh.

By 1814 the rising tide of immigration, the difficulty of obtaining manufactured goods in the East, the great cost of the long haul, and the necessity of creating a home market to save the cost of exporting the increasing surplus of agricultural products, caused western people to think seriously of encouraging manufactures in their own region; and thus was ushered in the second industrial period of Cincinnati.

At this point it may be pertinent to our subject to consider the two-fold effect of the War of 1812 on the United States. In the first place, it gave us commercial independence, and from that time American interests were not considered from a European standpoint. No longer hampered by British Orders in Council nor by French decrees, we became interested in the internal development of our country rather than in our relations to England and France. On the other hand the long Embargo and the war had destroyed our commerce; and the Convention of 1815 left the United States unable to favor American shipping, and at the same time gave Great Britain full privilege to exclude us from the carrying trade of the West Indies.

As a result of these conditions, trade was at a standstill, shipping was idle, and men were out of work. Since the Embargo capital that had previously been engaged in commerce had found employment in the establishment of manufactures. The Embargo and the war had given them full protection, but in 1815 Great Britain was again free to flood American markets with British goods. Our infant manufactures could not compete with the cheap labor of Europe; and economic conditions combined with patriotism in asking for a protective tariff. In response to this demand, the Tariff of 1816 was passed, but it did not furnish the desired relief, for just

¹ Palmer, *Travels in the United States and Canada*, pp. 48, 49.

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at this time (the close of the Napoleonic wars) Great Britain was deprived of important European trade, and, as a consequence, her manufacturers sent large quantities of goods to the United States and found a method of "getting under the tariff" that was disastrous to American manufactures. The distress produced by this great importation was felt by manufacturers and their employees as far west as Pittsburgh, where, as we have seen, important industries had already sprung up.¹

The economic depression that followed this importation gave impetus to the great migration that had begun early in 1814. With the advent of the newcomers into the West came also eastern ideas in regard to manufactures and British goods. We have already mentioned that the West was too new to take part in the movement for the establishment of manufactures in 1807; but eight years had made great changes. With the beginning of the great migration, the increasing population demanded a larger supply of manufactured goods; artisans as well as farmers emigrated, and the West in common with the East set up a clamor against English goods and made a demand for the establishment of home manufactures.

A contributor to the *Western Spy* said: "The enormous price which everything of foreign growth or manufacture bears at the present day must convince us that we cannot too soon commence our independence of other nations by growing and manufacturing for ourselves." He was pleased to see the spirit of independence diffusing itself throughout the country, especially this western country which could never reap the least advantage from importations. He declared also that if the spirited exertions which were then making in some of the larger towns, met with the support of the farming interests, the West would in a very short time be able to change the course of the current which for several years had swept the specie from the country. Nor were such hopes altogether unfounded. Companies were then formed or were forming for the establishment of manufactures at Pittsburgh, Frankfort, Lexington, Louisville, Cincinnati, and many smaller places.²

The economic reasons for establishing and maintaining home manufactories in the two sections were, however, radically different. In the East, infant manufactures were already established and their destruction by foreign competition would entail a large loss of capital. For this reason, domestic manufactures were needed in that section not only to insure industrial independence from Europe, but also to furnish employment to surplus labor and capital. In

¹ McMaster, IV. 344.

² *Western Spy*, January 29, 1814.

the West, however, there were practically no industries of this sort to protect except those at Pittsburg and Lexington. Furthermore, the West had no surplus labor that might not have been employed profitably in clearing the forests and in agriculture. The East needed a protective tariff to keep her infant industries from going out of business, but it is doubtful if the West, even though she had had manufactures already established in 1816, would have felt the need of such protection to the same extent as the East. At any rate, the question seems not to have been considered an important one, as Cincinnati papers for the years 1815, 1816 and 1817 make no mention of a protective tariff, although the discussion of home manufactures occupies a prominent place. The influence of the steamboat had not yet been felt; and the long haul and primitive transportation of the time, combined with the poor monetary system of the country, would have furnished a large measure of protection to Ohio manufacturers, who found a home market for their product. In somewhat the same way, the farmers of the present day in the irrigated valleys of the Rocky Mountain region are protected by the long haul from the cheaper products of the Mississippi valley.

Let us see now what measure of protection these conditions of transportation and finance would have furnished. The necessary data with which to determine this accurately are not at hand, but we may at least arrive at a qualitative statement of the situation. The merchant who went East to purchase goods would spend about three months on a single trip. If he intrusted the transportation to a Pittsburgh forwarding firm, the commission was five per cent. It is true that Philadelphia merchants usually gave from six to seven months' credit, but they charged seven per cent. interest on all bills overdue.¹ Whether the western merchant paid cash or not, the interest on the money invested must be counted as an extra charge, for at least the time required to make the round trip and lay the goods down in Cincinnati. Insurance, of course, was a consideration, although it is probable that most merchants carried their own risks. Besides, Cincinnati bank-notes were usually received at a discount of about five per cent. in Philadelphia.² Again, the cost of transportation from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was from six to ten dollars per hundredweight, and seven or eight dollars per hundredweight from Philadelphia to Cincinnati was probably about an average.

In addition to the regular charges, Cincinnati people felt that Pennsylvania freighters took advantage of the necessities of the Wester-

¹ Fearon, *Sketches of America*, p. 124.

² Fearon, p. 235; *Western Spy*, March 21, 1818.

ners and put on extra charges for carriage whenever possible; it has been stated that they sometimes charged as much as eleven dollars per hundredweight for transportation from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. One complainant, in particular, estimated that Cincinnati alone paid twenty-five thousand dollars annually to Pennsylvania freighters over and above a fair charge for carriage.¹ In 1816 a Cincinnati firm was offering goods wholesale at an advance of twelve and one-half per cent. on Philadelphia prices plus six dollars per hundredweight for carriage; but it is very doubtful if Cincinnati merchants did or could continue to sell on such a margin. At any rate, as a result of these charges, Cincinnati people were complaining that, on an average, they had to pay nearly double the Philadelphia prices for manufactured goods.² A measure of temporary relief was afforded, however, at the close of the war, when eastern towns were flooded with foreign goods and large quantities were sent down the Ohio for sale. The auction system was resorted to in Cincinnati, as it had been in the eastern cities, and for a time the western farmers were buying foreign merchandise for about one-third of what they had previously paid.³

In addition to the high price of imported goods the Miami Country labored under an equal difficulty in exporting its surplus agricultural products. The cost of transportation from Cincinnati to New Orleans was, on an average, only one dollar per hundredweight, as contrasted with a minimum charge of six dollars from Philadelphia; but the additional charges of marketing the produce of the region from the southern port were so great that Cincinnati prices were about one-half those obtaining on the Atlantic Coast.⁴ The Westerners, therefore, reasoned that four bushels of corn at Cincinnati would buy what one bushel would buy at Philadelphia. Said one farmer, "I always feel a degree of regret when I see our wagons going to market with flour, pork, etc., and returning with the real trifling amount of merchandise for which the produce was bartered, . . . and I say to myself, who pays the price which at every turn is added to them?"

In view of these facts, then, it is not strange that Cincinnati and the Miami Country took little interest in the tariff controversy of 1816. Instead of this the people were making an effort to establish manufactures in order to escape the long haul and its attendant charges and, at the same time, build up a home market for agri-

¹ *Liberty Hall*, September 11, 1815.

² *Western Spy*, February 14, 1818; *ibid.*, February 28, 1818.

³ *Western Spy*, February 28, 1818.

⁴ *Liberty Hall*, October 16, 1815; Fearon, p. 249.

cultural products. Pittsburgh manufacturers, however, were soon demanding an increase of the tariff on cotton and woollen goods, plate glass and certain iron products. Their industries were more developed, they were four hundred and fifty miles nearer the Atlantic ports, and they had a comparatively small quantity of agricultural products for export. In fact, they were actually importing bacon from Kentucky.¹

It may be of interest to see how contemporaries viewed this question of establishing manufactures in the Miami Country. There were those who followed the lead of the East, and without good reason more than that of patriotism, were ranting against British goods because they were British goods. They forgot entirely that, so long as they had no manufactures of their own, it made very little difference whether they bought from Great Britain or from the eastern states.² More thoughtful men, as was natural, appreciated the true reason for the establishment of manufactures and used their influence to bring about the desired end. As an instance of this, we cite the following: Suppose, suggested a writer in *Liberty Hall*, that the country around Cincinnati produced six hundred thousand dollars annually, and that two hundred thousand dollars is consumed by our own inhabitants; another one-third is shipped to New Orleans to purchase sugar, coffee, cotton, molasses, and spices; another third is sent over the mountains in specie to purchase English goods. We ask candid men to inform us how and in what manner this kind of trade will increase the capital of the western country? We answer, that there is no increase whatever to our capital by the distribution of the products of the soil; one-third is eaten up annually by its inhabitants; one-third is sent out of the country to purchase British goods in Philadelphia and Baltimore and is discounted by a loss in exchange of paper; the other third is sent to New Orleans to purchase that which does not add to our national wealth, although it may be very necessary to our comfort and living. Sugar, cotton, and coffee we do want; but we can manufacture almost every article of British manufacture that we drag over the mountains at such enormous expense. It may be asked, how shall we find a remedy for this ruinous British trade, which embarrasses us so much; which drains us of our specie; which twice a year sweeps away every dollar which can be scraped up in Cincinnati, without adding to our wealth? We answer promptly and without delay: "Put in operation in Cincinnati manufactures for woollen cloth, for cotton cloth, for glassware of every descrip-

¹ McMaster, IV. 344.

² *Liberty Hall*, 1814, 1815.

tion, for straw hats, and every article which [is] import [ed but] can be manufactured in Cincinnati. Let the two hundred thousand dollars which we send over the mountains be paid the manufacturers in Cincinnati for the above articles. This would keep so much of our wealth at home; thereby increasing its productive manufacturing industry. It would increase the value of lands and houses and support a greater population than we can now otherwise possibly support. This two hundred thousand dollars would be added to our capital every year and increased in a proportional ratio."¹

Dr. Drake probably expressed the situation more clearly than any other contemporary when he said:

To convert into manufacturers the hands engaged in clearing and improving a new country, would be a mistaken policy; and if adopted must soon correct itself. In the case in which a new country is contiguous to an older, of dense population, which can exchange manufactures for subsistence, it may even be advisable to defer manufacturing in the former to a late period. But where a new country must transport its surplus agricultural products to a great distance, and import the necessary manufactures from shops equally remote, it may be advisable to commence manufacturing much earlier. It must not, however, attempt to convert its farmers into tradesmen. They should be imported instead of their manufactures. The ranks of agriculture would then remain entire; the simple process of barter at home be substituted for expensive and hazardous commercial operations; and the immigrant manufacturers with their increase, become an addition to the population. The situation of Ohio seems to recommend this policy and it is already adopted.²

In answer to the question: "What articles can we manufacture to best advantage", one very popular reply was "Woollen cloth". As early as 1802 the United States minister to Portugal sent to his home in Connecticut one hundred merino sheep, and in a very few years sheep-raising and the manufacture of woollen cloth became important allied industries in New England.³ The industry spread to Ohio and within a few years the farmers were raising wool, in limited quantities, but with so much success as to suggest the establishment of woollen manufactures in the Miami Country.

A writer in *Liberty Hall* declared: "We have the best climate and soil in the world for raising merino sheep. We can feed ten sheep to the acre for eight months in the year, while New England does not feed more than three or four sheep to the acre for seven months in the year. We can raise wool cheaper than it can be raised either in England or in New England." In support of this statement, he said that General Harrison, on his farm at North Bend,.

¹ *Liberty Hall*, August 14, 1815.

² Drake, *Natural and Statistical View of Cincinnati*, p. 3.

³ McMaster, III. 503.

successfully fed eighty sheep for eight months on an eight-acre field. He supposed that each sheep would yield a profit of six dollars, or the enormous sum of sixty dollars per acre.¹ Of course, such statements cannot be permitted to pass unquestioned, but doubtless they were accepted as conclusive arguments by unthinking people of the time.

Another writer expressed it as his opinion, that it would be next to folly to cover the beautiful hills of North Bend with flocks of merino sheep if we neglected to establish manufactures to encourage the growth of wool. We must ourselves engage in manufacture; otherwise the enterprising farmer will not get a suitable price for his wool. If we do not, we must send the raw material over the mountains or to New Orleans to be manufactured, and then receive the same article back in a manufactured state greatly increased in value. In this case, the manufacturing industry would be lost to Cincinnati, the wool-grower would be discouraged and our capital would be decreased.²

The more sanguine ventured to say that within ten years the Miami Country would not only be supplying the home market with wool, but also would have large quantities for export. It is needless to state that their hopes were not realized, nor did Cincinnati become a centre of the woollen industry. On the contrary, the manufacture of woollens was limited from the beginning; for these men who made the prediction did not appreciate the fact, that of all classes of manufactured goods, textile fabrics probably would stand the highest transportation rate, and that other sections would prove to be more favorably situated for their manufacture.

Although the woollen industry in the Miami Country reached no great proportions, other manufactures were being established which furnished a basis for the future industrial growth of the region. That the manufacturing spirit began to manifest itself before the war was half over is shown by the fact that on July 4, 1813, there was offered the toast, "Our manufactures, a still small voice, but persistent and energetic." This may be attributed to the spirit of patriotism that wells forth on our natal day, or it may be attributed to the example of the East; but it is interesting to note that the same edition of the *Western Spy* that published the above toast contained evidence of a more positive character in the announcement of the Miami Exporting Company, wherein that company offered

¹ *Liberty Hall*, August 14, 1815.

² *Ibid.*

"liberal and lengthy [*sic*] accommodation" to persons who were engaged in or had arranged to engage in manufacturing.¹

A more substantial proof of confidence in the success of manufactures in the West than either of these incidents was then under way. In the opening year of the war, some gentlemen began the construction of a manufacturing plant which, for a time, was the wonder of the West in an industrial way. It was completed in 1814, and was known as the Cincinnati Steam Mill. It is worthy of attention as being both the first manufacturing enterprise in Cincinnati on a large scale, and the first to use steam power. The building was sixty-two by eighty-seven feet and one hundred and forty feet high, with walls ten feet thick at the base. Though designed for the manufacture not only of flour, but of woollen and cotton goods, flaxseed oil and several other articles, the principal business was the manufacture of flour, for which it had a capacity of seven hundred barrels per week.²

The growing population of the Miami Country and the increasing demand of the West for manufactured goods, combined with the example and success of the Cincinnati Steam Mill, gave such an impetus to projects for manufacturing as to bring about the beginning of numerous other industrial enterprises before the close of the year 1815. What may be termed household industries continued to grow with the increase of population, and along with these, but on a larger scale, may be enumerated the following. There were four cotton-spinning establishments run by horse-power, operating together twelve hundred spindles, while, in all, thirty-three hundred cotton spindles were in operation in Cincinnati. Ninety-one wool-carding machines and one hundred and thirty spindles were in use, and a woollen manufactory was then building that was expected to yield sixty yards of broadcloth per day. There also were two rope-walks, while two breweries not only supplied the home market, but sent large quantities of beer, porter, and ale down the river. Above the mouth of Deer Creek, the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company had extensive buildings and was engaged in the manufacture of various articles. With the exception of the large steam mill, already mentioned, the steam sawmill was probably the most important enterprise of the young metropolis.³ It occupied a building seventy by fifty-six feet and its four saws had a capacity of eight hundred feet per hour. It was set in operation on July 4,

¹ *Western Spy*, July 10, 1813.

² Drake, *Natural and Statistical View*, pp. 137 and 146; Palmer, *Journal of Travels in the United States and Canada*, p. 72.

³ Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 147; Palmer, *Journal*, p. 72.

1815, "amidst the anxious gaze of curiosity" on the part of Cincinnatians. A local paper announced that its performance equalled the most sanguine expectations, and it was hoped that it would prove essentially beneficial to the town and country, besides amply rewarding the proprietors for their public-spirited enterprise.¹

The announcement of the completion of a sugar refinery early in 1816 furnished an opportunity for the editor of *Liberty Hall* to sum up the manufacturing situation in the following somewhat florid editorial:

Thus we go. One improvement is only the harbinger of another. Scarcely have we got our steam mills into operation and our glass works in blast, when new enterprises are on foot. Surely it is a high gratification to see the comforts of life thus daily accumulating around us. We have now the pleasure of stating that the sugar refinery of Messrs. Burnet, Baum and Company is in successful operation, having commenced the process of refining New Orleans sugar in the course of the last month. . . . Thus within twelve months we have witnessed not only the general improvements of the town in the gradation of the streets, and the raising of many large, commodious, handsome brick dwelling-houses and stores, . . . but the erection also of the steam sawmill, . . . a fulling mill and brass foundry as adjuncts to the steam flour-mill, a large glass works, an additional and extensive soap and candle factory, and lastly a sugar refinery calculated to work up five barrels of sugar a week. Give us but a few towing steamboats to aid this spirit of enterprise, and

"How ere long, our town shall rise
With turrets sparkling to the skies;
And shine in backwoods splendor dressed,
The Great Emporium of the West."²

Through the influence of this spread of manufactures, William Green, in the next year, established the Cincinnati Bell, Brass and Iron Foundry. A year later he took into partnership William Henry Harrison, Jacob Burnet, James Findley and John H. Piatt, all men of the highest standing in the Miami Country. The works were soon greatly extended, and in a short time were in a position to do a large share of the manufacturing that the coming of the steamboat brought to Cincinnati.³

Other parts of the Miami Country were also active in establishing manufactures. On the Little Miami alone there were nearly forty mills, including two paper-mills.⁴ Most of these were flour-mills or distilleries, for these two industries were frequently carried on together. As early as 1816, the Springfield Domestic Manufac-

¹ *Liberty Hall*, July 10, 1815.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1816.

³ *Cincinnati Directory* for 1819, p. 48.

⁴ E. Dana, *Geographical Sketches of the Western Country*, p. 48.

turing Company was establishing at Springfield and was advertising in *Liberty Hall* that their carding machines, fulling mills, and cotton factory were in complete operation. They charged six and one-fourth cents per pound for carding common wool, and twelve and one-half cents per pound for carding merino wool. Customers were informed that one pound of plain hog's lard must accompany every eight pounds of wool.¹

These examples serve only as fair illustrations of the small manufacturing plants that existed in the various communities of the Miami Country and other parts of the West, and proved to be valuable assistants to the household industries that were carried on in every farm-house. The wool raised on the farm was taken to the carding machine and made into rolls about two feet long and one-half inch in diameter. These rolls were then taken home and spun into yarn, and the yarn was knit into stockings or woven into cloth. In the latter case, the product of the loom was taken to the fulling mill for finishing. Where possible, these mills were run by water-power, though others were operated by horse or ox-power; and even as late as the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, such a machine run by horse-power was carding wool for the farmers in the neighborhood of a village in Clermont County.

In consideration of the fact that the country was so new and so distinctively agricultural, the census of 1820 reveals a remarkably large proportion of persons engaged in manufacturing in the Miami Country. Persons following gainful occupations were divided into three classes; those occupied with agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. So we find that, in Butler County, twenty-five per cent. of the population so listed were engaged in manufacturing; in Warren County, twenty-one per cent.; in Hamilton and Clermont counties, twenty per cent. each; in Darke County, fifteen per cent.; in Greene and Champaign counties, fourteen per cent.; in Preble County, eleven per cent. We are probably safe in assuming that at that date the Miami Country outside of Cincinnati was almost entirely agricultural; therefore it would appear, that persons who were in any way engaged in household or shop industries were counted as being engaged in manufacturing; but even then, the percentage of those engaged in manufacturing appears to have been large. However, it may be taken as an indication of an effort on the part of the western people to supply themselves with manufactured goods without paying the high prices asked for the imported article. Further investigation probably would show that nearly

¹ *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, May 13, 1816.

every community had its resident artisans who were, in a measure, supplying the local demand for manufactured goods.

This effort to establish manufactures in the West in order to avoid the expense and delay of long-distance commerce under primitive means of transportation, and to furnish a home market for farm products, was in a great measure successful. But it accomplished more than this. Its influence, politically, was to put southwestern Ohio firmly in line with Clay's American System, and that section did not long continue to show the apathy on the tariff question that seemed to exist in 1816. It also laid the foundation for the rapid industrial growth of Cincinnati that characterized the steamboat era, and thus did much to make her the chief city of the Ohio valley. By shaping this industrial growth to meet the demand of the southern planters, Cincinnati materially promoted that inter-dependence of North and South, which was the chief characteristic of Mississippi valley commerce during the steamboat era.

FRANK P. GOODWIN.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL AND VIRGINIA, 1813-1821

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL was a man of strong political convictions, and it is the political significance of his opinions which must ever receive the larger share of the historian's attention. Marshall's appointment to the high office he so long adorned was most unwelcome to Virginia, for it was expected that Ellsworth's successor would be nominated by Jefferson. Judge Spencer Roane, son-in-law of Patrick Henry, a staunch and trusted Republican leader, was "slated" for the position.¹ A timely resignation of the Connecticut chief justice opened the way for resolute John Adams to fill this most important position with the ablest of Southern Federalists; but from the day of Marshall's appointment to the end of Jefferson's life the Sage of Monticello planned for the removal of the great judge or for the essential curbing of the powers of his court. Two bitterer political enemies never lived within the bounds of the Old Dominion than Jefferson and Marshall.

When, fourteen years after Marshall's appointment, he came into collision with his own state, Virginia was Jefferson's pocket borough, and few men, John Randolph alone excepted, ever held important office at the hands of her people against his wishes. The Old Dominion was held firmly in the grasp of the Republican organization; and the Supreme Court of Appeals, presided over since 1803 by Roane, was probably the most important wheel in the political machine. Its members were all men of real distinction, well trained and masters of constitutional law both American and English. One of them, William H. Cabell, had been Jefferson's protégé; all had had a hand in the elevation of the first Republican president. Roane was the court's chief ornament, and Republican Virginia boasted that her own chief justice was an abler lawyer and statesman than Marshall himself, whose ability, however, was never questioned.

Roane was a close student of the law after the "Coke on Littleton" style;² he was familiar with the writings of Grotius, Locke and Montesquieu, and an ardent admirer of George Mason. He had been a leader of the Henry forces in 1788 when the great

¹ *Virginia Law Register*, II. 480.

² *Branch Historical Papers*, II. 1, 6.

fight against the national Constitution was made and lost;¹ and there can be no doubt that he never quite forgave Marshall and Madison for their work on that occasion. After the election of Jefferson he seems to have acquiesced in the existing order of things, though he threatened to give the peace-loving President no end of trouble by his repeated agitation in favor of war against England. In 1804 he founded the *Richmond Enquirer* and placed his cousin Thomas Ritchie in charge.² He and Ritchie and the Virginian "prophet of secession", John Taylor of Caroline, succeeded to the management of the Republican machine which Jefferson and Madison had built in 1796-1800. In 1815 Roane was the most powerful politician in the state. He nominated members of the legislature and caused them to be elected, he drew bills and resolutions which the law-makers passed almost without amendment; and when the sessions closed his friend, Ritchie, usually published a "leader" in the *Enquirer* headed "Well done, good and faithful servants".³

The first open conflict between Chief Justice Marshall and this machine came in the year 1815, when the United States Supreme Court in *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* overruled the decision of the Virginia Court of Appeals.⁴ The case was an old one. The first suit, it would appear, that Marshall argued before the General Court of Virginia was that of *Hite v. Fairfax* in which he appeared as counsel for Fairfax. The question at issue was the title to large tracts of land lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers. The Fairfax grant from the English crown in 1736 had been declared null and void by the state of Virginia in 1782, the property having fallen to Denny Fairfax, an "alien enemy" living in the county of Kent, England. The unoccupied land belonged thenceforth to the state. Hite had taken out a patent from the state and settled on the land. Fairfax took steps in the proper local court to eject Hite and failing to gain his point appealed to the General Court of Virginia, predecessor of the Court of Appeals. Marshall urged with great force that Fairfax had been unlawfully deprived of his property;⁵ he was not sustained by the court. But the later chief justice had made himself familiar with this notable case. In April 1789 David Hunter was granted a patent for 788 acres of the Fairfax lands. Unable to get possession in the face of opposition from Fairfax he brought suit in 1793 in the district

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 47.

² *Virginia Law Register*, II. 481; J. Q. Adams, *Diary*, IV. 313-314.

³ Letters to his son. *Branch Historical Papers*, II. 123-126.

⁴ 1 Wheaton, 313.

⁵ 4 Call, *Reports*, 42; Thayer, *John Marshall*, 24-27.

court of Virginia for Shenandoah County. The district court gave judgment for Fairfax and appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of Virginia. Meanwhile Fairfax died and bequeathed his claims and rights to Philip Martin. The case was argued before the supreme court of which Roane was one of the justices in May, 1796, in October, 1809, and in April, 1810, when decision was finally given against the Fairfax claim and in support of the act of confiscation of 1782. Appeal was taken to the United States Supreme Court on the ground that rights guaranteed by the Treaty of 1783 were denied.

The United States Supreme Court in accordance with Jefferson's wishes had become Republican, that is, a majority of its members had been followers of Jefferson at the time of their appointment. Jefferson and Virginians in general hoped that constitutional questions would henceforth be decided contrary to Marshall's views.

The "Fairfax" case was one of great importance, involving the title to many thousand acres of the best land in Virginia and threatening the authority of the state to dispose of those lands. The validity of an act of the legislature passed before the close of the Revolutionary War was in question.

The United States Supreme Court reviewed the decision of the Virginia court in 1813 and a mandamus issued by Marshall the "first Monday" in August following was served on the latter requiring the execution of judgment as given by the local court in favor of the Fairfax heirs. The Judges of the Virginia Supreme Court took up the matter in the summer of 1815, each one preparing his own opinion independently of the others. Roane spent a part of the summer at the White Sulphur Springs, where he talked over his forthcoming opinion with Monroe, who neither endorsed nor opposed its contentions. On his return he visited Jefferson,¹ who also hesitated to express a view without first examining the argument that might be offered on the other side.² On December 16, 1815,³ the Supreme Court of Virginia formally announced that the mandamus of the United States Supreme Court would not be obeyed and that so far as Virginia was concerned its former decision would stand, *i. e.*, the Fairfax heirs would lose what was claimed under the treaty of 1783. In February following, the opinions of the Virginia justices were published in the *Richmond Enquirer*. There was not a dissenting voice. They stood on the ground that the United States courts could not constitutionally

¹ Jefferson, *Writings*, IX. 530-531; *Branch Historical Papers*, II. 1, 131.

² Jefferson, *Writings*, IX. 531.

³ *Virginic Reports*, 4 Munford, 12.

interfere with or reverse the decision of state tribunals acting within their jurisdictions, and that no treaty obligations had been impaired, since the confiscatory act of the Virginia legislature had been passed before the cessation of hostilities. The point which the national court had made, in issuing the mandamus, that Virginia had not actually taken possession before 1783, and that she could not do so afterwards was scarcely noticed. Roane's paper was a political manifesto designed to advance the cause of state sovereignty and to arouse hostility towards Marshall, who seemed still to dominate the national court. Public discussion was at once aroused and the local court was fully sustained in its refusal to honor the mandamus. John Taylor of Caroline took up his pen once more on behalf of state rights and the *Enquirer* "thundered" against the great chief justice who was again proving false to the "ancient Dominion".

The United States Supreme Court had made the tactical blunder of ordering the state court to reverse its own decision and to execute an opposing judgment. Roane had made full use of his opportunity.¹ Marshall and his fellow judges took immediate notice of the refusal of Virginia to recognize the mandamus of 1813² and went once again over the case, reaffirming the points formerly made. Story now delivered the opinion of the court, Johnson still dissenting. These opinions were published in the *National Intelligencer* and reprinted in the Virginia papers. The United States marshal for Western Virginia was ordered to execute the judgment of the Supreme Court. This was the first "pass at arms" between the Virginia school of states-rights advocates and the great chief justice. To the popular mind the point that Marshall had sought to make was that a state was subordinate to the Union; Roane had shown that a state could refuse obedience to the national authority with impunity.

The second conflict between the two great opposing theories of government came immediately after the decision of the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* in March, 1819. In this case the crucial arguments for the Virginia chief justice and his powerful following were those which endorsed the doctrine of "implied powers"—a subject so full of difficulties that both Madison and Monroe had halted at its determination—and declared that a state law inconsistent with the reasonable purpose of a national statute was null and void. For the Supreme Court thus to solve great political problems

¹ Conversation with Chief Justice Keith of Virginia, a close connection of the Marshall family.

² 1 Wheaton, 304.

seemed to Roane a usurpation of power. Southern leaders of opinion had frequently denied the authority of the national courts to determine the constitutionality of an act of Congress.¹ It was indeed an important matter. No court in Europe wielded such supreme power. Marshall had himself in the Virginia Convention of 1788 declared that such powers were not contemplated in the proposed national constitution.² But he evidently came to the conclusion later that the "fathers" had intentionally left some of these points vague. He was now firmly convinced that the exercise of permanent powers must be conceded to some branch of the national government. The "Maryland" opinion was then an enunciation of the doctrine of the court on the "implied powers" of the Constitution and the right of the court, already asserted in *Marbury v. Madison*, to interpret and apply acts of Congress.

Roane had probably helped Marshall to this view of the functions of the national Supreme Court, for he had won fame for himself in 1792 by delivering the opinion that the Supreme Court of Virginia possessed authority to interpret and apply the constitution and laws of the state, declaring the latter void if necessary. During and immediately after the Revolution this final and revisionary power was assumed by the courts of North Carolina, New Jersey, Virginia and Rhode Island. Long before 1815 it was regarded as a settled feature in the governments of many of the states. How easy must it have been then for judges of the national courts, reasoning by analogy, to claim and exercise the same authority in respect to the national constitution and laws. This was seen and openly admitted to be right and proper by some of Jefferson's most influential states-rights followers.

There was no way for Roane judicially to review the *McCulloch v. Maryland* opinion, as there had been in the former case; but nothing daunted he took up his pen in the *Enquirer*, under the pseudonym of "Amphictyon" in March and under that of "Hampden" in June, 1819. In these papers Roane took the ground of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, quoting *in extenso* from those documents and declaring that if Marshall's view held, the "rights and freedom of the people of the states" were lost, and that it might be necessary for Virginia to employ physical force.³ He aroused much excitement in Virginia and the discussion went

¹ Letter of John Steele, influential Southern Federalist, to Nathaniel Macon, April 2, 1803, in Dodd, *Life of Macon*, 184; also opinion of Charles Pinckney in Thayer, *John Marshall*, 66.

² Elliot, *Debates*, III. 555-557.

³ *Branch Historical Papers*, II. 1, 76; also Resolutions introduced in the Virginia Assembly, December, 1819.

steadily on until late in the summer. A significant complaint was that the United States Supreme Court which had been supposed to be Republican in sentiment had proven to be a bulwark of the new Federalism.¹

Roane sent copies of his articles to Jefferson and Madison asking at the same time for a public expression of their opinions. Madison declined to give a positive view; Jefferson endorsed heartily all Roane said characterizing the decision of the Supreme Court in *McCulloch v. Maryland* as a usurpation, but he begged to be excused from participating "in all contests of opinion".² Monroe who had half endorsed the attitude of Roane in *Hunter v. Martin's Lessee* was also appealed to, but of course he could not as president openly express an opinion.

Chief Justice Marshall was aroused by these bitter attacks. He said in a letter to Story a few days after Roane's first article appeared: ³ "Our opinion in the Bank case has aroused the sleeping spirit of Virginia, if indeed it ever sleeps." And again on May 27: "The opinion in the Bank case continues to be denounced by the democracy in Virginia. An effort is certainly making to induce the legislature which will meet in December to take up the subject and to pass resolutions not very unlike those which were called forth by the alien and sedition laws." In view of the influence and pressure Virginia might bring to bear upon the leaders of other states, he exhorted his friends to exert themselves to get counter resolutions endorsing the position of the Supreme Court adopted. For, he insisted, if Roane's principles should prevail, "the constitution would be converted into the old confederation". Marshall's friends did not bestir themselves. The politicians and newspapers, especially of Virginia, turned their guns on another "usurper", General Jackson, whose high-handed measures in Florida produced wide-spread discussion, and the pressure on the Supreme Court was relieved.

It was but a short two years, however, before another decision of the Supreme Court set Roane's pen in motion. This time it would appear that Marshall had with "malice aforethought" dragged the state of Virginia, contrary to the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, before the bar of his court. It was in the case of *Cohens v. the State of Virginia*. Two points were at issue: (1) the validity of a state law prohibiting the sale of lottery

¹ Roane's fourth article in the *Richmond Enquirer* for June 22; also in *Branch Historical Papers*, II. 1, 118.

² Jefferson, *Writings*, X. 140-142.

³ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, XIV. 324. AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XII.—51.

tickets in Virginia by the agents of a company organized under the laws of the District of Columbia; (2) whether an agent of such corporation could appeal from an adverse decision of the state courts to the United States courts, a state being a party to the suit.

Virginia had made the selling of lottery tickets a misdemeanor punishable with a fine of a hundred dollars for each offense. But under a recent act of Congress the District of Columbia had licensed a lottery which was expected, of course, to do business in Virginia and Maryland. Venders of tickets in Norfolk were arrested and tried before the borough court and fined \$100 each. No appeal was taken to the General Court in Richmond, which might have reviewed the case; but a writ of error was allowed by the local court, without objection from the state's counsel, and the controversy went to the United States Supreme Court. The state of Virginia now became the defendant in the national court. Though the evidence on this point is not quite conclusive, it is pretty clear that the state's counsel had made no objection to the appeal, thinking it an excellent opportunity to test the question whether a state could be haled into the United States Court. Philip P. Barbour and other able attorneys were engaged by the state of Virginia. They pleaded want of jurisdiction in the trial which followed. Marshall ruled that the fine laid by the Norfolk court must be paid, not because the law of Virginia held as against an agent of a corporation chartered by Congress, but because it had not been intended to force the business of the lottery company into states having laws to the contrary, Congress not having purposely acted on this point.

The second and main question, whether the court had jurisdiction, Marshall decided in the affirmative, declaring that all parties to suits in which the constitution, laws or treaties of the nation were involved or in which rights claimed under them were denied, might appeal from any state court to the United States Supreme Court, and that the incident of a state's being a party to the litigation did not effect the case.¹

Roane and his party were stronger now than ever before. After an understanding, it would seem, as to who should lead the fight, the Virginia chief justice began on May 25 the publication under the pen-name of "Algernon Sidney" of his most famous series of articles against Judge Marshall. They constitute a commentary on the national constitution from the standpoint of states' rights. Roane could not deal calmly with his subject. His language

¹ 6 Wheaton, 264.

is violent and sometimes offensive. "The judgment now before us," he declared, "will not be less disastrous in its consequences, than any of these memorable judgments [of the courts of Charles I.]. It completely negatives the idea, that the American states have a real existence, or are to be considered, in any sense, as sovereign and independent states."¹ While in other countries, he maintained, the judiciary is said to be the weakest of the several departments of government, and has been limited to the mere causes brought before it, ours aspires to a more elevated function. It claims the right not only to control the operations of the co-ordinate departments of its own government, but also to settle exclusively the chartered rights of the states. He cited Marshall's speech in the Virginia convention of 1788,² showing that the chief justice had then denied that a state could be "dragged" before the bar of the federal court; declared that he wanted no revolutions, no rebellion, but a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles; yet he solemnly admonishes his readers that the sovereignty of Virginia must be maintained, suggesting that slavery itself was not safe under Marshall's decisions. However, his rebuke and warning to his fellow-partizans bear a significant hint as to the real nature of the contest: "Yet, Republicans! I greatly fear that your sins have overtaken you. I deeply regret that you are found sleeping at your posts, and that you could not watch one hour! I greatly fear that the day of retribution is at hand. The scepter of power is about to depart from you. . . . The hair of the federal Samson has again begun to grow and with it [its] power and strength."

With this series of papers from Roane other articles appeared from week to week, like small artillery to the accompaniment of the big guns. About the same time, too, John Taylor of Caroline published his book, *Construction Construed*, which at once elicited the hearty commendation of most Southern politicians.

If the legislature of 1819 barely missed joining the fray, that of 1821 plunged into the thick of the fight. Preparation was made to re-enact the resolutions of 1798 and to call for the purging of the Supreme Court. Jefferson was still an active influence in Virginia. His son-in-law, Thomas M. Randolph, was governor. Ritchie, Roane and John Taylor enjoyed his fullest confidence. All had long been opponents of the national judiciary and enemies of Marshall. Jefferson had silently approved and encouraged Roane's attacks on Marshall since 1815. Now he wrote a letter commending John Taylor's most timely book, *Construction Con-*

¹ Richmond Enquirer, May 25, 1821; Branch Historical Papers, II. 2. 80.

² Elliot, Debates, III. 555-557.

strued, which Ritchie was to publish in the editorial column of the *Enquirer*. Even Madison was reported in Richmond as disapproving the decision in the Cohens case.

The people of Virginia, suffering peculiarly from the economic and financial crisis which had been on for a year or two, were ready to blame some one for all their ills. Roane led them to think that the policy of the United States government, or at least of Congress, had begun to go wrong, and that Marshall, a Virginian, was the arch-enemy of the state. The time seemed ripe for bringing the national judiciary to terms, for silencing the chief justice at any rate.

Marshall recognized the danger of the coming storm. He wrote Story, June 15, 1821: "The opinion of the Supreme Court in the Lottery case has been assaulted with a degree of virulence transcending what has appeared on any former occasion. . . . There is on this subject no such thing as a free press in Virginia and of consequence the calumnies and misrepresentations of this gentleman [Roane] will remain uncontradicted and will by many be believed to be true. He will be supposed to be the champion of state rights, instead of being what he really is, the champion of dismemberment."¹ Then complaining of the vast influence exerted by Jefferson he adds in a letter of July 13, 1821: "I cannot describe the surprize and mortification I have felt at hearing that Mr. Madison has embraced them [these Virginia views] with respect to the judicial department. . . . In support of the sound principles of the constitution and of the Union of the States not a pen is drawn. In Virginia the tendency of things verges rapidly to the destruction of the government and the re-establishment of a league of sovereign states. I look elsewhere for safety."²

Having heard that Hall, the editor of the *American Law Journal*, then published in Philadelphia, would probably print Roane's "Algernon Sidney" papers, Marshall advises Story to exert himself to prevent such an unfortunate event. He would thus deny the freedom of the press to Roane, the lack of which he laments in Virginia, or, if the papers must be printed, he thought the editor "ought to say that he published that piece by particular request", meaning by request of Jefferson,³ for Marshall thought it was only through Jefferson's influence that Roane could get a place in the *Law Journal*. Growing more despondent than was his wont our great chief justice repeats the language of a former letter:

¹ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, XIV. 327.

² *Ibid.*, 328, 329.

³ *Ibid.*, 330.

"A deep design to convert our government into a mere league of states has taken strong hold of a powerful and violent party in Virginia." He closes this interesting part of his letter as follows: "The whole attack, if not originating with Mr. Jefferson, is obviously approved and guided by him. It is therefore formidable in other states as well as in this, and it behoves the friends of the union to be more on the alert than they have been. An effort will certainly be made to repeal the 25th section of the judicial act."

It was indeed no half-hearted attack which Roane and the *Enquirer* were leading. The *Washington Gazette*, rival to the *National Intelligencer*, took up the cause of Virginia. De Witt Clinton of New York, again powerful in his own state and in the country generally, openly defended Roane's position.¹ The *Louisiana Advertiser* and other Southern papers as well as practically all the Virginia press espoused vigorously the cause of state supremacy. The sentiment of the toasts of the Fourth of July following was largely particularist; only in Richmond—an ancient stronghold of Federalism—do we find public speakers with the hardihood to defend the Supreme Court and the chief justice.

The next step was to be taken by the legislature. The plan was to pass the most drastic resolutions. But here the *National Intelligencer* calls to mind the action of Virginia in 1809 when, on losing in the famous *Olmstead* case, Pennsylvania had appealed to her sister states to aid her in resisting the national authority. Popular opinion in Pennsylvania then favored the establishment of a special tribunal for the settlement of just such questions as that now exciting so much attention. Virginia had then in quite positive language declared that the Supreme Court was the last resort and that it was the duty of the states to abide by its rulings.²

Nevertheless Governor Randolph, direct from Jefferson's roof, made the Supreme Court the chief item of his message in December 1821. A passage of it runs: "The commonwealth has undergone the humiliation of having endeavoured in vain to vindicate and assert her rights and her sovereignty at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, and now endures the mortification, . . . of having altogether failed to procure a disavowal of the right, or the intention, to violate that sovereignty and those rights. . . . It [the Supreme Court of the United States] arrogates to itself, always, the high authority to judge exclusively in the last resort how far the federal compact is violated, and to arraign before it,

¹ *Richmond Enquirer*, August 31, 1821.

² *Virginia Senate Journals*, December 4, 1809; *House Journals*, January 23, 1810; Ames, *State Documents on Federal Relations*, pp. 49-50.

not only the decisions of the state courts, but the states themselves."¹ The message closes with an almost too emphatic assertion that none but peaceful means of redress will be resorted to.

Meanwhile R. M. Johnson of Kentucky introduced resolutions into the United States Senate looking to the correction of the abuse.² From Johnson's speech it will be seen that a plan of co-operation between Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio had been arranged.³ The Virginia agitation found ready ears in Kentucky and Ohio where ambitious banking schemes were likely to be, or already had been, upset by the Supreme Court. Roane now drafted an amendment to the national constitution, as he said to strengthen the proposed reform; but which was to pass the Virginia assembly and then to be sent to the other states for endorsement. A letter to Archibald Thweatt, December 11, 1821, gives us a suggestive hint as to how things used to be done in legislative bodies: "With a view to aid them, or rather to lead on this important subject, I have prepared some amendments to the constitution to be adopted by our assembly. They are very mild, but go the full length of the wishes of the republicans on this subject. They will be copied by another hand and circulated among the members. I would not wish to injure the great cause by being known as the author."⁴ The following prospective amendment was endorsed almost without opposition: "That the judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any case in which a state shall be a party, except in controversies between two or more states, nor to any other controversies involving the rights of a state and to which such state shall claim to become a party. That no appeal shall be construed to lie to any court of the United States from any decision rendered in the courts of a state."⁵ But neither Johnson's resolutions in the Senate nor those of the Virginia Assembly ever reached the heart of the North; and Congress never once seriously considered the proposition to remove the great chief justice.

Such was the outcome of Marshall's long conflict with Virginia. There had been much of bitterness and there was even to the last a resolute and large party ready to take revolutionary steps against the Supreme Court. But Jefferson thought the political constellation unpropitious; indeed Roane charged both him and Madison with "hanging back too much in this great crisis". The old statesmen

¹ *Virginia House Journals*, December 3, 1821.

² *Annals*, 17 Cong., I. 28, 68-123.

³ H. V. Ames, *Proposed Amendments to the Constitution* (A. H. A. 1896, II.), p. 161.

⁴ *Branch Historical Papers*, II. 1, 140.

⁵ *Virginia House Journals*, February 2, 1822.

had, however, served their day; they were not disposed to embark on another campaign of agitation like that of 1798. Jefferson advised that, since the Missouri question had so divided the states and given occasion for such outspoken threats on the part of Virginia leaders, any attempt now to force the issue with the Supreme Court would cause a re-alignment of the states after the manner of the recent dispute and thus defeat their designs. "She [Virginia] had better lie by therefore until the shoe shall pinch an Eastern state. Let the cry be first raised from that quarter and we may fall into it with effect."¹ He then advised the Virginia delegation in Congress to press for a change in the method of choosing judges, appointment for terms of six years instead of for life, the House of Representatives also to have the right of confirmation. This he thought would bring the court into closer touch with the people.² He had never ceased to be alarmed by the decisions of Marshall and thought Roane's position impregnable. He said, "This doctrine [of Marshall] was so completely refuted by Roane, that if he can be answered, I surrender human reason as a vain and useless faculty, given to bewilder, and not to guide us."³

Roane had solemnly warned Virginia in these replies to Marshall that slavery would be doomed under such a constitution as his opponent expounded; he spoke of secession as a lawful alternative to submission to the Supreme Court; and yet admitted that forcible resistance would be revolution. But Virginia was not then ready to cross the Rubicon, and Roane died six months after the inglorious close of his "movement", thinking that his work had all been in vain. The "shoe pinched" in South Carolina within the space of a single twelvemonth. Robert Barnwell Rhett of that state began where Roane left off, and drawing constantly upon the Virginia magazine so recently filled he began and continued an agitation which forced Calhoun to recant his ardent nationalism in 1828, and which swept the South two decades later into Texas annexation, ceasing not until the Roane-Marshall debate was settled in the awful tribunal of civil war.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

¹ Jefferson to Nathaniel Macon, October 20, 1821. Jefferson, *Writings*, X. 193-194.

² *Ibid.*, 198.

³ *Ibid.*, 229.

PRESIDENT JACKSON AND THE TEXAS REVOLUTION

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS with his monumental diary proved that General Jackson was willing in 1819 to see the United States relinquish her vague claims to Texas in return for the definite advantages of the Floridas.¹ But when the Texas fever did attack him the treaty of 1819 appeared an egregious blunder, and, while fiercely denying that he had ever approved it,² he spent no little time and energy in trying to rectify it. Did he in doing so resort to the Machiavellian intrigues which have sometimes been ascribed to him?³ It is the aim of the present paper to submit evidence for the defense which it is hoped may point the way to a positive acquittal. It will consider: (1) the efforts of President Jackson to purchase Texas, (2) his connection with Sam Houston's alleged plot to revolutionize the country, and (3) the charges made against the government of breach of neutrality during the Texas revolution, (a) in contributing men, money, and supplies to the rebels, and (b) in the occupation of Nacogdoches by General Gaines.

To Adams the treaty was always a blunder. He opposed it when it was made, and within twenty days of his inauguration as president had taken steps to regain as much of Texas as its new mistress could be induced to surrender. On March 26, 1825, Clay at his request instructed Poinsett to approach the Mexican government for a readjustment of the Texan boundary. The Sabine was unsatisfactory to the United States, and he suggested that the Brazos, the Colorado, or even the Rio Grande might be substituted for it. Nothing came of this, and again in 1827 (March 15) Clay wrote Poinsett that the President was willing to promote the success of the negotiation "by throwing into it other motives than those which strictly belong to the subject itself". Therefore he was authorized to offer a million dollars for a line beginning at the mouth of the Rio Grande, following that river and the Pecos to the source of the latter, thence north to the Arkansas, and then

¹ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 238-239, XI. 348, 349, XII. 131; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 67; Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, II. 584-588.

² Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV. 251 and note; Niles's *Register*. L. 185.

³ Adams, *Memoirs*, XI. 349; Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*, 148; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 354; Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV. 251.

along that river and the forty-second parallel to the Pacific Ocean. For the alternate line of the Colorado he might offer half the sum. The President thought it an auspicious time to urge the negotiation, because he was led to believe, said Clay, by the great size and frequency of the grants which Mexico had been making in Texas to colonists from the United States, that the government did not value land very highly. Moreover, the emigrants now flocking to Texas would carry with them their own principles of law, liberty, and religion; collisions might be expected—some, in fact, had already occurred;—and these would be likely to “enlist the sympathies and feelings of the two Republics, and lead to misunderstandings”. And, altogether, the President was of the opinion that the boundary of the Sabine brought Mexico nearer to “our great western commercial capital than is desirable.”¹ Poinsett was by this time, however, keenly aware of the Mexican sensitiveness to the subject, and did not even present the proposal, knowing that it was wholly impracticable and would aggravate the irritation already existing between the two countries.² Thus the matter stood at the beginning of Jackson’s administration.

President Jackson took up the subject less promptly than Adams had done. Nearly six months of his first term had expired before Secretary Van Buren wrote Poinsett (August 25, 1829) to renew the overtures to Mexico. Four lines were suggested as acceptable in varying degrees to the United States. The most desirable one would begin in the centre of the “desert or Grand Prairie,” west of the Nueces, the next would follow the Lavaca River, the third the Colorado, and the fourth the Brazos. For the first line he might offer four million, or if “indispensably necessary”, a maximum of five million dollars, and for the others a proportionate part of that sum. The President was induced to make this liberal offer, Van Buren said, “by a deep conviction of the real necessity of the proposed acquisition, not only as a guard for our western frontier, and the protection of New Orleans, but also to secure forever to the inhabitants of the valley of the Mississippi the undisputed and undisturbed possession of the navigation of that river”. Numerous reasons were suggested why Mexico ought to be glad to make the cession on these terms: the Sabine boundary was not definitely settled—the United States government saw good reason to contend

¹ MSS. Department of State, Instructions to Ministers, volume 11, pp. 270–273. Sumner (*Andrew Jackson*, 352, note 2) thinks that the attempt to buy Texas was taken on Clay’s initiative rather than Adams’s; but see Adams, *Memoirs*, XI. 365, and Niles’s *Register*, LXII. 138.

² Clay’s Raleigh Letter, April 17, 1844, in Niles’s *Register*, LXVI. 152.

for the so-called Neches as the river intended by the treaty of 1819—and it would take long and tedious negotiations to determine the point; even if the question were settled in favor of Mexico, the nature of the boundary would inevitably require a large army to prevent wholesale smuggling; the large and increasing Indian population in Texas would place another burden on the inadequate military department; the notorious lack of confidence between Mexico and the present inhabitants of Texas, which had “in the short space of five years displayed itself in not less than four revolts, one of them having for its avowed object the independence of the country”, must eventually involve the United States and Mexico in misunderstandings—though the former maintained an unswerving neutrality; and finally “the comparatively small value of the territory in question to Mexico, its remote and disconnected situation, the depressed and languishing state of her finances, and the still, and at the present particularly, threatening attitude of Spain, all combine to point out and recommend to Mexico the policy of parting with a portion of her territory, of very limited and contingent benefit, to supply herself with the means of defending the residue with the better prospect of success, and with less onerous burthens to her citizens”. If Poinsett did not from his general knowledge of Mexican sentiment think it impolitic, he could further urge that because of her successive revolutions and the hostility of Spain the government was very unsettled and the confederation exposed to the danger of dismemberment. In such an event every one must see that “the first successful blow would, most probably, be struck in Texas”.¹

These instructions were largely based on an elaborate report prepared by that arch-schemer, Colonel Anthony Butler, of Mississippi, on the economic, political, social, and geographical condition of Texas. So far as one can check it, it appears on the whole accurate, except as to the four revolts in Texas.² Professor Von Holst thought it very inconsiderate of Jackson to take advantage of Mexico's distress and urge this cession when Spain was threatening invasion,³ but one can only wonder whether Adams would have refrained, had the same conditions existed in 1827. Certainly Jackson does not suffer in a pecuniary comparison: he offered four million dollars more than Adams for a territory thousands of square miles smaller.

¹ MSS. Department of State, Special Missions, Volume I., pp. 34-50.

² The report and Jackson's rough draft of the letter to Poinsett are among the Van Buren MSS. in the Library of Congress.

³ Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, II. 555.

But Poinsett was not the man to carry this negotiation to a successful issue. He had made many enemies during his four years at the Mexican capital, so about the middle of October President Jackson recalled him, notified Butler on October 19 of his appointment, to replace Poinsett, and expressed complete confidence in his success. He was sure, he said, that if Texas was not purchased, it would create jealousy between the United States and Mexico, on account of the Americans settling there; they would declare independence as soon as their numbers justified, and the United States would be accused of instigating it, though all "constitutional powers will be exercised to prevent".¹

Butler arrived in Mexico at an inopportune time. The public was very suspicious, and the press chose to regard the proposition to purchase Texas as a national insult. This feeling expressed itself officially in the celebrated report which the secretary of foreign relations, Lucas Alaman, introduced into Congress, February 8, 1830.² It recommended, in effect, that immigration from the United States to Texas be henceforth prohibited, and on April 6 this recommendation became a law.³ The law was received in Texas with some little ebullition,⁴ and this in turn increased the storm in Mexico. Butler wisely decided, therefore, to wait and say nothing, and it was not until the middle of 1831 that he manifested any activity on the subject nearest his heart. On June 23 he wrote President Jackson that he had high hopes for the pecuniary feature of the proposition: "As the influence of money is as well understood and as readily conceded by these people as any under Heaven, I have no doubt of its doing its office." But he asked whether, in view of the great importance of the object, he might not be authorized to offer as much as seven millions, if it appeared necessary. To this the President replied, August 17, that it had been unanimously decided in executive council that the maximum must not exceed five million dollars.

On February 27, 1832, Butler wrote that the government was very much pressed for money, because General Santa Anna had seized the custom-house at Vera Cruz and was raising a revolution against President Bustamante. He had improved the occasion,

¹ Jackson to Butler, October 19, 1829. Jackson MSS. in the Library of Congress. Letters not otherwise cited in this paper belong to this collection.

² The report is printed in Filisola, *Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, II. 590-612. There is a partial translation in 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 351, Vol. XII., pp. 312-322.

³ Dublan y Lozano, *Legislacion Mexicana*, II. 238-240.

⁴ Rowe, "The Disturbances at Anahuac", in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, VI. 269.

therefore, to intimate to the minister of foreign affairs that if matters got very bad, arrangements might be made for getting several millions from the United States. Jackson approved this as a very "judicious" suggestion, and expressed the hope that it "may lead to happy results in settling our boundary".

A letter of July 18 revealed Butler's method of working. He had been cultivating Señor Alaman, the minister of foreign affairs, and believed that the prize was almost in his grasp. He wrote, "The amount to which I am limited for the purchase by my instructions will very probably be in part applied to *facilitate the Negotiation*, in which case we shall provide for that portion of the payment by a secret article." If the President replied to this he failed to preserve a copy of his letter, but we shall find him later expressing his opposition to the plan in no uncertain terms.

In the meantime, the revolution in Mexico reached an acute stage, and the resultant confusion prevented further operations on Butler's part for several months. On the fall of Bustamante, General Pedraza by a peculiar arrangement shouldered the presidential burdens, to serve out the remaining three months of a term for which he had been elected and from which he had resigned in 1828.¹ Santa Anna was expected to succeed him in April, 1833. Of Pedraza Butler wrote, January 2, 1833, that he was said to be very much opposed to the further westward extension of the United States boundary. By "one road", however, he hoped "to reach him and vanquish his scruples". But if he still continued obstinate, it would be necessary to wait for the new administration, which at the worst would entail no more than an additional three months of delay. He finished with these determined words, "I will succeed in uniting T—— to our country before I am done with the subject or I will forfeit my head." On February 10 a new thought occurred to him. The government was almost bankrupt, and he asked whether the United States could not advance a loan of five millions, and take a mortgage on Texas for security. This would be tantamount to an outright sale of the territory, he said, because there was not the least probability that the money could ever be repaid.²

On March 20 Edward Livingston at the President's request replied that there was no constitutional authority for such a transaction on the part of the United States government, and that therefore it was impracticable. He added an admonition to hasten the

¹ Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, V. 123-124.

² 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 351, Vol. XII., p. 466.

negotiation, saying. "The situation of affairs in the State of Texas y [and] Coahuila makes it important that your negotiation on that subject should be brought to a speedy conclusion. It is at least doubtful whether in a few weeks any *stipulation could* be carried into effect."¹ This communication has been interpreted as proving that President Jackson was too well informed concerning Texan affairs to have been entirely guiltless of shaping them himself. Professor Van Holst misstates its terms somewhat, saying that the President "had an order given to Butler through Livingston to break off the negotiations for the purchase, because they would soon become objectless, for the reason that the American colonists of Coahuila intended to declare their independence in a convention on the 1st of April, 1833",² while Adams insinuatingly remarked, that in the documents communicated to the House in 1838, "This precise knowledge of Jackson, to a day, of the intended design of the colonists to declare their independence as early as April, 1833, was suppressed."³

One naturally asks, how did Jackson get his information? And at first blush it does not help his case, perhaps, that the answer is, from his friend Sam Houston. But Houston's letter is apparently a casual one, and at least does not indicate a collusive understanding between himself and the President. He knew, for it was no secret, that Jackson wanted to acquire Texas, so he wrote him the latest news from that interesting country. His letter was dated at Natchitoches, Louisiana, February 13, 1833, and runs, in part, as follows:

Having been so far as Bexar [San Antonio] in the province of Texas, . . . I am now in possession of some information which will doubtless be interesting to you, and may be calculated to forward your views, if you should entertain any, touching the acquisition of Texas by the Government of the United States. That such a measure is desired by nineteen-twentieths of the population of the province I cannot doubt . . . The people of Texas are determined to form a State Government and separate from Coahuila, and unless Mexico is soon restored to order, and the constitution revived and re-enacted, the Province of Texas will remain separate from the confederacy of Mexico. . . . My opinion is that Texas, by her members in Convention, will, by 1st of April, declare all that country [from the Rio Grande] as Texas proper, and form a State Constitution. I expect to be present at the Convention and will apprise you of the course adopted, as soon as its members have taken a final action. It is probable that I may

¹ MSS. Department of State, Instructions to Agents to Mexico, Vol. 14, p. 292.

² Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, II. 563.

³ Adams, *Memoirs*, XI. 368.

make Texas my abiding-place. In adopting this Course *I will never forget* the country of my birth.¹

Returning now to Colonel Anthony Butler, we find that his hopes were disappointed in the new Mexican administration. Santa Anna became president in April, 1833, but for a year he only occasionally exercised the duties of the office, and during his frequent and prolonged absences power rested in the hands of the vice-president, Gomez Farias—a narrow-minded but reputedly honest and patriotic citizen. The unstable equilibrium created by the alternation between the policies of Santa Anna and Farias, and the upright character of the latter, were not favorable to Butler's operations, and by the end of September (26th) he despaired of success, unless President Jackson would consent to apply pressure in a way which he proceeded to indicate.

A glance at the map will show that the Sabine River, some miles above its mouth, flows through a considerable lake. West of the Sabine the Neches River flows into the same lake. By the treaty of 1819 the boundary of the United States followed the west bank of the Sabine from its mouth,² which would necessitate crossing the Neches where it debouched into the lake. Jackson believed, however, that the Neches was merely a westerly branch of the Sabine, therefore the territory between the Sabine and the so-called Neches belonged to the United States. The question was suspended by agreement, pending the findings of a future boundary commission. Butler now urged that the President occupy this disputed strip, and garrison Nacogdoches. The Texan colonists would not consent to see the country divided and would revolt from Mexico, which would then, no doubt, accept his offer and sell to the United States. On October 2 he urged this again, and argued the boundary ambiguity naïvely and at length. To one acquainted with Texas streams his description of the Neches is ludicrous. It was nearly a mile wide, he said, where it flowed into the lake—"a bold and deep" navigable river; while the Sabine was shallow and unnavigable. Had Mr. Adams known the topography of the country, he was very certain "that a different *specification of boundary* would have been made". Therefore "the question is whether common sense and the reason of the thing does not authorize the interpretation that the western branch of the two rivers . . . should . . . be deemed the branch contemplated in the treaty as the boundary". No reply from the President is found.

¹ Crane, *Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston*, 46-47.

² *United States Treaties and Conventions* (ed. 1889), 1017.

On October 28, reverting to his earlier notion of gaining the object by indirect methods, Butler wrote a letter which drew an indignant rejoinder from President Jackson. He said that a high official had recently opened the subject with him by asking if he had "command of money". "I remember that you [President Jackson] had instructed me to use the money at my discretion and answered, Yes." He then said that two or three hundred thousand dollars would be required to get the support of an important person, without whose aid nothing could be done, and that three or four hundred thousand might have to be distributed to others. "I replied that I could arrange for the money if assured of the object"; and the official left, saying that he would continue the subject as soon as Santa Anna returned to the city. Of course you know, Butler added, who the "important" man is.

Jackson answered this letter the day he received it, November 27, 1833. He said that he had read it with care and astonishment—astonishment because such a communication had ever been entrusted to the mails without reducing it to cipher; because his own private letters and instructions had been interpreted as authority for saying that Butler "had money"; because his authorization to apply the money at discretion had been construed to mean "that I authorized you to apply it to corruption, when nothing could be further from my intention than to convey such an idea". He then explained what he had meant by "discretion". He wanted Texas, if acquired at all, to be unincumbered by Mexican grants whose conditions had not been fulfilled by the grantees, and had suggested, therefore, that Mexico could extinguish such grants by buying back the rights of the grantees, and instructing the United States to pay them with a part of the five million dollars. Butler could agree to such stipulations for the distribution of the money as his "discretion approved". "All the U. S. is interested in is the unincumbered cession, not how Mexico applies the consideration. . . . Therefore I repeat the best means to secure the object is left to your discretion—but I admonish you to give *these shrewd fellows* no room to charge you with tampering with their officers to obtain the cession thro corruption. Your duty is in exercising your sound discretion to obtain the cession of Texas to the boundary named. . . . But we are deeply interested that this treaty of cession should be obtained without any just imputation of corruption on our part." Again he repeated, "Let us have a boundary without the imputation of corruption." He urged haste in the negotiation, and instructed Butler, if he thought there was no probability of success

in arranging a boundary, to inform him, so that "we may proceed to make one ourselves, making the necessary notification through you that we will run the line and take possession of Nachedoges" [Nacogdoches].

On February 6, 1834, Butler wrote with an injured air that the President had said "*that it was a matter of no consequence to the gov't how the money was disbursed*", and he certainly did think himself justified in believing that he was authorized to act at discretion. He was convinced that the negotiation could only be completed by bribery, "or by presents if the term is more appropriate". A month later he wrote (March 7) that there was no hope of gaining Texas without taking forcible possession of that part which already belonged to the United States. "If you will withdraw me from this place and make the movement to possess that part of Texas which is ours, placing me at the head of the country to be occupied, I will pledge my head that we have all we desire in less than six months without a blow and for the price we are willing to pay for it." It was for Jackson's glory, he added, that he wished to see this done. On this letter the president wrote the following endorsement: "A. Butler What a scamp. Carefully read. The Secretary of State will reiterate his instructions to ask an extension of the treaty for running boundary line, and then recal him, or if he has recd his former instructions and the Mexican Gov't has refused, to recal him at once."

Butler continued to hold out hope, however, and did not return to the United States until the middle of 1835, and then he came on leave. On June 6, 1834, he wrote that if he could have just one hour's conversation with the President he was sure that he could return to Mexico "with the prospect of being much more useful". On November 21 he wrote that Santa Anna had asked him to suggest some way for his government to obtain money, and he had done so. Santa Anna then said that he would send Alaman to talk it over. From this Butler inferred that Alaman would soon hold the portfolio of foreign affairs, and from that gentleman, he said, "we may expect to gain all we have a right to ask". The subject was already "understood" between them. On December 24 he wrote that Señor de Estrada was minister of foreign relations, Gutiérrez minister of State, and Alaman was in Congress. With this combination he thought our prospects very bright.

In June, 1835, Butler was in Washington for a personal interview with the President. The time had at last arrived, he said,

for settling the matter in the most advantageous and satisfactory way, and on the terms of the United States, "simply by modifying a disbursement of the money to be paid". In support of his convictions he submitted a copy of a letter from Padre Hernandez, the confessor of Santa Anna's sister and a confidential agent of Santa Anna himself. It was dated March 21, 1835, and ran in part as follows: "The negotiation which you have so long desired to effect is, as I have often told you, perfectly within your power; nothing is required but to employ your means properly. Five hundred thousand dollars judiciously applied will conclude the affair, and when you think proper to authorize me to enter into the arrangement depend upon my closing it to your satisfaction." Butler's letter enclosing this copy is dated June 17; on the 22d the President endorsed it: "Nothing will be countenanced by the executive to bring this government under the remotest imputation of being engaged in corruption or bribery. . . . We have no concern in the application of the consideration to be given. . . . The public functionaries of Mexico may apply it as they may deem proper to extinguish *private claims* and give us the cession clear of all incumbrance except the grants which have been complied with."¹

On July 2 Forsyth informed Butler that the President was determined that no measures "of even an equivocal character" should be employed in the negotiations, and that no confidence was felt in his ability to accomplish anything further. However, since Butler himself seemed hopeful, he might return to Mexico and make a final effort. But he must act quickly and return in December so that a report could be made to Congress.² It is perhaps sufficient to say that he accomplished nothing and that in October the Mexican government requested his recall, on the ground that there were imputed to him "intrigues unbecoming a diplomatic agent".³ The President complied, and appointed as his successor Mr. Powhatan Ellis.

It is said that in 1832 a Louisiana paper published an item to the effect that General Houston had gone to Texas for the purpose of inciting a rebellion and that he might be expected soon to be seen raising his flag. Admitting that he did have some such object tentatively in mind—and there is some evidence to support that view,⁴—it has often been strongly hinted and sometimes openly

¹ MSS. Department of State, Despatches from Agents to Mexico, Vol. 6.

² MSS. Department of State, Instructions to Agents in Mexico, 1835, p. 49.

³ MSS. Department of State, Communications from Agents of Mexico, 1835.

⁴ See John Van Fossen to Houston, August 3, 1832, in Crane, *Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston*, 48-49; also Jackson to Van Buren,

charged that President Jackson connived at his plot. The primary authority for this is a somewhat hysterical story told by a Dr. Robert Mayo and strengthened by the well-known friendship between Houston and Jackson and the not altogether unbiassed acceptance of Mr. Adams. Mayo was an eccentric, gossipy, meddling person, who, by his own account, once admired General Jackson to the point of hero-worship. His disillusionment came in this wise: In 1830 fortune threw him in the way of a slight intimacy with Houston. As the acquaintance ripened the latter confessed that he was preparing an expedition in the United States to wrest Texas from Mexico and make it an independent country. He offered Mayo a surgeon's appointment in his army. This was declined, and their friendship progressed no further. Houston had spoken only vaguely of his method of procedure, but Mayo learned more of it later from a chance-met fellow-lodger in a Washington boarding-house, a Mr. Hunter, lately dismissed from West Point. By pretending to know more than he did, he led Hunter to reveal the whole plan. Hunter declared that he himself was a recruiting agent for the Washington district; "that there were agencies established in all the principal towns, and various parts of the United States. . . . That several thousands had already enlisted, along the sea-board from New England to Georgia, inclusive. That each man paid thirty dollars to the common fund, and took an oath of secrecy and good faith to the cause on joining the party. That they were to repair, in their individual capacities, as travellers, to different points on the banks of the Mississippi, where they had already chartered steamboats, on which to embark, and thence ply to their rendezvous, somewhere in the territory of Arkansas, or Texas, convenient for action,—and that they meant to establish an independent government, and resist any attempt of the United States to wrest so valuable a prize from them."

Dr. Mayo felt it his duty to apprise the President of this contemplated breach of our neutrality laws, and did so verbally in November, 1830. At the subsequent request of the President he made his communication in writing (December 2, 1830). Much to his surprise the president's message of December 7 did not refer to the subject. On the contrary it declared our relations with Mexico entirely satisfactory. But six years passed before an incident convinced him of Jackson's hypocrisy, and caused him to resolve, in his own words, "NEVER TO SEE HIM MORE."

January 23, 1838 (Van Buren MSS. in Library of Congress), in which General Jackson quotes from his letter-book an entry of May 31, 1829, regarding a statement made to him by General Duff Green, page 802, note 2, below.

Late in 1836, when President Jackson was getting ready to leave the White House to its new tenant, he returned many letters which Mayo had written him, and among them that of December 2, 1830. With it, according to Mayo's story, was inadvertently enclosed a copy of a letter which Jackson wrote on the subject to William Fulton, secretary of the territory of Arkansas.¹ To Mayo it carried proof that the President had believed his story but yet had taken no adequate steps to prevent the expedition—which was equivalent to conniving at it. He thought that more extensive, not to say public, efforts should have been made to investigate it; but what struck him “with petrifying amazement” was the inconsistency revealed between the suspicions expressed in this letter and the beliefs asserted in the message three days before it was written.²

This letter, which Mayo regarded as so damning, is printed by him in fac-simile. It is as follows:

Strictly Confidential.

WASHINGTON, Dec^{br}. 10th, 1830

Dr Sir

It has been stated to me that an extensive expedition against Texas is organizing in the United States, with a view to the establishment of an independent government in that province and that Genl Houston is to be at the head of it. From all the circumstances communicated to me upon this subject, and which have fallen under my observation, I am induced to believe, and hope, (notwithstanding the circumstantial manner in which it is related to me) that the information I have received is erroneous, and it is unnecessary that I add my sincere wish that it may be so. No movements have been made, nor have any facts been established which would require, or would justify the adoption of official proceedings against individuals implicated, yet so strong is the detestation of the criminal step alluded to, and such my apprehension of the extent to which the peace and honor of the country might be compromised by it, as to make me anxious to do everything short of it which may serve to illicit the truth, and to furnish me with the necessary facts (if the[y] exist) to lay the foundation of further measures. It is said that inlistments have been made for the enterprise in various parts of the Union—That the confederates are to repair as travellers to different points of the Mississippi, where they have already chartered

¹ General Jackson declared in 1838 that Mayo could only have obtained it by purloining it. (Jackson to Blair, July 19, 1838; August 9, 1838. Jackson MSS. Jackson to Blair, August 14, 1838. Van Buren MSS.) His reasons for so believing are given in his letter to Blair of August 9, and essentially the same reasons were later repeated in an affidavit. See Mayo, *The Affidavit of Andrew Jackson*, etc. (third edition, Washington, 1840), pp. 5-6.

² Mayo, *Political Sketches of Eight Years in Washington* (Baltimore, 1839), 117-129. Preliminary portions of this book were published in 1837, and doubtless Adams and some of Jackson's friends had seen them at the time when the controversy arose early in 1838.

steam Boats on which to embark—That the point of rendezvous is to be in the Arkansa Territory, and that the co-operation of the Indians is looked to by those engaged in the contemplated expedition.

I know of no one whose situation will better enable him to watch the course of things, and keep me truly and constantly advised of any movements which may serve to justify the suspicions which are entertained than yourself, and I know I can rely with confidence on your fidelity and activity. To secure your exertions in that regard, is the object of this letter, and it is because I wish it to be considered rather as a private than an official, act, that it is addressed to you instead of the governor, (who is understood to be now in Kentucky).

The course to be pursued to effect the object in view, must of necessity be left to your discretion—enjoining only, that the utmost secrecy be observed on your part. If in the performance of the duty required of you any expenses are necessarily incurred by you, I will see they are refunded.

I am respectfully yours

ANDREW JACKSON

Wm. Fulton, Esqr.¹

Mayo contended that the President did not want an investigation made and that this letter was intended merely to put the matter to sleep. Knowing from Mayo of the letter, but not disclosing its contents, John Quincy Adams early in January called on the State Department to transmit it to the House. Neither a copy of the letter nor any correspondence from Fulton in regard to it could be found in the files of the department.² Reading the letter in the House in July, Adams admitted that its contents were all that the circumstances demanded—only it had never been sent.³ This he maintained because of the absence of any record in the State Department. Jackson pertinently asked why Adams, if he honestly desired to know whether the letter had been sent and received, did not apply to Fulton, now a Senator from Arkansas, and so close at hand.⁴

For Fulton, between whom and Jackson there had been an active correspondence in these intervening months since Adams made his call, declared⁵ that he did receive the letter, and that he made an investigation and sent several reports to the President which "fully authorized the conclusion that there was not at that time (1831)

¹ Mayo, *Political Sketches*, facsimile between pages 124 and 125. Long before Mayo's book was published printed copies of the letter were numerous. See the *National Intelligencer*, July 19, 1838; *Globe*, July 21, 1838.

² The *Globe*, January 8, July 7, 21, 1838. See also Forsyth to Jackson, February 14, 1838. Jackson MSS.

³ *Globe*, July 7, 1838.

⁴ Jackson to Fulton, July 19, 1838. Jackson MSS.

⁵ His first statement was in a letter to Howard. *National Intelligencer*, July 21, 1838.

any hostile movements whatever on foot in Arkansas against Texas or Mexico".¹

Adams then countered with the argument that, even if the letter was sent, Jackson's duplicity was proved by his addressing it to the secretary instead of to the governor of Arkansas who was really at his post and not absent in Kentucky as alleged.² That is to say, there was an understanding between Jackson and Fulton to smother the whole thing.

This charge on the part of Adams would seem, however, to have been gratuitous. He failed to make out a case. On the contrary, the case for the defense became, before the affair was ended, fairly clear. For the original of the letter in question was eventually found in Arkansas and sent to the State Department, where it was placed on file. Besides, the whole tone of the correspondence between Jackson and Fulton in search for the missing letter and between Jackson and Blair and Van Buren relative to the episode has a straightforwardness that is convincing, and is without suspicion of collusion or connivance. Adams, on the other hand, whatever we may think of the way in which he obtained the letter and the use he made of it, had laid his motives open to serious criticism by making and reiterating his charges without seeking for the facts right at his hand and, apparently, by manoeuvring

¹ *Globe*, August 29, 1838. Fulton, writing to Jackson, January 11, 1838, states that he recollects the letter as one of which Jackson may be justly proud, but, as he has neither the letter nor a copy of his reply with him, desires Jackson to send him copies of both that he may use them as occasion may seem to demand. Before receiving this letter from Fulton Jackson had written to Fulton and also to Forsyth, quoting an entry in his memorandum book (see note 2, page 802), and stating that the letter and Fulton's report would probably be found in the War Department. He therefore asked that the files of the War Department be searched, and that all letters, official or unofficial, confidential or otherwise, together with Fulton's replies, be communicated to the House of Representatives. (Jackson to Fulton, Jackson to Forsyth, January 23, 1838. Jackson MSS.) As nothing was found in the War Department, Fulton writes that when he returns to Arkansas he will obtain the letter. See Poinsett to Forsyth, February 8, 1838; Forsyth to Jackson, February 14, 1838; Fulton to Jackson, February 17, 1838; also Jackson to Forsyth, March 6, 1838, and Fulton to Jackson, April 1, 1838. All these letters are among the Jackson MSS. See also Jackson to Van Buren, January 23, 1838; Van Buren MSS.

² *National Intelligencer*, August 27, 1838; *Globe*, August 28.

³ Fulton, finding that he would be unable to go to Arkansas during the summer, wrote to his father to search for the letter and copies of replies or reports on the investigation of Houston's alleged activities in Arkansas and to send them to Washington. The letter itself was found, but no replies from Fulton to Jackson, it seems, were ever discovered. See Fulton to Jackson, January 26, 1839; David Fulton (father of Senator W. S. Fulton) to Jackson, February 18, 1839; Forsyth to Jackson, March 14, 1839; W. S. Fulton to Jackson, August 21, 1839. Jackson MSS.

to prevent an investigation. On July 21 Jackson wrote to Adams demanding that the letter which the latter had read on the seventh be returned to him, and that Adams explain how he had obtained it. The letter to Adams was sent to Blair to be delivered, but as Mayo meantime had made the necessary revelation, Jackson's letter to Adams was withheld.¹

Removed from the heat of debate, Adams's argument can hardly be regarded as serious. The general was not one to look ahead and manufacture evidence for a possible contingency, and if he wanted nothing done, why did he write at all? As a matter of fact, he heard something of Houston's wild vaporings more than a year and a half before Mayo told his startling story, and immediately instructed Governor Pope to block any movement that might be made from Arkansas.² All things considered, does the letter not evince an honest desire to get at the truth? There were sufficient diplomatic reasons for wishing to keep the investigation secret.

Houston's alleged relation to the Texas revolution should here be noticed, too. He may have been nursing some Burr-like project in his active brain when he made his first visit to Texas. He did attend the Convention of April, 1833, and the constitution there adopted for the proposed state of Texas—which, be it remembered, was to remain a member of the Mexican confederation—was largely his work. But his life is a blank to history for the next two years, and it is not till past the middle of 1835, when the revolution was well under way, that we find him at Nacogdoches, speaking at a

¹ The letter to Adams which Jackson sent to Blair and also the draft are among the Jackson MSS. See also Blair to Jackson, July 30, 1838; Blair to Jackson, August 2, 1838; Jackson to Howard, August 2, 1838; Jackson to Blair, August 9, 1838; Blair to Jackson, August 23, 1838; B. C. Howard to Jackson, August 29, 1838; Jackson MSS. Jackson to Blair, August 14, 1838; Van Buren MSS. Mayo's letter to Gales and Seaton, *National Intelligencer*, August 2, 1838.

² Jackson to Van Buren, January 23, 1838. Van Buren MSS. "I have searched my Executive Book,—I can find no letter written by me to Secretary of the Territory of Arkansa Judge Fulton about the tenth of December 1830, on the subject of Texas or Mexico, but I have found the following memorandum on my memorandum Book it is as follows, 'May 21st, 1829. Genl Duff Green has furnished me with an extract of a letter from Doctor Marable to Genl Green, containing declarations of Governor Houston, late of Tennessee, that he would conquer Mexico, or Texas and be worth two Millions in two years etc. etc. Believing this to be the mere effusions of a distempered brain, but as a mere precautionary measure I have directed the Secretary of War to write, and enclose to Governor Pope of Arkansa this extract, and to instruct him to make diligent enquiry and if such illegal project should be discovered to exist, to adopt prompt measures to put it down and to give to the Government the earliest intelligence of such illegal enterprise, with the names of all those who may be concerned therein.'" See Van Buren's letter to Jackson, January 10, 1838. Van Buren MSS.

³ Copy in Edward, *History of Texas*, 196-205.

public meeting. The revolution was principally developed in the so-called Department of the Brazos, which covered most of the territory between the Trinity and Guadalupe Rivers and did not include Nacogdoches. The writer has examined hundreds of letters and public documents, both Texan and Mexican, on the development of the revolution, has collected with few exceptions the proceedings of all the public meetings and revolutionary committees, and has found nowhere a single reference to General Houston. In August, 1835, the Mexican authorities made a demand for the principal leaders of the war party, but Houston's name was not on the list. This, of course, is negative evidence, but it is strong, and ought to justify the conclusion that Houston was not even secretly active in instigating the revolution. It is hardly within the bounds of possibility that he could have concealed every trace of his work, if the contrary were true. When the revolution was once begun able men were needed, and his recognized qualities and military experience carried him early to the front.

Pausing for a moment to review the evidence at this point, there appears no sufficient reason to accuse Jackson of conniving at Houston's project to revolutionize Texas or of countenancing Butler's underhanded intrigues for influencing his negotiations. On the contrary, his attitude is straightforward and apparently above reproach. It is necessary now to examine briefly his conduct during the Texas revolution.

As the result to some extent of antecedent causes, and particularly of the mutual distrust between the American colonists and the Mexican government, the Texas revolution developed rapidly through 1835. The first blow was struck in October, and by the end of the year every Mexican soldier was expelled from the country. But the next spring Santa Anna came with an overwhelming army, and for a time carried everything before him. The holocausts of the Alamo and Goliad spread horror and indignation wherever they were heard of, and struck terror to thousands in Texas. As Santa Anna advanced, a wild flight to the Sabine was begun, and women, children, and slaves formed an endless, suffering procession of refugees from the Guadalupe to the western limits of the United States. The weather was cold, it rained incessantly, and many without a conveyance struggled through the mud on foot. By rare good fortune Houston caught the Mexican general in a trap—he did not lead him into it, as is

¹ Proceedings of the meeting at Nacogdoches, August 15, 1835. MS., Austin Papers, L 6, at the University of Texas.

commonly believed—and crushed him at San Jacinto, April 21, 1836. This stopped the panic-stricken flight from the country—the “runaway scrape”, as it came to be called.

The Texan rebels had expected help from the United States, and they received it; they would unquestionably have received a great deal more, if the revolution had lasted longer. Public meetings were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Baltimore and Washington. Large sums of money were subscribed, and from New York, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati companies of volunteers were sent. Throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana the excitement was high and many volunteers “emigrated” to Texas, the expenses of their equipment being paid by those who remained at home.¹ Even from far-off Maine at least one letter was received by the provisional governor of Texas offering military service, Messrs. Augustus and William C. White vowing “that we will act the brave part of a soldier which you would require of us . . . we solemnly vow that we will fight or die for your country”,²—provided their expenses were paid to the scene of operations.

The fact that armed bands were leaving the United States to join the Texans was notorious, and brought repeated protests from the Mexican *chargé d'affaires* that the government was not sufficiently active in enforcing neutrality.³

It may be at once conceded that no very strenuous efforts were made to put in force the spirit of the law of April 20, 1818, but, after all, was not the law itself at fault? It gave the executive no adequate power to prevent a filibustering expedition. Forsyth industriously wrote letters to the district attorneys telling them to prosecute to the utmost all violations of the law,⁴ but replies were almost uniformly to the effect that no tangible breach of the law had occurred. No doubt the attorneys frequently sympathized with the movement, and it will not be contended that the executive was indifferent to the success of the Texan rebels, but it is a fact that convictions would have been impossible. Judges Thompson and Betts of the United States circuit court of southern New York

¹ Many newspapers and some documents in the Archives of Texas might be quoted in support of the statements made above.

² To Governor Smith, January 10, 1836, archives of Texas, D 3237.

³ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 351, Vol. XII., pp. 716, 720; 24 Cong., 1 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 256, Vol. VI., pp. 29, 30; 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, pp. 40, 65, 87.

⁴ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 74, Vol. III., pp. 3-4, 23; 24 Cong., 1 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 256, Vol. VI., p. 36; 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, p. 42.

replied to the grand jury's request for information that it was not a breach of the law to hold meetings in New York and appoint committees "to provide means and make collections for the purpose of enabling the inhabitants of Texas to engage in a civil war with the sovereignty of Mexico, now at peace with the United States". The law applied, said the court, only to military expeditions carried on from the United States, and donations were in no sense a "beginning or setting on foot or providing the means for" a military expedition from the United States.¹ It did not apply to individuals either, and was evaded by the contention that the volunteers were emigrating to Texas as individual citizens. An editorial in the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* declared that it did not mean "to prevent any citizen from taking passage in any merchant vessel, to go *anywhere* and with *any* intent, and with arms and munitions of war".² In the face of popular opinion and the defects of the law it was little enough, therefore, that the government could do.

In this connection should be mentioned the President's endorsement on a letter from Stephen F. Austin. Austin, with William H. Wharton and Branch T. Archer, had been appointed by the provisional government of Texas to negotiate loans and otherwise enlist sympathy in the United States. The commissioners were not very successful in obtaining money, and as news continued to reach them of the desperate situation in Texas Austin became frantic. On April 15, 1836, less than a week before the battle of San Jacinto, he addressed a letter to "Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Richard M. Johnson, John Forsyth, Lewis Cass, T. H. Benton, and to any member of the Cabinet or Congress of all parties and all sections of the United States". In it he begged that Texas be given a share in the distribution of the surplus revenue of the United States. General Jackson endorsed this: "The writer did not reflect that we have a treaty with Mexico, and our national faith is pledged to support it. The Texans before they took the step to declare themselves Independent which has aroused all Mexico against them ought to have pondered well—it was a rash and premature act, our neutrality must be faithfully maintained."³

¹ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Doc.*, No. 74, Vol. III., pp. 5-8.

² *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, November 25, 1835.

³ Jackson MSS. A copy of the letter without the endorsement can be found in the Austin Papers, and it is printed in Raines, *A Year Book for Texas*, II. 435-436.

In July, 1836, P. W. Grayson and James Collinsworth presented themselves as agents of the Texas government, but Forsyth told them that he could not deal with them officially, since their credentials lacked the seal of their govern-

Another question of neutrality arose over the occupation of Nacogdoches by Major-General E. P. Gaines, after the revolution was practically over. He was ordered to the south-western frontier, January 23, 1836, to enforce neutrality and keep the Indians quiet.¹ By the thirty-third article of the treaty of April 5, 1831, the United States and Mexico had mutually pledged themselves to restrain the Indians under their respective jurisdictions from hostilities and incursions,² and it was now feared that conditions in Texas might encourage the Mexican Indians to commit depredations which the Mexican government was in no position to punish, and that this disorder would in turn extend itself to the United States side of the border. In such an event our government held that it would be its duty to cross the frontier and check the hostilities. On a hypothetical statement of the case the Mexican minister, Gorostiza, agreed with Forsyth in this view, September 23, 1836, but he was careful to add that he was sure no such measures were required on the Texas frontier.³ Gaines's attitude is disclosed by a letter of March 29 to the secretary of war. He said:

Should I find any disposition on the part of the Mexicans or their red allies to menace our frontier, I cannot but deem it to be my duty not only to hold the troops of my command in readiness for action in defence of our slender frontier, but to anticipate their lawless movements, by crossing our supposed or imaginary national boundary, and meeting the savage marauders wherever to be found in their approach towards our frontier.⁴

With this disposition Gaines was perhaps none too critical of the evidence that came before him. On the strength of it he moved over to the Sabine in the latter part of April. Early in May he was instructed to use his discretion about crossing the boundary, but to go no further than Nacogdoches. Gorostiza protested that the United States had no right to enter the disputed territory,⁵ and

ment. Besides, the President would not act definitely upon the subject of Texas until he had received the report of a confidential agent. He suggested, however, that they write him a private letter setting forth the essential terms of their instructions. This they did, stating the terms on which the annexation of Texas to the United States would be highly acceptable to the people of Texas. P. W. Grayson and James Collinsworth to Forsyth, July 14, 1836; Forsyth to Jackson, July 15, 1836. Jackson MSS. The letter of Grayson and Collinsworth bears date of July 16, but Forsyth says that the date is an error, as he received the letter on the 14th.

¹ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 351, Vol. XII., p. 765.

² *United States Treaties and Conventions* (ed. 1889), 673.

³ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, pp. 84, 89.

⁴ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 351, Vol. XII., p. 768.

⁵ 24 Cong., 1 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 256, Vol. VI., pp. 32-33, 35; 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 190, Vol. VII., p. 75.

Forsyth replied that Gaines had not been ordered to go to Nacogdoches, but not to go beyond it; he hoped that it would not be necessary, but firmly asserted that under certain conditions the United States would be justified in taking the step by the treaty of 1831.¹ On June 28 Gaines did cross the river and occupy Nacogdoches, which he held for several months. Reports soon got into the papers and Gorostiza repeatedly asked if they were true,² but as late as October 4 Forsyth disclaimed any direct knowledge of the matter.³ On October 15 Gorostiza asked for his passports, and abandoned his extraordinary mission to the United States,⁴ an act which his government fully approved.⁵ He declared that General Gaines got his information about the Indians from Texans and their friends, which should have caused him to distrust it; his friendship for Texas was notorious, and had done Mexico great harm, thousands of volunteers having gone to help Texas who would not have done so otherwise.⁶ His charge was not entirely true. Lieutenant Bonnel made an independent investigation and found evidence to indicate that Indians on the United States side were being instigated to invade Texas.⁷

To admit, however, that Gaines was over-credulous and extremely pro-Texan in sympathy is still far from showing that Jackson wished him to be so. On the contrary, it is evident that while the President was quite easy in his own mind as to his right under the treaty to cross the boundary as a necessary measure of defense he wanted no question of the necessity to exist. He had to invest General Gaines with discretionary powers, but he wrote him September 4—unfortunately a rather belated caution, one must concede—to be very “careful not to be deceived by the evidence on which an act involving so much responsibility” was to be justified; he must not take the step, “unless the peace of the frontier be actually dissolved, or there be a moral certainty that the Indians are in hostile array for that purpose and are obtaining the means of operation from the Mexican territory”.⁸

The same attitude is maintained to the end of his “reign”. Referring in his message of December 5, 1836, to conditions in Texas he advised strict impartiality toward the belligerents, because “the

¹ 24 Cong., 1 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 256, Vol. VI., p. 33.

² 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, Vol. I., pp. 44-45, 47, 49, 52, 58, 63, 68, 91.

³ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 190, Vol. VII., p. 106.

⁴ 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, Vol. I., p. 100.

⁵ 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 160, Vol. II., p. 85.

⁶ 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, Vol. I., p. 100.

⁷ 25 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.*, No. 351, Vol. XII., p. 774.

⁸ Abstract of the letter in 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, Vol. I., p. 84.

known desire of Texas to become a part of our system . . . is calculated to expose our conduct to misconstruction in the eyes of the world".¹ And again on December 22 he recommended delay in recognizing the independence of Texas, "at least until the lapse of time or the course of events shall have proved beyond cavil or dispute the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the government constituted by them".² Finally, when Santa Anna, just released from his chains in Texas, visited Washington in January, 1837, and proposed a cession of Texas to the United States for a "fair consideration", he was answered that

as matters now stood, the U. S. could not act in the matter until we were placed in a situation to know the disposition of the Texians, when we would with pleasure when asked by the two powers interpose with our good offices to restore harmony between them. Until Texas is acknowledged Independent we cannot receive her minister or hold any correspondence with her as a nation. And as the Genl thro his Minister here cannot act³ We can only instruct our Minister at Mexico to receive any proposition her Government may make on the subject—Until we hear her views we cannot speak to Texas.

Having then outlined to Santa Anna a proposal which under certain conditions the United States might make for an extension of her boundary to include Texas and northern California, the President continued,

But it must be understood that this proposition is made to meet the views of the Genl, and not by the U. States to acquire Territory or take advantage of the disturbed state of Mexico but to meet the wishes of her Government and secure peace and tranquility on our respective borders and lay the foundation of a permanent tranquility between the U. S. and Mexico that has so happily existed, and which has been like to have been interrupted by the civil war in Texas.⁴

¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III. 237-238.

² *Ibid.*, 265-269. It is likely that Van Buren helped the President to frame this message. At least, so much is indicated by the following memorandum (copy), found among the Van Buren MSS.: "The great and delicate question of, shall we acknowledge the Independence of Texas,—is the evidence contained in the report of our confidential agent Mr Moffet [Morfit], sufficient to shew that Texas has a de facto Govt. and the means to support it. See the Resolutions of Congress and compare the facts contained in the report with it—see report on which the independence of So America was acknowledged."

³ On May 20, 1836, the Mexican Congress passed a resolution not to recognize any act of Santa Anna's while he was a prisoner. Gorostiza transmitted a copy of this to President Jackson, July 9, 1836, 24 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc.*, No. 1, Vol. I., p. 37.

⁴ Memorandum among the Jackson MSS., no date.

Throughout his administration General Jackson displayed, it seems to the writer, a desire to maintain unsullied the dignity and honor of the United States in regard to the Texas question. He was not the most fortunate in his choice of agents, perhaps, and certainly Butler ought to have been summarily recalled; but he did not connive at Houston's revolutionary scheme, whatever it may have been; he heartily condemned Butler's tortuous plotting; he did what the law permitted to enforce neutrality when the revolution began; he disapproved Gaines's invasion of Nacogdoches on the strength of the evidence submitted; and he opposed precipitate recognition of the new state when the revolution was accomplished. We are judging him largely by his own words, it is true, but one has much to do who proves that they were not sincere. For the general was characteristically neither a hypocrite nor a liar.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

DOCUMENTS

Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum.

IN the present number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW I have attempted to edit the first part of a work, hitherto only existing in manuscript,¹ which I venture to think is of great interest and value, and which has suffered from a remarkable neglect during the 450 years of printing. For an infinite deal of matter has issued from the press very inferior in all respects to this *Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum* or *Directorium ad passagium*, as it is more briefly called by its author. What is here given amounts to nearly two-thirds of the entire work—which runs to about 24,000 words—is addressed to King Philip VI. of France (Philip of Valois), and was submitted to the council of the French king on July 26, 1330. In the royal registers of the French kingdom it is described as the proposal of a certain wise prelate, formerly a Dominican, and now an archbishop in the empire of Constantinople; but, as we see from the narrative itself, the writer had evidently been a missionary in Persia, and that perhaps for many years. His main object is evidently the same as that of his famous Venetian contemporary Marino Sanuto the elder, in the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*; he aims at reviving the crusading energies of Western Europe, though primarily against the Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Church—the objects of his bitterest hate: the purpose of a legitimate crusade, against the Moslem, though undeniably present to his mind, is as undeniably in the background. On the other hand, the conquest of Russia, a land of Greek Christianity only less important than the Eastern Empire itself, and its subjugation to papal obedience, occupies a very prominent place in his thoughts; various routes to the Levant are lengthily discussed; an easy victory over the Turks is predicted; and something like a policy is sketched in outline for the administration of the Orient, thus conquered, by its new Catholic rulers.

Incidentally the “sage prelate” refers to his own wide and long experience of the Nearer and Middle East. He had seen armies of well-nigh all these countries go forth to war; he had been with

¹ Except for the extracts printed by Quétif in the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I. 571–574; see below.

Martin Zaccaria, the Genoese captain of Chios, in some of his victories over the Turks; still more, he had once made his way so far south as to lose sight of the northern pole, in a region where he found the Antarctic reach an "elevation" of 24 degrees—about the latitude of southern Madagascar. Again, after describing the races that followed the Greek rite—Slavs, Bulgars, Wallachs, Georgians, Goths and others—he tells us how in his southern wanderings he once arrived at a "fairly large" island in the Indian Sea (probably Socotra), wherein baptism and circumcision were both practised, and about which he declares, with tantalizing brevity, he could have furnished many a curious detail, if he had not regarded the whole as foreign to his subject. Once more, he relates how in Persia (where he seems to have journeyed and missionized as early as 1308) he noticed the slave markets glutted with Greek captives; on the other hand he was delighted to find that the bare rumor of an attack from Latin Christendom threw the Moslems of Iran into a state of acute alarm.

He appears to have been one of the prime agents in that more complete submission of Lesser Armenia to Rome which took place in 1318; he speaks of his residence in "Constantinople or Pera"; while from his detailed treatment of Russia and the character of his references to that country, its lack of stone or brick (save only in the Latin cities on the coast), the nature of its people, and other particulars, we may infer that he had seen for himself a large portion of the lands on the north of the Black Sea.

The authorship of the *Directorium* remains a mystery. It has been ascribed by some to that John de Cora who in 1330 was appointed by Pope John XXII. archbishop of Sultaniyah in North Persia, and who is probably the author of a certain *Livre de l'Estat du Grant Caan*, written by command of the aforesaid Pope John, which gives some valuable material for the history of the Catholic missions of the fourteenth century in Asia, and especially in China. But our present writer, though fully contemporary with John de Cora, though belonging to the same order, and though once, at any rate, associated with the same mission, cannot possibly be identified with the bishop of Sultaniyah; the former's episcopate "in the empire of Constantinople" cannot be made to correspond with any of the Persian sees; while the attitude adopted by the *Directorium* toward the Eastern Church is *toto caelo* removed from the diplomatic attitude of the *Livre du Grant Caan*, where something like an alliance is suggested between the Catholic missionaries in the Mongol realms and the native Nestorian Christians of the same countries. And if the identification with John de Cora is unsatis-

factory, no better case has yet been made out for any other definite authorship. Very early in the manuscript history of the book a tradition seems to have arisen ascribing it to Burchard or Brocard of Mount Sion, the author of a celebrated, important, and charming work of pilgrim-travel; but as to this it is enough to say, here, that no work of a Latin Christian in the later Middle Ages shows a more liberal spirit than this *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, while the furious bigotry of the *Directorium* alone gives it a distinct place in the literature of European expansion at this time.

Once only has the *Directorium* received real attention hitherto,—when in 1719 Quétif printed some extracts from the work, with remarks thereon, in the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*;¹ Sir Henry Yule's reference to our treatise in *Cathay and the Way Thither*² is simply and entirely based upon the few short extracts of the *Scriptores*; while even Quétif, though, here as elsewhere, showing his genius for selection and illustration, never attempts to give a general idea of the whole treatise, much less to reproduce it textually. The latter task, indeed, was no part of his business; it must be the principal part of the present undertaking.

For this edition I have used two of the three existing manuscripts of the original Latin text, viz., the Paris MS. 5138 Lat. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Oxford MS. No. 43 in Magdalen College Library. The former, though a transcript of the seventeenth century, represents a rather better text than the latter, which is the work of a fifteenth-century scribe, apparently almost, if not quite, innocent of the Latin tongue, and producing his result simply by the copying of a work whose meaning he did not clearly understand. In many places I have preferred to give the Oxford scribe the benefit of the doubt; thus I assume that his manuscript reads *Ludouicus* although the writing is most plainly *Ludonicus*—here, as in hundreds of other cases, the difficulty arising, in all likelihood, from one or more accidental imperfections in the copyist's original. Yet in not a few cases M. (the Magdalen MS.) supplies better readings, and doubtless represents the original more truly, than P. (the Paris text); in the latter a revision was evidently intended, and a few corrections have been made in the margin, but this much-needed process of emendation has been very imperfectly performed.

As, on the whole, I believe the best method to be that of reproducing to the letter the most satisfactory MS. in hand, noticing in foot-page references all variations of inferior MSS. (often of course preferable to the readings of the "standard") I have tried,

¹ I. 571-574.

² I. 191.

in the first place, to print the Paris MS. intact, and, in the second, have endeavored to mark every place where the Magdalen copy differs from the Paris. But I have not thought it necessary to mention every instance of certain regularly recurring forms naturally differing from those of P., such as *d* for *t* in *sicud*, *velud*, etc.; *c* for *t* in words like *pocius*; *i* for *y* in words like *tipus*; *y* for *i* in *Ytalia*, etc.; *n* for *m*, as in *inpugnant*; *m̃pn* for *mn*, as in *solempnis*, *dampnum*, etc.; *ff* for *F* or *f*, as in *ffrancia*, *Affrica*; *p* for *b*, as in *optinent*; *f* (more rarely) for *ph*, as in *faretra*; the invariable *e* for *ae* and *oe*, as in *emulatio*; the equally necessary medieval *i* for *j*, as in *iugum*; the single *r* for double *r*, as in *Saraceni*; the single *s* for double *s*, as in *Assasini*; the *t* for *ct*, as in *cuntus*; and the insertion or omission of the *h* as settled by usage before P.'s time, as in *habundans*, *hiis*, *Ierusalem*.

In the following (October) number of the REVIEW, I hope, while printing the remainder of the *Directorium*, to discuss the document, as a whole, and in each of its more interesting passages, in greater detail.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

DIRECTORIUM

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Incipit directorium ¹ad faciendum passagium transmarinum,¹ editum per quendam² fratrem ordinis Praedicatorum, scribentem experta et visa potius quam audita, quod dirigitur serenissimo Principi et Domino Domino³ Philippo Regi Francorum, compilatum anno Domini millesimo CCC. tricesimo.⁴

De celsitudinis vestrae sancto proposito, Domine mi Rex, in Romana curia fama celebri diuulgato exultat et jubilat orbis totus quod scilicet tanquam alter prouisus de superis Machabaeus pro aemulatione legis,⁵ pro zelo fidei, pro liberatione terrae Christi sanguine consecratae sumitis bellum Dei. Et quia pauper ego non possum obsequi vestrae regiae magestati⁶ in curribus et in equis quod Deo teste libentius et uberius facerem si haberem, cum hoc opusculo ad passagium directorio in nomine Domini, qui in tabernaculum testimonii pelles arietum et pilos caprarum praecepit et docuit offerenda, et plus quam diuites larga munera exhibentes pauperulam commendauit duo tantum aera minuta in gazophylacium offerentem vestrae felicitatis pedibus humiliter me prosterno. In quo quidem directorio non tam aliorum relatione audita quam ea

¹ *Ad passagium faciendum*, M.

² *Quendam*, M.

³ *Sic*, P.

⁴ *Ad serenissimum principem et Dominum Philippum Francorum regem illustrem. Anno domini M^oCC^oC. xxij^o [1332].*

⁵ M. omits *legis*.

⁶ *Sic*, P.

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quae per XXIII. annos et amplius quibus fui in terris infidelium commoratus causa fidei praedicandae visa refero et experta. Licet igitur vestra potentia multos habeat directores, et sit¹ impossibile quod ad beatitudinem tantae praeeminentiae informatores non confluant undequaque, tamen hoc postulo, hoc supplico, mente tota, ut ejus mei fidelis vestrae celsitudinis ac deuoti hoc laboratum opusculum non repellat. Si enim aliquicunque majora forte descripserint² vel promiserint grandiora, puto tamen et certus sum quod utiliora non potuerunt³ exhibere nec ostendere veriora. Si quis vero in iis quae inferius dissero et describo punctum se reputet⁴ siue laesum, non veritati nec ipsam dicenti sed sibi irascatur potius quia talis. Non enim quisquam palpari debuit aut vereri ubi directio tanti exercitus aperitur et de tutela ac salute agitur tanti Regis. Inter haec cuperem si mereor⁵ tui, Domine mi, vestigia prosequi tam sanctum [P. 2] negotium exequentis, non sicut unus de mercenariis, sed sicut unus de illis qui de micis quae cadunt de mensa tua cupiunt saturari, ut sicut haec describo literis, digito demonstrem.⁶ Huic autem opusculo *directorium ad passagium* nomen dedi, quod ad significationem duorum gladiatorum quorum Dominus sufficientiam attestatur, et ad typum Apostolorum, quorum numerus in duodenario consummatur, in duos libellos et duodecim partes distinctum exhibeo et completum, ut sicut gladius viuus et efficax verbi Dei ipsorum Apostolorum ministerio durata corda gentium penetrauit earumque colla⁷ indomita suae⁸ subdidit iugo legis, sic secundus gladius vestrae invictae potentiae ac virtutis exemptus de pharetra regni vestri, velut alter gladius Gedeonis, tabernacula hostilium nationum diuidat, deiciat, conterat, et conculcet. Amen.

Primus itaque libellus continet octo partes. Prima pars est de quatuor motiuis ad passagium faciendum. Primum motium est exemplum praedecessorum vestrorum Regum Franciae, qui semper inimicos crucis et fidei attriuerunt et se in istis exemplum aliis Christianorum Regibus praebuerunt. Secundum motium est desiderium dilatationis fidei et nominis Christiani. Tertium est compassio super perditione maximorum Christiani nominis populorum. Quartum est desiderium recuperandi terram sanctam Christi sanguine consecratam.

Secunda pars est de quinque praeambulis⁹ ante inceptionem passagii ordinandis. Primum praeambulum est quod orationes fieri pro prosperitate passagii per omnes mundi ecclesias ordinentur. Secundum est quod illi qui hoc tam sanctum negotium prosequuntur quantum ad duo

¹ Sic, M.

² Scripserint, M.

³ Poterunt, M.

⁴ Reputat, M.

⁵ Mererer, M.

⁶ Demonstrarem, M.

⁷ Cella, M.

⁸ Sua vi, M.

⁹ Panibus, apparently, M.

principaliter regulentur. Primo, quod vitam suam corrigant et emendent, et deinceps in melius ordinent et disponant. Secundo, quod se exercent et assuefaciant in iis quae ad mores et disciplinam pertinent militares. Tertium praeambulum est, quod inter illos qui dominium obtinent super mare pax et concordia reformetur. Quartum est, quod de nauibus et galeis¹ ad sufficientem numerum disponatur. Quintum est, quod in primo futuro vere duodecim galeae pro maris custodia sint [M. 1 verso] armatae. [P. 3] Tertia pars vias quatuor designat, ut ex eis possim eligere meliorem. Prima via est per Africam, quae monstratur et monetur penitus euitanda. Secunda est per mare; quae non est pro militibus et pro equis ullatenus facienda. Tertia est per Italiam, via tuta et bona, cujus progressus tangitur esse triplex. Primus est per Aquileiam et Istriam, etc., ut infra. ²Secundus per Brundisium ciuitatem Apuliae, etc., ut infra. Tertius per Hydruntum ciuitatem similiter Apuliae, etc., ut infra.² Quarta via est per Alamaniam³ et Ungariam, via facilis et salubris.

Quarta pars est quae istarum viarum sit pro Rege et personam suam sectantibus, et quae aliis⁴ diuersarum partium exercitibus eligenda. Pro Rege via per Alamaniam et Ungariam eligitur facienda. Pro exercitatis in mari et pro rerum custodia deputatis quae per mare portabuntur eligitur via maris. Pro aliis per viam Aquileiae et⁵ per progressus Italiae via describitur eligenda, sicut magis ipsi viae siue progressui sunt propinqui.

Quinta pars, quia monet per regnum Rassiae et per Graecorum imperium transeundum, continet in se tria. Primo, quod non sit cum eis pactum aliquod faciendum. Et ad hoc probandum nituntur quatuor rationes.

Prima ratio sumitur ex parte fidei, quam ipsi tanquam haeretici abiciunt et impugnant. Secunda sumitur ne videatur pars accipi⁶ contra Deum et pactum fieri cum inferno. Tertia sumitur ex parte Romanae Ecclesiae, quam ipsi ut meretricem et malignantem despiciunt et contemnunt.⁷ Quarta accipitur quia non est praestandum auxilium siue fauor fidei et Ecclesiae inimicis.

Quinta pars continet secundum, quod scilicet non sit in eis ullatenus confidendum. Et hoc per alias quatuor rationes. Prima ratio accipitur a proprietate infidelitatis omnium orientalium nationum. Secunda sumitur quia ipsi non solum sunt de natione sed etiam de domo magis proditoria orientis. Tertia accipitur ab ipsorum persona. Nam non solum sunt de natione et de domo proditoria et iniqua, sed ipsi⁸ proditores

¹ *Galiis*, M.

² *Secundus . . . infra*. These two clauses are omitted by M.

³ *Alamanniam*, M., and so elsewhere.

⁴ *Pro aliis*, M.

⁵ *Aquileye ac*, M.

⁶ M. omits *accipi*.

⁷ *Dispiciunt et contempnunt*, M.

⁸ Here M. adds *per nouas prodiciones*.

patrum suorum proditioes superant et extendunt. Quarta ratio sumitur a [P. 4] casu simili, in quo Graeci fuerunt machinati mala plurima¹ contra Francos. Quinta insuper pars demonstrat tertium, ostendendo quatuor causas justas, licitas, et honestas ad dictorum dominium inuadendum. Prima ratio est, quia iste qui nunc dominatur in Graecia Imperatorum lineam, originem, vel sanguinem non attingit. Secunda, quia nullum jus obtinet nisi proditorium, quod in parentum suorum proditionibus acquisiuit. Tertia est, quia non detinet in damnum alterius cujuscunque,² sed in detrimentum specialiter domus vestrae. Quarta est vindicta effusi sanguinis magnorum et multorum fidelium et nobilium Gallicorum. Sexta pars continet quatuor facilitates imperium obtinendi. Prima est, quia Graeci Deum, sapientiam, vitae sanctitatem, et probitatem armorum perdiderunt postquam a fide catholica discesserunt. Secunda est, imperii lacrymabilis depopulatio et lamentabilis solitudo. Tertia, ex eorum inordinato temporali capite demonstratur.³ Quarta prouenit quia si inordinatus est eorum temporalis Dominus Imperator, inordinatio est sacerdos.

Septima pars continet duas partes. Prima⁴ dat modum ad Thessalonicam⁵ et Constantinopolim capiendas; quibus habitis, totum imperium obtinetur. Secunda⁶ ostendit septem utilitates euidentis quas ex captione imperii passagium consequetur. Prima est, quod Ecclesia tota orientalis ad fidem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae reducetur. Secunda est, quod de ipso imperio⁷ victualia copiose pro toto passagio habebuntur. Tertia, quod exercitus non dimittet hostem post se de cujus proditionibus habeat dubitare. Quarta, quod totum nauile habebit portus plures optimos et securos. Quinta, quod qui passagium in posterum subsequenter habebunt loca ad quae declinando poterunt recreari. Sexta, quod illud quod de terra sancta et aliis terris infidelium conquiretur per istud imperium poterit conseruari. Septima, quod si con[M. 2 r]tingeret exercitum sine capite remanere ibi reduci poterit et tueri.

[P. 5] Octaua pars continet sex ordinationes necessarias ad acquisitionem imperium sub Francorum dominio⁸ conseruandum. Prima, quod omnes Latini aut comburantur⁹ aut de imperio expellantur qui fidem Romanae Ecclesiae negauerunt et Graecorum perfidiae adhaeserunt. Secunda, quod omnes eorum monachi qui fidem veram non receperint de imperio ad partes occiduas expellantur et quod nullus ad illum ordinem in¹⁰ posterum in monachum induatur. Tertia, quod quilibet

¹ *Pluri plurima*, M.

² *Cuiusque*, M.

³ *Demonstrantur*, M.

⁴ *Primo*, M.

⁵ *Tessalonicam*, M.

⁶ *Secundo*, M., preceded, apparently, by a 2, an early instance of Arabic figuring.

⁷ *Impio*, M.

⁸ *Domino*, M.

⁹ *Comburentur*, M.

¹⁰ *Im*, M.

tradat unum de suis filiis Latinis moribus et literis imbuendum. Quarta, quod omnes eorum libri diligentius comburantur¹ in quibus errores contra fidem catholicam continentur. Quinta, quod omnes in sancta Sophia congregati, facta confessione fidei, Francorum dominio spontanee se submittant. Sexta, quod² Graecorum ecclesiis quinque obseruantiae auferantur quos in subuersionem fidei et dominii esse constat. Primam obseruantiam habent quia in tota Graecorum Ecclesia non est religio nisi una, Calogerorum scilicet perfidorum. Secundam, quod nullus, nisi sit Calogerorum, sit³ episcopus siue Abbas. Tertiam, quod soli Calogeri confessiones audiunt⁴ tam clericorum quam etiam laicorum. Quartam, quod saepe pro quibusdam suis obseruantis ad suas conueniunt ecclesias, et ibi liberius conspirationes inueniunt⁵ et pertractant. Quintam, quod quilibet qui vult et potest facit ecclesiunculam in suo praedio siue domo, ubi secretius tractant conciliabula supradicta. Continet etiam⁶ haec pars quinque remedia contra quinque praedicta. Continet insuper et ostendit facilitatem regnum Russiae obtinendi.

Secundus libellus continet quatuor partes. Prima pars et nona continent⁷ sex diuersitates hominum a quibus, quantum ad quatuor, debetur⁸ pro nostri custodia praecaueri, videlicet in reuelatione secreti, in conuictu contubernii, in familiaritate obsequii, et in commissione cuiusque periculosi negotii. Primi sunt Armeni. Secundi sunt Gasimili.⁹ Tertii sunt Assuriani.¹⁰ Quarti sunt Murtati.¹¹ Quinti sunt Baptizati.

Praedicatorum¹² autem mores in singulis¹³ capitulis describuntur quantum spectat ad personae vestrae [P. 6] bonam custodiam et tutelam. Sexti sunt Assassini,¹⁴ qui tanto afferunt majus periculum et important quanto minus ab aliis cognoscuntur.

Secunda et decima pars ostendit breuissimi transitus locum maris¹⁵ qui Hellespontus et Bosphorus¹⁶ et Brachium sancti Georgii nominatur. Continet autem haec pars quinque rationes euidentes quod ibi sit magis congruum et necessarium hostes crucis inuadere quam in aliqua parte mundi. Prima ratio est, quia a Francia usque Hierusalem non est plus de mari nisi ille brevis transitus nauigandum, qui ita brevis est quod fere de una ripa ad aliam vox clamantis hominis audiretur. Secunda

¹ *Comburentur*, M.

² *Quod a*, M.

³ *Fit*, M.

⁴ M. adds *omnium*.

Adinueniunt, M.

⁵ *Et for etiam*, M.

⁶ *Continet*, M.

⁷ *Debetis*, M.

⁸ *Gasmili* or *Gasimli*, M.

⁹ *Suriani*, M.

¹⁰ *Murcati*, M.

¹¹ *Predictorum*, M., as P. corrects in margin.

¹² *Singulis suis*, M.

¹³ *Assasini*, M. here and elsewhere.

¹⁴ *Qui autem Ellespontus et Boforus*, M.

est, quia ibi possunt hostes inuadi cum minori nostrorum periculo et cum maiori facilitate et 'commodo. Tertia, quia' in toto illo giro maris omnes portus alii per hostes crucis possidentur in quibus posset tute exercitus recreari. Quarta, quia caput hostile est prinitus conterendum ubi Turchi plus caput esse ²Sarracenorum quam Soldanus per² respectum ad armorum potentiam ostenduntur. Quinta ratio ostendit³ per tria media quod facilius⁴ et utilius est Turcos prius inuadere quam Soldanum. Primum medium est, quia Turchi possunt Soldanum⁵ ac subsidium exhibere, et non e conuerso. Secundum est, quia posito quod Soldanus posset Turchis subsidium exhibere, nostris obsistere parum posset, cum Ægyptii sint effaeminati et viles propter otium et delectationes carnis assiduas quibus vacant. Tertium medium est de facto Petri, scilicet heremitæ, qui multa regna in breui tempore acquisiuit, et hoc quia prius Turchos diminuit et attriuit.

Tertia et undecima pars ostendit loca⁶ ab omni parte quorum⁷ pro exercitu victualia habebuntur, ab aquilone, id est, a sinistris pro more pocicum⁸ de multis prouinciis quæ specialiter describuntur, ab occidente, id est, a tergo, de ⁹Thracia, Macedonia, etc., ubi etiam loca⁹ nominantur, a meridie, id est, a dextris, loca et prouinciæ describuntur portus in generali, et describuntur¹⁰ [M. 2 v] ad quos valeant declinare omnia vasa victualia deportantia.¹¹ Ad orientem etiam, id est, ante, quia ipsa Turchia inter omnes mundi prouincias est fertilis et abundans. [P. 7] Quarta et duodecima pars, quæ insuper finem facit, sex continet rationes quod est de Turchis faciliter triumphandum. Prima ratio est, quia ipsorum malitia est completa, et Dominus est vobiscum. Secunda, quia Turchi in se ipsos multipliciter sunt diuisi. Tertia, quia debita¹² capita sua, qui bella nouerant, perdiderunt. Quarta, quia suam militiam instaurauerunt de Graecis Sarracenatis captiuis empticiis atque seruis. Quinta, quia sine armis defensiuis sunt, et modum bellandi et industriam nullam habent. Sexta ¹³prophetiam quam¹³ habent tam ipsi quam alii Sarraceni quod his temporibus per quendam Francorum Principem debent destrui et deleri. Amen.

Post hæc admonetur quod propter prædicta non sunt belli dispositio et prudentia et diligens custodia negligendæ. In fine omnium est intentio dirigenda quod soli Deo honor et gloria tribuatur.

¹ Comodo. Tertia est, quia, M.

² Saracenorum quam Danorum per, M.

³ Ostenditur, M.

⁴ M. here adds *melius*.

⁵ M. here adds *defendere*.

⁶ M. here adds *et regiones unde*.

⁷ M. omits *quorum*.

⁸ Per mare Ponticum, M. as P. corrects in margin.

⁹ Tracia, Machedonia, etc., ubi loca etiam M.

¹⁰ Exprimuntur, M.

¹¹ Deportantes, M.

¹² M. omits *debita*.

¹³ M. here adds *quod* and reads *quandam* for *quam*.

Prima pars. De quatuor motiuis ad passagium faciendum.

Primum igitur motiuium est ut praedecessorum vestrorum nobilium Regum Franciae honorem apud homines et gloriam apud Deum, quae¹ fuerunt extremis operibus² et ex virtuosis fidei actibus assecuti, non in aliquo minuatis, sed continuatis virtutibus in melius³ et melius augeatis.⁴ Tempore namque quo Reges Franciae Christianitatis nomen et baptismi signum et gratiam susceperunt fuerunt inexpugnabile scutum fidei, brachium ecclesiae, malleus et petra durissima crucis et fidei inimicos feriens et prosternens, lucis exempli⁵ columna firmissima in passagiis et aliis bonis procedens ac praecellens, docens et dirigens cunctos Reges et populos Christianos. Haec faciliter poterit reperire omnis qui historias legerit⁶ antiquorum in haeretica prauitate debellata in suo late dominio et fugata, in ecclesia Romana saepius a tyrannicis⁷ oppressionibus liberata, et a variis tribulationibus releuata, in peste⁸ Sarracenica de Aquitaniae, Prouinciae, Hispaniae, ac Terrae Sanctae finibus effugata, ita ut non minus imo⁹ magis videantur ardorem fidei atque zelum,¹⁰ ecclesiae reuerentiam et honorem, desiderium ampliacionis cultus et nominis Christiani quam ipsum regnum jure successionis et dono [P. 8] hereditario possedissee. Quod vos tanto¹¹ magis debetis amplecti, imitari, et perficere mente prompta quanto prae ceteris ad haec plura dona vobis contulit clementia conditoris, prudentiam videlicet in agendis, prosperitatem in bellis, personae strenuitatem, aetatis floridam iuuentutem, rerum opulentiam, regni totius pacem atque concordiam, ampliacionem dominii, et in vestro animo, nisi, quod absit, velitis extinguere, rectum propositum et desiderium omnis boni. Et insuper, quod non sine vero Dei et justo iudicio nec sine diuinae prouidentiae ineffabili dispositione factum existimo,¹² talis tanti regni diadema insuspicabilis¹² suscepistis ad hunc finem non ambigo ut sicut ipse Deus vobis regimen tam excellens super omnia regna mundi et tam celebre dominium praeeparauit, sic et vos ejus ampliacionem nominis late per orbem Rex inuictus, pugil fortis ac strenuus dilatetis.

De secundo motiuo ad passagium faciendum.

Secundum motiuium est desiderium et affectus dilatationis fidei et nominis Christiani. Quando enim praedicationis tuba et sonus praeconii verbi Dei in terram exiuit et insonuit uniuersam, Christus Deus et

¹ Qui, M.

² Temporibus, M.

³ Maius, M.

⁴ M. adds here a.

⁵ Exemplis, M., which reads *columpna* here and elsewhere.

⁶ Legunt, M.

⁷ Et tirannas, M.

⁸ Peste M. repeats.

⁹ Immo, M.

¹⁰ Telum, M.

¹¹ Quos tanto, M.

¹² Talis et tanti . . . dyadema insuspicabiliter, M.

Dominus in omni natione¹ et tribu a populis¹ colebatur. Hoc historiae referunt, hoc sacrum eloquium attestatur. Nunc autem, quod est cum dolore cogitandum et cum gemitu referendum, apud illos maxime qui in sorte Domini partem habent ex una parte porcus ille immundus et canis foetidus² et execrandus minister diaboli Machometus mundi partem maximam occupauit, et cum suis spurcitiis corrumpit innumeros et infecit. Ex altera vero parte infidelitatis zizania in Christianorum cordibus, campo utique quondam Domini, succreuerunt et mundi vetustas,³ quae Deum fide cognouerat et mente suscepserat, errorum ac vitiorum spinas et tribulos germinauit, doctrina veritatis euanuit, et emarcuit [M. 3 r] fides vera. Sicque amandus et sequendus ab omnibus Jesus Christus exulatus expulsus ab omnibus et fugatus, exceptis inquam⁴ sub obedientia Romanae ecclesiae constitutis et per Dominum Sabaoth relictis prouide quasi semen, ne Sodomae et Gomorrhae similis efficeretur⁵ totus orbis. Cum viro⁶ ergo Jesu Christo et ejus fide jaceremus in [P. 9] extrema mundi fugati et in terra habitatae valde parua particula angustati non sine omnium fidelium Christianorum dedecore et opprobrio angulati. Si enim, ut alias asserui et probaui, mundi pars habitata per homines in decem diuideretur partes, nos, qui veri Christiani sumus et dicimur orthodoxi decima pars non sumus, qui tamen consueuimus esse totum. Quod sic deduci poterit et ostendi. Ab antiquis namque de quarta⁷ ad habitationem hominum et animalium commodata facta fuit diuisio tripartita, ut Asia medietatem unam integram, et aliam medietatem in duas partes diuisam Europa et Africa obtinerent.⁸ Nunc autem ita est quod in tota Africa, in qua quondam gloriose fluoruit cultus Christi, non est aliquis populus Christianus. In Asia vero, etsi sint multi populi et innumeri Christiani, fidem tamen veram non habent, et ⁹doctrina euangelica non obseruatur.⁹ In Europa autem, quae pars nostra est, sunt multi populi qui pagani existunt et ¹⁰confini cum Theutonicis¹⁰ et Polonis. Sunt enim¹¹ in aliqua parte Hispaniae¹² Sarraceni. Sunt etiam in Europa multi et diuersarum linguarum populi Christiani, qui nobiscum in fide non ambulant nec doctrina. Sunt enim Raceni,¹³ qui plusquam XL dietis in terrae spatio protenduntur. Et isti sunt Boemis vicini, et confinant cum Polonis. Est etiam imperium Bulgarorum, quod tenet dietas amplius quam viginti. Post hos sequitur Sclauonia, ubi

¹ *Ex tribu et populo*, M.

² M. adds here *execratus*.

³ *Vastitas*, M.

⁴ M. here adds *nobis* (or possibly *vobis*).

⁵ *Efficeretur similis*, M.

⁶ *Nostro*, M.

⁷ *Quarte parte mundi ad*, etc., M.

⁸ *Affr . . . opt . . .*, as elsewhere, M. (see introductory note).

⁹ *Doctrinam euangelicam non obseruant*, M.

¹⁰ *Confinis cum Theutonicis*, M.

¹¹ *Etiam*, M.

¹² *Yspanie*, as elsewhere, M.

¹³ *Ruteni*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *Rutheni*.

sunt multa regna, videlicet Rassiae, Serviae, Chelmeniae,¹ Crouaciae, Zeniae.² Isti ab una parte confinant³ cum Vngaris, ex altera cum Graecis, ex altera vero cum Dalmatinis, cum Albanensibus, et etiam cum Blaquis. Potest et aliter demonstrari quod nos de mundo habitato minimam 'partem seu'⁴ particulam obtinemus ut cum psalmista possimus veraciter deplorare, *Ad nihilum redactus sum, et nesciui*. Asia namque, quae medietatem mundi habitati describitur obtinere,⁵ longe plus tenet quam in descriptione climatum designetur. Quare autem tota Asiae continentia non fuerit designata: hanc puto fuisse causam, 'id est, aut quia erat'⁶ sic in illis temporibus habitata, vel si erat sic habitata, hoc ad describentium notitiam non peruenit, sicut multa loca et prouincias inuenimus 'mensus polum [P. 10] arcticum'⁷ habitata, quae extra maiorem latitudinem ultimi⁸ climatis esse constat, cum in illis locis polus arcticus plus quam quinquaginta duobus gradibus eleuetur, quae est, ut praemittitur, major climatum latitudo. 'Ergo pro meo proposito'⁹ per me visum adicio et expertum. Cum enim proficiscerer inter gentes causa fidei praedicandae, transiens infallibiliter sub et ultra tropicum aestiualem, sub¹⁰ 'aequinocio me inueni'.¹⁰ Quod probatur ex tribus demonstratiuis euentibus argumentis. Primo, quod in loco illo¹¹ in quantitate diei ac noctis nullo anni tempore alicujus horae¹² seu etiam momenti sensibilis differentia notabatur. Secundo, quod existente sole in primo gradu arietis et librae, erat ibi in meridie umbra recta. Tercio quod stellas illas¹³ tutuerunt proprii quibus¹⁴ polos mundi videbam in aliqua parte noctis istas scilicet ad aquilonem, illas autem ad meridiem super circulum horizontis¹⁴ simul et aequaliter eleuatas. Omitto¹⁵ causa breuitatis multa alia argumenta, licet essent audientium auribus curiosa. Processi ultra¹⁶ meridiem ad locum ubi polum nostrum arcticum non videbam, et videbam polum antarcticum circa viginti quatuor gradus¹⁷ eleuatum. Ab isto loco ulterius non processi. Mercatores vero et

¹ Chemeline, M.

² Zence, M.

³ Confimant, M.

⁴ M. omits these two words, *partem seu*.

⁵ M. omits *obtinere*.

⁶ Scilicet, aut quia non erat, M.; P. adds *non* in margin.

⁷ Versus polum arcticum, M.; P. corrects *mensus* in margin to *versus*; *arctic-* for *arctic*-, throughout, in M.

⁸ Ultini, M.

⁹ Ego . . . pposito vinum, M., apparently.

¹⁰ Equinocacione inueni, M.

¹¹ In illo loco, M.

¹² Ore, M.

¹³ Circuerunt propinquius, M.; P. corrects in margin to *intuerunt*.

¹⁴ Orizontis, as elsewhere, M.

¹⁵ Quinto, M., apparently.

¹⁶ Here M. adds *versus*.

¹⁷ Gradubus, M.

homines fide digni passim¹ ultra versus meridiem procedebant usque ad loca ubi asserebant polum antarcticum quinquaginta quatuor gradus² eleuari. Conjuncta autem minori latitudine climatum, quae est viginti duorum graduum, quibus principium primi climatis vel circa ab aequinoctio distat cum illis quinquaginta quatuor gradus quibus polus antarticus eleuabatur in loco ad quem mercatores supra diximus peruenisse, constat quod patent quatuor conclusiones diligentius intuenti. Prima, quod plus sit extra climata versus ori[M. 3 v]entem atque meridiem habitatum quam sit totum spatium infra minorem et maiorem latitudinem climatum assignatum. Secunda, quod major est pars Asiae quam communiter assignetur. Tertia, quod non est friuolum neque falsum Antipodes assignare. Quarta, quae magis venit ad propositum nostrum,³ quod nos, qui veri sumus Christiani,⁴ non dicam decima, sed et vicesima pars non sumus. Tamen licet ita pauci simus⁵ et, ut praedicatur,⁶ quasi in angulo permodico esartati,⁷ hoc sentio hoc assero ut expertus, quod si ista nostra parua particula in [P. 11] una parte staterae⁸ et totus alius magnus mundus in parte altera poneretur, haec sicut aurum inter metalla grauior viribus et virtutibus appareret, non solum in doctrinae veritate et fidei puritate, non solum in largitione suscepta diuinae gratiae ac donorum et euidenti operatione miraculorum, quibus exclusis gentibus uniuersis quae omnibus istis carent, nos Deo speciali peculio gratos efficit et ostendit, sed quantum ad prudentiam naturalem et etiam acquisitam, quantum ad mores domesticos et ciuiles, quantum ad modum viuendi ordinatum, magnificum, et honestum, quantum ad diuitias, et maxime quoad usum qui ipsas reddit licitas atque bonas, quantum ad nobilem et prudentem⁹ usum armorum et bellandi strenuam probitatem, quantum etiam ad bonum regimen et justam potentiam dominandi, et breuiter quantum ad omnia quae ¹⁰conjunctini hominem honestant¹⁰ nobilitant, et exornant, omnes praecellimus nationes. Per praedicta ergo monemur, inducimur, et urgemur quod ¹¹sicut ipse Deus, qui in nos¹¹ largitatem suae dulcedinis ampliauit prae ceteris gentibus naturalia, spiritualia, et temporalia tanquam ¹²filiis tribuendo, ita et nos pro dilata-tione sui cultus et nominis animosius et virilius insistamus, et quae ab ipso talenta recepimus ad usuras multiplicanda utiliter exponamus, ne sicut seruus piger et inutilis condemnemur et damnose ut verecunde a iusto domino reprobemur.

¹ *Passim* (?), M.

² *Gradubus*, M.

³ *Nostrum propositum*, M.

⁴ *Christiani sumus*, M.

⁵ *Sumus*, M.

⁶ *Praedicetur*, M.

⁷ *Coartati*, M.

⁸ *Statere*, M.

⁹ *Prudentem et nobilem*, M.

¹⁰ *Coniunctum* or *coniunctum* (?) *hominum honestauit*, M.

¹¹ *Ipse sicut Deus in nos*, etc., M.

De tertio motiuo ad passagium faciendum.

Tertium motiuum ad passagium faciendum est compassio super perditionem maximorum Christiani nominis populorum. Circa quod sciendum est¹ quod sunt in mundo tres maximae nationes, videlicet Christianorum, ²Tartarorum, et Sarracenorum; inter quas Christianorum² natio, malorum scilicet et bonorum, major esse asseritur et probatur. Igitur praeter illos Christianos quos superius memorauimus,³ qui in parte nostra Europa obtinent sedes suas, videlicet Graecos, ⁴Ruthenos, Bulgaros, Sclauos, Blauos,⁴ quos omnes cauda sectae Graecorum per errorum ac scismatum deuia ad inferna secum detrahit et inuoluit, sunt nihilominus et alii multi populi Christiani tam meridiei quam aquilonis, quam etiam orientis, qui orthodoxos se esse reputant et defendunt ac verae fidei professores; [P. 12] quorum aliqui Graecorum tenebris exaequantur,⁵ alii vero diuersarum sectarum erroribus implicantur; qui etiam mutato et dimisso nomine Christiano, ab ipsis sectis vel eorum sectarum inuentoribus nomina sortiuntur. Est igitur gens quaedam quae vocantur Gothi,⁶ a quibus illi Gothi fuerunt qui bellis, ferro et igne partes occiduas attriuerunt. Sunt etiam aliae gentes declinando ab aquilone versus orientem, scilicet Ziqui, a quibus Scythae, ⁷Auogasi, a quibus Vandali, Soani, a quibus Hunni,⁷ Alani, a quibus Alani, ut creditur, originem habuerunt. Sunt insuper Georgiani, quos Graeci Iberos⁸ nunc apellant eo quod de Hispania,⁸ [Hispania] enim ab Ibero⁸ fluuiio ⁹Iberia nominatur. Hae⁹ omnes gentes plusquam octoginta dietarum spatio diffunduntur, quae et Graecorum Ecclesiam in suis erroribus aemulantur. In partibus etiam orientis sunt multi populi Christiani sub Imperatoris Persidis dominio¹⁰ constituti. Est enim quoddam Graecorum imperium quod nunc a Trapezunda regali et metropoli ciuitate Trapezundarum imperium vocitatur, sed antiquitus Cappadocia¹¹ dicebatur. Est et major Armenia, magna patria et diffusa, super cuius montes arca¹² Noë legitur et ostenditur quieuisse; super quam [M. 4 r] Imperator Persidis dominatur. Sunt insuper in eodem imperio Iacobitae a quodam¹³ Iacobo haeretico et Nestoriani a Nestorio¹³ similiter haeretico, ut dementati, ita et¹⁴ nominati, qui et de Chaldaea

¹ Est sciendum, M.

² These six words, Tartarorum . . . Christianorum, are omitted by M.

³ Memoriani or memoriam, M.

⁴ Ruthenos . . . Blacos, M.

⁵ Excecantur, M.

⁶ Goti, M., as elsewhere.

⁷ Anogasi . . . Uuandali, Soani, . . . Humi, apparently, M.

⁸ Yb . . . Ysp . . . , here as elsewhere, M., which after *de Hispania* adds *peruenerunt Yspania enim*, etc.

⁹ Yberia . . . Hee, M.; see previous note.

¹⁰ Domino, M.

¹¹ Capadocia, M.

¹² Archa, M.

¹³ M. omits Iacobo and reads Nestorini . . . Nesterio.

¹⁴ Etiam, M.

et de Asia, unde traxerunt originem, occupant et populant magnam partem. Ultra versus meridiem procedendo est quaedam insula in mari Indico satis magna, ubi populus circumcisionem obtinet pariter et baptismum. De qua quidem insula dicere quomodo aut qualiter illuc pervenerim, et de conditione gentis illius,¹ et de moribus ac modo viuendi, et² de consuetudinibus et legibus et modo mosario³ et extraneo dominandi, si ad nostrum propositum conueniret, esset audientibus curiosum. 'Ad haec magis ulterius⁴ meridiem sunt Æthiopes Christiani, gens maxima atque potens, quae quoniam⁵ magna valde obtinet ac diffusa. Hi tanti⁶ tam validi, et tam fortes quod unum regnum de istis, quod quidem vocatur Nubia, confinans⁶ cum Ægypto, aliquando de Soldano Babyloniae victoriam obtinuit et [P. 13] triumphum. Habent isti populi prophetiam quod aliquando exibunt et transilient⁷ montes illos quibus versus Ægyptum nunc resident circumclusi et cum praedictis Nubianis, qui extra praefatos montes obtinent loca sua, Ægyptios et Arabes destruent et vastabunt, Mecam capient et destruent,⁸ sepulchrum comminuent et corpus incendent prophani ac perfidi Machometi. De praedictarum autem gentium quas latius memorauimus⁹ conditionibus, moribus, ritibus,¹⁰ et erroribus, variis et diuersis dicere sigillatim proprium volumen requireret et tractatum. Sufficit ad nostrum¹¹ eos nominasse¹¹ et earum multitudinem induxisse, quatenus per hoc videamur motuum sufficiens ad faciendum passagium demonstrasse, ut scilicet tanti populi a suis erroribus eruantur et ad cognitionem veritatis ac fidei reducantur, sicut alias reductos legimus esse quando fidei veritas et doctrina vigebant¹² in partibus orientis.

De quarto motiuo ad passagium faciendum.

Quantum motuum ad passagium faciendum est desiderium quod in Christianorum cordibus esse debet, recuperandi videlicet terram sanctam nostrae hereditatis partem praesignatam, a sanctis Patriarchis¹³ optatam, a Deo ipsis et nobis in eis promissam et datam, obtentam ab eorum filiis et possessam, super quam caelos legimus patuisse et angelos saepius descendisse et multa secreta Dei utroque tempore, legis videlicet naturae, scripturae, et gratiae, electis hominibus ostendisse, ut non videretur nec

¹ *Ipsius*, M.

² M. omits *et* here.

³ *Irrisorio*, M.

⁴ *Adhuc magis ulterius versus*, M.; P. corrects *ulterius* in margin to *versus*.

⁵ P. corrects *quoniam* in margin to *quidem*. M. keeps *quoniam* and after *tanti* adds *sunt*.

⁶ *Confinans*, M., which of course reads *Egipto* as elsewhere.

⁷ *Transibunt*, M.

⁸ *Diruent*, M., which also reads *sepulchrum*.

⁹ *Memoriani* or *memoriam*, as before, M.

¹⁰ *Ritibus*, M.

¹¹ *Nostrum propositum nominasse et*, M.

¹² *Florebant*, M.

¹³ M. adds *et* here.

esset aliud nisi domus Dei et veraciter porta caeli, ex qua Reges secundum carnem nostri Domini genitores et Prophetæ nuntii nostræ fidei¹ et praecones salubriter prodierum, in qua reuelationes, oracula, visiones, signa multa, et figurae variae sunt ostensa quæ nostræ electionis ac reparationis certitudinem prædicebant et veraciter,² quam ipse Deus elegit, honorauit, atque sacrauit ut ibi verbum caro fieret, homo Deus ex virgine mirabiliter et ineffabiliter nascendo prodiret, ubi³ vellet Deus homo factus in terris videri et cum hominibus conuersari ut ubi pater in voce audiretur, filius 'manibus tractaretur et aquis Jordanis⁴ tingeretur, Spiritus Sanctus in ⁵columbae specie⁵ videretur, et sic per angelorum [P. 14] frequentiam et trinitatis praesentiam paradisu alter quodam modo probaretur, ut inquam Christus ibidem salubria exempla praeberet, diuina et admiranda doceret inusitata atque stupenda miracula exhiberet, ut ibi in medio terrae nostram salutem operaretur, ibi nostræ seruitutis opprobrium tolleretur, ibi nostræ redemptionis pretium solueretur, quæ tandem Dominum mortuum in se commendatum, suscepit et triduo custodiuit, dum ipse⁶ inferni claustra petebat, portas aereas et vectes ferreos confringebat, diaboli potentiam destruebat, et sanctos, quos diu captiuos tenuerat, liberabat, quæ denuo⁷ ipsum Christiani sanctorum patrum qui eum verbis prædixerant⁸ comitatum caterua exhibuit viuum reddidit gloriosum, in qua [M. 4 v] Deus ipse adhuc fuit quadraginta diebus cum resurrectionis gloria conuersatus, in qua suam praesentiam discipulis frequenter ostendit et se palandum exhibuit et cum eadem vera carne quam ex matre virgine sumpserat, cum qua et in cruce mortem exsoluerat, se veraciter resurrexisse ostendit argumentis variis et expressis,⁹ quæ sanctos Christi Apostolos, Euangelistas, et Discipulos generauit, qui omnium quæ Christus intrando, morando, et exeundo gesserat testes,¹⁰ rectores et gubernatores nouellæ Ecclesiae, magistri ac¹¹ doctores nouellæ fidei salutis existunt,¹¹ de qua Christus idem caelorum ac terrae dominus et inferni caelos ascendit, ac nostræ carnis substantiam in patris dextera¹² collocauit, et nobis patens iter ostendit quo caput debeant membra sequi, super quam se spiritus sanctus effudit et in ignis ac linguae forma et sonitu repentino corda credentium illustrauit, docuit, et firmavit, super quam idem Christus iterum est venturus et causas omnium auditurus, ad quam postremo sunt omnes qui fuerunt, sunt, et erunt homines aduenturi rationem de bonis

¹ *Fidei nostræ*, M.

² M. adds *ostendebant* here.

³ *Ut ibi*, M.

⁴ *In manibus tretractaretur . . . Iordanicis*, M.

⁵ *Collumbe apiecie*, M.

⁶ M. omits *ipse*.

⁷ M. omits *denuo*.

⁸ Here M. adds *figuris ostenderant et pure crediderant*.

⁹ *Expressis*, M.

¹⁰ M. adds *essent* here.

¹¹ M. reads *et* for *ac* and omits *existunt*.

¹² *Dextram*, M.

et malis actibus¹ reddituri et justum iudicium audituri, ut illuc mali et reprobī tristes et inuiti compareant ubi redemptionis pretium utiliter est impensum, quod ipsi rebelles suis prauis operibus contempserunt, et illuc iusti gaudentes et laeti conueniant ubi incarnati verbi mysterium mirabiliter est ostensum, quod ipsi obediētes fide et gratia susceperunt. Sed si sit qui consideret [P. 15] atque ploret, attendendum est a quibus nunc inuasa² et occupata nostra praeclara hereditas detinetur, ab³ hominibus utique sine Deo, sine lege, absque foedere, sine misericordia, sine fide, ab⁴ hominibus spurcidis et immundis et omnis veritatis, puritatis, bonitatis, atque iustitiae inimicis, hostibus crucis, blasphemis Dei,⁵ persecutoribus nominis Christiani, uxorum abusoribus, masculorum concubitoribus, brutorum oppressoribus, naturae subuersoribus, morum destructoribus et virtutum, per praeceps currentibus atque ruentibus per nephanda scelera, per inaudita vitia et peccata, tanquam instrumenta diaboli, vasa Luciferi, templum nequitiae, habitatio Sathanae, seruati⁶ ultionis iudicio et aeternae damnationis incendio deputati; quorum mens immunda,⁷ caro pudenda, vita coenosa,⁸ verba illecebrosa, conuersatio foetida, omnis eorum cogitatio, voluntas, et intentio omni lubricitati dedita et omni spurcitie⁹ obligata. Tales sunt qui nos de illis mundi finibus expulerunt et in hunc paruum terrae angulum fugauerunt atque cum nostro ac fidei nostrae opprobrio artauerunt et quasi immunda quisquilia et omnium peripsema¹⁰ projecerunt. Tales sunt qui locum Dei desolauerunt, ciuitatem sanctam matrem nostrae fidei comederunt. Tales sunt qui sanctorum sancta conculcant, loca veneranda in vastitate hostili deturbant atque molestant, templum polluant, munda inficiunt et corrumpunt. Tales inquam sunt qui Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam posuerunt, in circuitu ejus Christianorum sanguinem effuderunt, carnes sanctorum terrae bestiis projecerunt, morticina¹¹ seruorum Dei coeli volatilibus posuerunt. Tales vere sunt astuti in malo, ignorantes in bono, omni probitate carentes, prudentiam nisi in malis actibus non habentes. Et quia, Domine mi Rex, prae partibus tuis tuae domus nobilibus et prae consortibus tuis Christianorum Regibus Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae te perunxit, quia iniquitatem odisti et iustitiam dilexisti, accingere potentissime gladio tuo super femur; praecede Moysi promissus angelus te praecedet;¹¹ regna ejusden angeli protectio semper te custodiet et defendet, virga directionis, prudentiae scilicet ac veritatis, virga regni tui, iustitiae videlicet et aequitatis, duces Moab percutiet et

¹ *Actubus*, M.

² *In vasa*, M.

³ *Ab* M. omits.

⁴ M. here adds *et*.

⁵ P. originally *seruato*, corrected to *seruati*.

⁶ *Immunda*, M., as elsewhere.

⁷ *Scenosa*, M.

⁸ *Spurcitie*, M.

⁹ *Peripsima*, M.

¹⁰ *Morticina*, M.

¹¹ Here M. adds *et*.

confringet. Sagittae namque [P. 16] acutae in corda inimicorum Regis populi sub te cadent. Obedienter igitur spiritum sanctum¹ audias, monitorem indubitanter suscipias, permissorem constanter retineas directorem, et utiliter procul dubio habebis defensorem.

*Explicit prima pars. Incipit secunda pars, quae est de quinque praeambulis ante inceptionem passagii ordinandis.*²

[M. 5 r] Primum praeambulum et prima ordinatio ante passagium incipienda sunt ab inuocatione et imploratione auxilii et consilii Dei nostri, cujus proprie causa agitur³ in hac parte, quod scilicet orationes assidue per omnes mundi ecclesias fieri ordinentur, ut fidelium votis assiduis et orationum patrociniis ille cui parum est in multis vincere vel in paucis, Regis et suorum sequacium deuota corda perlustret, bonam voluntatem atque propositum sui spiritus infusione confirmet, sensus eorum ad videndum quid in dubiis eligendum, quid in agilibus⁴ exequendum aperiatur, ipsos in viam salutis dirigat, protectionem tribuat in aduersis, prosperitatem in bellis, coronam et gloriam in triumphis. Postremo cum oris cantico et mentis iubilo in Hierusalem, quae est ciuitas Dei summi, tribus tribus⁵ domini ad ⁶confitendum nomini Domini ascendamus,⁶ et in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus deuotius adoremus, ubi possimus impendere cum gratiarum actionibus vocem laudis. Oratio namque⁷ iusti assidua multum valet. Haec Pharaonem et currus et exercitum ejus, dum filios Israel a terrae promissae itinere cuperet reuocare, demersit in aquis vehementibus quasi plumbum. Haec Hiericuntinos⁸ hereditatis debitae filiis Israel tumidos detentores ac ciuitatem eorum validam atque fortem destruxit et diruit in momento. Ezechia Rege orante angelus Domini Assyriorum castra percussit et de ipsis plusquam centum octuaginta⁹ milia interfecit. Nicanor hostis validus Judaeorum, dum sacerdotes orationem¹⁰ ad Dominum praemisissent, cum toto suo exercitu¹¹ est consumptus, ita ut non remaneret nec unus¹² qui factum posteris nuntiaret. Judas Machabaeus, ante bellum oratione praemissa, semper victoriam obtinebat. In bello autem quo orationem facere praetermisit legitur corruisse. Theodosius denique minor Graecos et orientis barbaras nationes non tantum violentia siue ferro, sed religione magis et deuotione atque orationibus superauit.

¹ M. repeats *sanctum*.

² *Ordinandi*, M.

³ *Geritur*, M.

⁴ *Agilibus*, M.

⁵ Sic P. and M.

⁶ *Conficendum eius nomini ascendamus*, M.

⁷ *Autem*, M.

⁸ *Iecicontinos*, apparently, M. (corrected from *Ieciconticos*).

⁹ *Octoginta*, M., which of course has *Assiri* . . . , as elsewhere.

¹⁰ *Orationes*, M.

¹¹ M. here adds *penitus*.

¹² *Vunc*, apparently, M.

Cujus oratio tam euidentis efficaciae extitit et virtutis quod pro eo etiam¹ aethera [P. 17] pugnauerunt, dum ipsius orationis fretus patrociniis plus quam armis hostes subegit, Eugenium interemit, et a tyrannide rempublicam liberauit.

De secundo praeambulo ante passagium ordinando.

Secundum praeambulum,² ut qui negotium tam sancti propositi prosequuntur,³ quantum ad duo attentius ordinentur. Primo, ut vitam suam corrigant et emendent et deinceps in melius ordinent et disponant.⁴ Non enim vult Dominus sancta dare canibus nec margaritam illam pretiosam, quam mortis suae pretio comparauit, terram scilicet sanctam, quam super omnes patrias praelegit, non, inquam, vult proicere ante porcos. Hoc habemus expresse de populo quem Dominus in manu potenti eduxerat de Ægypto. Nam de sexcentis tribus milibus pugnatorum, praeter paruulos⁵ et mulieres, quorum erat maxima multitudo, duo tantum terram promissam suis patribus intrauerunt,⁶ ita quod nec ipse Moyses, cui non erat in terra similis, meruit introire, quia ad aquas conductionis⁷ Deo gloriam non dederat et honorem. Josue de mandato Domini populum circumcidi et sanctificari praecepit, antequam promissae hereditatis terminos introirent, ut nonnisi sancti sanctuaria possiderent. Postquam etiam terram illam cum signis et miraculis introissent, et jam per sortes et funiculos distributam diutius possedissent, quotiens populus legem Domini deserebat, totiens ipsum affligi sub seruitute hostium dimittebat, ut patet Iudicum temporibus atque Regum. Postremo, cum continuatis sceleribus Dominum ad ultimam iracundiam prouocassent, indignos se tam sanctae hereditatis peculio reddiderunt. Et ideo⁸ Babyloniis, Ægyptiis, et Assyriis,⁹ atque Romanis, tradidit affligendos et per universum mundum in seruitutem ultimam dispergendos. Salmanasar denique Rex Assyriorum,¹⁰ qui de terra illa sancta in Assyrios¹¹ transtulerat populum potio-rem,¹² in regno Samariae pro filiis Israel alienigenas collocauit. Qui cum Dominum non timerent, suscitauit Dominus et¹³ eis [M. 5 v] leones, qui deuorabant illum populum et vehementius affligebant, eo quod terra legitima non nouisset. ¹ Ne autem longius protelemur,¹² e uicino proprium morbum tangamus, nostram erubescenciam¹³ proferamus, et quantum possumus remedium apponamus. Si enim bene attendimus,

¹ Et, M.

² M. here adds *est*.

³ *Prosequentur*, M.

⁴ *Disponent*, M.

⁵ *Paruos*, M.

⁶ Here M. adds *sed omnes in deserto ut rebelles et increduli perierunt*.

⁷ *Contradictionis*, M.

⁸ M. has *i* throughout here, as elsewhere—(*Babyloniis*, etc.).

⁹ *Peccatorem*, M.

¹⁰ M. here adds *imisit*.

¹¹ *Nouissent*, M.

¹² *Procellemur*, M.

¹³ *Erubicenciam*, M.

a tempore quo pestis Sarracenica orta fuit fluxerunt anni circiter [P. 18] septingenti. Accepit¹ autem principium anno Domini sex centesimo tricesimo nono² quo tempore Hierusalem capta fuit per Humarum discipulum et socium perfidi Machometi,³ orientem Imperatore Heraclio⁴ gubernante; et tenuerunt eam annis CCCCLX,⁵ usque videlicet ad tempora Petri Heremitae, quibus ⁶capta fuit annis,⁶ scilicet anno Domini MXCIX. Nostri vero tenuerunt eam annis tantum LXXXVIII. Quibus elapsis, a Sarracenis iterum fuit capta anno Domini MCLXXXVII a quibus usque hodie detinetur. Et sic deducendo de⁷ primo ad ultimum, de ⁸doc. annis quibus pestis Sarracenica insurrexit fere DC. annis Hierusalem⁸ tenuit occupatam, nos vero LXXXVIII annis⁹ tantum, quibus tamen non¹⁰ sine bellis plurimis atque damnis. Quare haec autem nisi quia Deus in terra¹¹ non sustinet peccatores. Peccatum enim undique inundabat, et sanguis sanguinem continebat. A planta namque pedis usque ad¹² verticem non erat ibi sanitas, ut¹³ ex historiis ultramarinis legitur et habetur. In Praelatis¹⁴ deformiter apparebat negligentia, avaritia, pompa, et vanitas, in clero lasciuiam morum et vitae ac multiplex inhonestas. In populo lapsus¹⁵ carnis et in multis criminibus superabundans iniquitas. Defecerat in religiosis reuerentia ad Praelatos, obedientia ad majores, et obseruantiarum regularitas. Non erat in mulieribus quibuscunque verecundia, pudor, aut castitas. Perierat in principibus et iudicibus¹⁶ iudicii veritas et iustitiae censura et aequitas in tantum quod terra illa sancta in ventre suae quietis talia tenere non potuit abortiua, sed more maris corpora foetida et corrupta in vitiis, mortua in peccatis, extra se cum execratione in mundum euomit uniuersum. Quis potest ergo credere vel¹⁷ sperare quod Deus concederet peccatoribus terram illam, de qua, ut ex praedictis patet, semper deturbauit, abegit, et repulit peccatores? Sed si quis diceret: ¹⁸Numquid non ipsi sunt peccatores, imo¹⁸ plusquam peccatores, infideles, abominabiles, et crudeles, qui istam sanctitudinem detinent occupatam, et ipsam in

¹ *Accepi*, M.

² Figures in M. here as elsewhere.

³ *Macometi*, M.

⁴ *Oraclio*, M.

⁵ *CCCLX*, M.

⁶ *Tacta fuit a nostris*, M.

⁷ *A*, M.

⁸ *Dec. annis Ierusalem*, M., omitting all the rest of this clause; *dec.* and *doc.* are both corruptions of *dcc*, i. e., 700.

⁹ M. omits *annis*.

¹⁰ M. adds *tenuimus* here.

¹¹ M. adds *illa* here.

¹² M. omits *ad*.

¹³ *Et* for *ut*, M.

¹⁴ *Platis*, M. (without sign of contraction).

¹⁵ *Luxus*, M.

¹⁶ *Iudicibus et principibus*, M.

¹⁷ *Aut*, M.

¹⁸ *Numquid isti non sunt peccatores, immo*, etc., M.

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opprobrium nominis Christiani tanto tempore tenuerunt? Certe scio ipsos esse iniquos,¹ immundos, ac plusquam dici posset sceleratos² et injustos. Sed considerandum, plangendum, atque dolendum quod tanta fuerunt scelera et peccata utriusque status, gradus, et sexus populi³ ut a nobis haereditatem illam abstulerit et illis tradiderit tanto⁴ conculcandam et tantis ab hominibus defendendam. Nec tamen debet⁵ aliquis sani capitis aestimare quod [P. 19] peccata nostra superent et excedant peccata illius abominabilis populi et peruersi. Nam ab initio seculi non extitit populus tam nephandus. Sed causa est⁶ quia scimus quod magis laedit leuis injuria domestici et amici quam offensa maxima inimici. Sic enim ait psalmista; si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi,⁷ sustinuissem utique; et si is qui oderat me super me magna locutus fuisset, abscondissem me forsitan ab eo. Tu vero, homo unanims, dux meus et notus meus, qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cibos, in domo Dei ambulauimus cum consensu. Quid ergo? Sanctificamini qui fertis vasa Domini, id est, qui recipitis et fertis in humero vas vasorum, videlicet signum crucis, in quo fuit liquor unctionis nostrae salutis, antidotum nostrae reconciliationis positum et effusum; ne scilicet in eo signo quod assumitis et portatis in memoriam dominicae passionis et ad vindicandum opprobrium nominis Christiani et fidei ipsum Christum contingat denuo peccatis et criminibus, non jam a Judaeis aemulis et paganis, sed ab amicis et domesticis crudelius crucifigi.

Secundum ad quod transeuntes ad istud passagium se debeant ordinare est disciplina assidua militaris. Vegetius autem de re militari [M. 6 r] ponit tria quae ad ipsam disciplinam militarem iudicat expedire ut sic finis intentus obtineatur in bellis, victoria scilicet et triumphus. Dicit ergo sic: Nulla enim alia re videmus populum Romanum orbem subegisse terrarum nisi armorum exercitio⁸ et usu militiae, mihi imponere silentium iudicaui. Victoriae enim quas obtinuistis, Domine mi Rex, et praelia quae gessistis vos doctorem expertum faciunt et magistrum. De⁹ disciplina autem castrorum aliquid cupio ad memoriam reducere, non docere.¹⁰ Castra secundum Isidorum a castrando sunt dicta. Omnis enim immoderata quies, omnis otiositas, omnis excessus cibariorum, omnis occimacio¹¹ et delicatio nutrimenti, omnis actus venereus, et omnia breuiter quae milites possent somnolentos, delicatos, molles, aut lentos

¹ *Iniquos esse*, M.

² M. here adds *homines*.

³ M. here adds *Christiani*.

⁴ M. here adds *tempore*.

⁵ M. here adds *dici*.

⁶ M. omits *est*.

⁷ *Michi*, M., as often elsewhere (so M. of course reads *nichil* for *nihil*).

⁸ Here M. adds *disciplina castrorum usuque militie*. *De armorum exercitio*, continuing *et usu militari michi imponere* (as in text).

⁹ *Et*, M. (for *de*).

¹⁰ *Dicere*, M., which of course reads *Ysidorum*.

¹¹ *Accuracio*, M.

reddere siue pigros, praecidebantur¹ et amputabantur ab eis tanquam impediencia, superflua, extranea, et nociua. Et ideo idem Vegetius iudicat rusticam plebem esse ad militiam magis aptam, eo quod magis e praedictis delectationibus est remota et in asperis contrariis assueta, [P. 20] sic dicens: Nunquam credo potuisse² dubitari aptiorem armis rusticam plebem, quae sub dominio³ et labore nutritur, solis patiens, umbrae negligens, balneorum nescia, delictiarum ignara, simplicis animi, paruo contenta cibo, durata ad laborum tolerantiam membris: cui gestare ferrum, fossam ducere, onus ferre consuetudo de jure est. Haec Vegetius. Tales erant cum quibus Romani fortia bella gerebant, rebelles fraenabant, hostes domabant, tyrannos, urbes, et regna calcabant, celebres ac⁴ crebras victorias obtinebant, mundum suae reipublicae subjugabant. Legimus quod David humiliavit Philistaeos et tulit fraenum tributi de manu Philistini, percussit Moab, et mensus est⁵ funiculo coaequans terrae, multas victorias de hostibus reportauit, praelia multa gessit. Prius tamen exercitatus fuerat in desertis, et fatigationes varias, labores; ad⁶ inedia et aerumnas, ad solis caumata et ardores, ad frigora⁷ et ad gelu super nudam terram procumbens, latitans in speluncis⁸ suis, quando Saulis⁹ amentiam fugiebat. Quando⁹ vero ab exercitio vacauit ac bellis et delectationibus,¹⁰ otio et somnolentiae se tradidit¹¹ ac quieti, ad aspectum mulieris, qui prius omnium victor fuerat, victus fuit. Hinc adulterium commisit, et proditorium homicidium perpetravit. Ob quam causam de ejus domo incestus non defuit, sanguis non cessauit, et gladius non recessit. Machabaei ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem de manu hostium saluauerunt, legem de potestate gentium extorserunt, pro libertate patriae pugnaverunt, inimicos constanter ac viriliter saepius prostrauerunt, et multis periculis se dederunt. Sed ante in multis exercitiis laboriosis experti fuerant et probati. Nam foeni cibo vescentes demorati fuerant in montibus et¹² desertis, et ibi vitam egerant inter feras, quasi non essent bella Domini egressuri nisi prius castitati, temperantiae, ac parsimoniae studuissent. Et ideo ab exercitu Domini summopere¹³ est cauendum quod ad libidinem fraena non laxet, a super fluitate cibi et potus se temperet, otiositatem per continuum armorum exercitium fugiat et euitet.¹⁴ Mandato namque legis formidolosus, vel qui uxorem

¹ *Precindebantur*, M.

² *Dubitari potuisse*, M.

³ *Diuo*, M.

⁴ *Et*, M., which of course reads *optinebant*, as elsewhere.

⁵ M. adds *eos*.

⁶ *Ac*, M., which of course reads *erumpnas*.

⁷ *Ac damnata et ardores ac frigora*, M.

⁸ *Speluncis, quando Saulus*, M.

⁹ *Cum*, M.

¹⁰ M. adds here *et*.

¹¹ *Tradita*, M.

¹² M. omits *et*.

¹³ *Est summopere*, M., which reads *parcimonie*, just before.

¹⁴ *Deuitet*, M.

de nouo duxerat, vel¹ qui vineam plantauerat, aut qui domum aedificauerat, a praelio arcebatur. Romani Consules conabantur praedicta omnia a suo exercitu [P. 21] submouere, non reputantes neque sperantes euentum belli prospere aduenturum si cum expeditione reipublicae permanerent.² Refert enim Valerius Maximus quod Scipio Africanus³ Consul in Hispaniam missus ut insolentissimos Numentinae urbis spiritus superiorum ducum culpa nutritos contunderet,⁴ eodem momento temporis quo castra intrauit edixit ut omnia ex iis quae voluptatis causa comparata fuerant auferrentur ac submouerentur.⁵ Nam constat, cum maximum inde rusticorum ac laicorum⁶ numerum cum duobus milibus [M. 6 v] scortorum abisse hac⁷ turpi subdens atque erubescenda sentina⁸ vacuefactus exercitus noster, qui paulo ante metu mortis deformi⁹ se foederis ictu maculauerat, erecta et recreata virtute¹⁰ acrem illam et animosam Numantiam¹¹ incendiis exustam ruinisque prostratam¹² solo aequauit. Exemplum etiam aliud inducit idem Valerius quod non iudico dimittendum, quod explicat in his verbis: Marcellus cum exercitum in¹³ Africa Jugurthino bello nimia Spurii¹⁴ Albinii indulgentia corruptum Consul accepisset, omnibus imperii neruis ad reuocandam pristinae disciplinam militiae conuersus est; nec singulas partes apprehendit, sed totam continuo in suum statum¹⁵ redegit. Protinus namque lixas a¹⁶ castris submouit, cibumque coctum venalem proponi vetuit. In agmine neminem militum ministerio seruorum iumentorumque, ut arma sua et alimenta ipsi ferrent, uti passus est. Castrorum subinde locum mutauit. Eadem, tanquam Jugurtha semper adesset, vallo fossaque aptissime cinxit. Quid ergo restituta continentia, quid repitita industria profecit? Crebras scilicet victorias et multa trophaea peperit ex eo hoste cuius tergum sub ambizioso imperatore Romano militi videre non contingerat.¹⁵ Haec Valerius. Si ergo tanta vigeat in pagano exercitu disciplina ut culturae idolorum dediti, quae vitia imperabant, prospero¹⁶ adipiscendae victoriae a vitiis abstinerent, quanto magis exercitus Dei viui, qui munditiam amat, virtutes imperat, intemperantiam

¹ *Seu*, M.

² *Reipublice permaneret*, M.

³ M. repeats *Africanus*.

⁴ *Nutridos contunderent*, M.

⁵ *Auferrentur et submonerentur* (though possibly *submouerentur*), M.

⁶ *Institorum ac lixarum*, M.

⁷ *Et*, M.

⁸ *Sentina*, M.

⁹ *Metum . . . difformi*, M.

¹⁰ *Aciem . . . Iminantiam* (or perhaps *Innimaciam*), M.

¹¹ *Prostrata*, M.

¹² *Africa Iugurtino . . . Spuri*, of course, M.

¹³ *Stratum*, M.

¹⁴ *E*, M.

¹⁵ *Contingerat*, M.

¹⁶ *Prospe*, M., as P. corrects in margin; *ydolorum* of course in M., above.

fraenat, debet¹ has leges amare pro quibus coronam terrenae victoriae obtinent ac caelestis.

De tertio praeambulo ante passagium ordinando.

Tertium praeambulum est valde necessarium, ut scilicet inter illos qui huic tam sancto negotio possunt praestare subsidium et iuuamen pax et concordia reformetur. Inter alia autem quibus passagium indiget sunt naues et galeae [P. 22] et homines² qui eas ducant et regimen exerceant super eas.³ Super autem alias gentes maris quae majori personarum praeeminent⁴ probitate, animorum fortitudine et vigore, industria in factis maris, et experientia certiori, fidelitate atque constantia firmiori, sunt Cathalani et Ianuenses, qui de vasis maris et gente melius, facilius, et commodius administrare et exhibere possunt copiam abundanter. Inter istos tamen est nunc actualiter guerra grauis. Et quia, ista terra sic stante, passagium in his defectum non modicum pateretur, (Nam omnes aliae gentes quae mare nauigant, quantum ad probitatem et industriam nauigandi nihil sunt penitus respectiue) omnino expedit quod inter istos pax et concordia⁵ reformetur et⁶ componatur. Quae quidem pax faciliter obtinebitur,⁷ si majestas regia voluerit interponere partes suas, cum Cathalanis Rex Aragoniae et Ianuensibus Rex Siciliae dominetur qui in⁸ tanto ac tali negotio pacem facere tanto Domino non⁹ negabunt.

Indiget et passagium victualium copia abundanti, non solum de uno loco, sed et⁹ de diuersis; ut sunt frumentum, vinum, oleum, farina, legumina, hordeum, auena, casea, carnes salsae; quae discurrendo per singulas regiones non possunt haberi commodius, facilius, et abundantius de loco aliquo citra mare sicut de¹⁰ Apulia atque Sicilia,¹⁰ quae sunt, ut ita dicam, omnium talium initium¹¹ et origo. Et quia inter Dominum Regem Robertum et Dominum Regem Fredericum, qui nunc resident in¹² dictis regnis, implacabilis manet, expedit quod inter eos aut longa treuga aut, quod melius esset, pax perpetua firmaretur. Non enim dicti Domini possent in praedictis tam copiosa et tam libera pro passagio exhibere subsidia, nec terram suam euacuare militibus, nec portus gentibus

¹ Here M. adds *virtutes amplecti*, reading *terene* just below.

² *Hominibus*, M.

³ *Qui regimen exerceant*, M., omitting *super eas*, and giving *excer . . .* for *exer . . .*, as elsewhere.

⁴ *Preminent*, M., which reads *cerciori* just below.

⁵ M. omits these two words.

⁶ *Obtinetur*, M.

⁷ M. omits *in* and the plural mark (if such it is and not merely an accidental mark, as I suspect), over *e* in *dominetur*, just before.

⁸ M. omits *non*.

⁹ *Etiam*, M., which writes *habundanti*, *habundantius*, *ordeum*, *comodius*, *sicud*, as usual.

¹⁰ *Aperulia*, *Scicilia*, M., as elsewhere.

¹¹ M. omits *initium*.

¹² M. omits *in*.

et vasis maritimis¹ spoliare, nec victualia cum sui et suorum penuria in tanta copia ministrare quando² ipsos guerra³ suspicio deterreret, et eorum quilibet crederet alterum tanquam hostem propinquum ad humeros suos esse. Ex ista autem pace accresceret animabus utilitas [M. 7 r] ecclesiae honor et reuerentia, vobis meritum et gloria, et passagio fructus et utilitas in immensum.⁴ Naues enim et galeae ad quamcunque⁵ plagam ultra mare habeant nauigare vel eundo seu redeundo, communiter habent ad portus Siciliae applicare; ubi tunc licentius et liberius qui passagium prosequuntur,⁶ cum opportunitas interesset, aut necessitas immineret, possent descendere, equos reconciliare,⁷ vires resu[P. 23]mere, corpora recreare, et⁸ victualia renouare. Si etiam⁹ esset inter illos Dominos pax reformata et firmata, posset obtineri ab eis galearum et nauium sufficiens multitudo. Esset etiam possibile quod ambo vel alter eorum vos in passagio sequeretur. Hoc mihi certum est de Domino Rege Frederico, cum quo habui colloquium de talibus et notitiam pleniorum quod non est res in mundo quam tantum desideret et affectet sicut in passagio transigere residuum vitae suae, si pax ei per modum securum et congruum praestaretur. Et certe, Domine mi Rex, vobis accrescet utilitas et fauor non modicus atque honor, si talem haberetis in vestrum consortium comitiuum, Principem scilicet antiquum annis et meritis, profundum in militaribus consiliis, prouidum in agendis, in armis expertum, in bellis strenuum, nobilem, deuotum,¹⁰ constantem, sanguine vobis junctum, iustitiae amatorem, pauperum defensorem, cui breuiter in iis quae Regi conueniunt nihil deest, si pax inter ipsum et ecclesiam ac Dominum Regem Robertum vestris ope et opera¹¹ firmetur quae dudum fecerat felicitis memoriae pater vester. Cum igitur opus hoc quod dante Domino peragetis multis indigeat et non sit unius temporis vel momenti, ad hoc debetis omnino vires vestras impendere ac conatum. Si enim iuxta psalmistam oriatur in diebus tuis iustitia et abundantia pacis, iuxta prouerbum¹² Salomonis, itinera tua pace producentur, et ipse Deus rectos faciet cursus tuos. Igitur inter praedictas gentes et Dominos fiat pax in virtute tua, non¹³ in turribus tuis, id est, in castris tui exercitus, abundantia¹⁴ subsequetur. Et sic, Domine mi, nomen tuum praedicabitur merito princeps pacis.

¹ *Variis martiriis*, M.

² P. corrects in margin to *quoniam*.

³ *Gerre*, M.

⁴ *Utilitas inmensum*, M.

⁵ *Quamque*, M.

⁶ *Prosequentur*, M., which reads, above, *comuniter*, *Scicilie*, and below, *oportunitas*.

⁷ *Refocillare*, M.

⁸ M. omits *et*.

⁹ *Interesset inter*, M.

¹⁰ M. adds here *fidelem*.

¹¹ *Opere reformaretur*, M.

¹² *Prouerbia*, M., which reads in *pace* just below.

¹³ *Et*, M.

¹⁴ *Habentia*, M.

De quarto praeambulo ad¹ passagium ordinando.

Quartum praeambulum est, quod scilicet per terram viam regiam² eligamus seu² fieri moneamus. Nihilominus tamen prouidendum est in certo numero de nauibus et galeis ad portandum gentes quae mare poterunt sustinere, et ad portandum arma,³ victualia, machinas, magna et parua tentoria, et balistas grossas et alias, cum istorum omnium necessariis furnimentis,⁴ instrumenta ad suffodiendum, percutiendum, concutiendum, et diruendum fundamenta et muros castrorum ac⁵ ciuitatum, quando necessitas hoc requiret. Erunt etiam necessariae ad assecurandum mare et a piratarum insultibus defendendum, siue ipsi piratae Christiani fuerint, siue Turchi, ut sic [P. 24] mercatores et peregrini de diuersis partibus in subsidium passagii venientes⁶ possint tutius⁶ nauigare. Sunt praeterea ad multa alia necessaria⁷ quae magis sciuntur et probantur sicut emergunt casus varii et euentus. Et quia, ut inferius disseretur, per imperium Romaniae moneo transeundum et ipsum iudicio capiendum, commune⁸ Venetorum et Ianuensium⁸ est in galearum et nauium praeparatione et exhibitione primitus requirendum. Habent enim quaedam dominia in ipso imperio per quae ipsi passagio in multis et variis factis admodum utiles possunt esse.⁹ Veneti siquidem habent insulas Cretensem, Nigropontensem, et fere omnes alias numero plusquam viginti in Aegeo mari vel pelagi¹⁰ consistentes. Ianuenses autem¹¹ habent ciuitatem unam muratam et fortem nomine Pera satis in populo copiosam¹² immediate iuxta Constantinopolim situatam ita prope quod ambas ciuitates diuidit solus portus. Habent insuper unam aliam ciuitatem in imperio Tartariae aquilonaris nomine Capha, ex qua possent passagio [M. 7 v] multa necessaria prouenire. Sunt iterum, quod plus est, praedicti Ianuenses et Veneti in mari et in partibus praefati imperii assueti, et sciunt contratas,¹³ patrias, atque vias, passus et semitas, insulas, scopulos, atque portus. Et multi eorum sciunt linguas gentium multas, utpote in illis partibus geniti et nutriti. Quae quidem omnia sunt ad utilitates maximas atque fructus.

De quinto praeambulo ante passagium ordinando.

Quintum praeambulum non est ullatenus omittendum, quod scilicet in vere proximo futuro sint decem vel duodecim galeae bene paratae quae

¹ *Ante*, M.

² M. omits these two words.

³ M. adds *et* here.

⁴ *Furnimentis*, M.

⁵ *Et*, M.

⁶ *Possunt tutius*, M.

⁷ *Necessarie*, M.

⁸ *Veneciorum ac Ianicensium*, M.

⁹ *Esse possunt*, M.

¹⁰ *Palage*, M., which of course has *Egeo*.

¹¹ *Etiam*, M., which reads *fortem* just below.

¹² *Copiosa*, M.

¹³ *Contractas*, M.

mare Suriae atque Romaniae¹ et alias partes maris custodiant ne² nostris falsis ac pessimis,³ seu aliis quibuscunque liceat ministrare Soldano et aliis sibi subjectis et ejus valitoribus illa quibus indigent pro ⁴munitione ac tuitione⁴ sui et suorum et terrarum sibi subjectarum contra potentiam passagii, quam plurimum reformidant. Soldanus enim ex terra sua ⁵non habet arma⁵ necessaria, ferrum, vasa maris, parua vel magna ligamina ⁶seu ligna ad componendum⁶ vasa nauigabilia vel ad fortificandum suas munitiones et castra, seu ad faciendum machinas et alia instrumenta ad se defendendum vel⁷ nostros etiam inuadendum. Et ideo cum audierit passagium [P. 25] ordinari, sagax, astutus, et malitiosus prouisionem faciet de praedictis. Nostri etiam falsi Christiani et Graeci ac Suriani et etiam Sarraceni de Africa inducti atque seducti auaritia et spe lucri eidem Soldano sicut alias de praedictis omnibus copiam exhibebunt. Quod quidem esset in magnum Saracenorum subsidium et magnum passagii detrimentum.⁸ Praedictae igitur galeae quoscunque illuc euntes capiant et captiuent. Nihilominus mandetur omnibus maritimis ciuitatibus atque regnis, et specialiter illis de insula Cypri, quatinus per edictum publicum et per poenas comminatorias et executorias prohibeant gentes suas ne ad terras quorumcunque Sarracenorum et specialiter Soldano subjectas accedant aut merces quascunque deferant siue mittant. Dominus etiam noster summus Pontifex renouet sententias et processus quos contra tales consuevit sedes apostolica promulgare. Instetur⁹ praeterea quod Dominus Papa nulli concedat merces quascunque portandi in partes Alexandriae facultatem, et si concessit alicui, reuocetur. Per istas enim restrictiones, si diligentius obseruentur, Soldanus et sui defectum et damnum in rebus sibi necessariis patientur. Regium tamen consilium attendat sollicitè quod tales personae istis galeis pro negotio talis custodiae praeponantur quod de ipsorum auaritia siue dolo non possit suspicio suborire.¹⁰

Explicit secunda pars. Incipit tertia pars designans quatuor vias, ut ex eis pro Rege melior eligatur. De prima via, quae est per Africam, penitus euitanda.

Disponente Domino, postquam passibus¹¹ undique reformatis in viam salutis et pacis dirigere possumus gressus nostros ad unum et eundem terminum, scilicet terram sanctam, vias quatuor describamus; ut omnibus

¹ *Romane*, M.

² M. omits *ne*.

³ Here M. adds *Christianis vel Sarracenis*.

⁴ *Munitio, defensione, ac tuitione*, M.

⁵ Here M. is damaged, most of these three words being lost.

⁶ M. again damaged here, but apparently never contained *seu ligna*; P. corrects *ligamina*, in margin, to *lignamina*.

⁷ M. again slightly damaged here, *v* of *vel* wanting.

⁸ *Detrimenti*, M.

⁹ *Instituatur*, M., which reads *Alexandrie* below, and of course *dampnum, Africam*, etc.

¹⁰ *Suboriri*, M.

¹¹ *Pacibus*, M.

viis consideratis diligentius et descriptis, pro vestra persona et eam sectantibus melior, tutior, et breuior eligatur. Prima igitur¹ via est per Africam, quae difficultates plurimas secum portat et taedia infinita. Quod patet ex suo principio,² progressu siue medio, et ex ³his quae iuxta terminum siue finem sunt.³ Ex [M. 8 r] suo principio patet⁴ quidem a termino ad quem tendimus⁵ in magna distantia inuenitur. Siue enim viam istam a strictu Jubaltariae [P. 26] siue a Tunicio incipere debeamus, a strictu Jubaltariae usque Acon quae a Hierusalem distat duabus paruis⁶ dietis, 'MMM. et D. a Tunicio vero MM. et CCC. miliaria denotantur.⁷ Quantum etiam ad progressum siue medium est haec via difficilis atque grauis. Sunt enim in ipsa castra fortia, loca plura inaccessibilia, passus difficiles, ciuitates inexpugnabiles. Locus quidem durans per plures dietas omnino desertus, sterilis, arenosus, omni inuius creaturae, ⁸(in quo si ventus insurgeret, suffocaret homines et iumenta)⁸ ubi nec cibus nec gutta aquae penitus⁹ inuenitur. Quantum iterum ad ea quae sunt iuxta terminum siue finem, via ista difficilis inuenitur. Habet enim ibi iuxta totam Soldani potentiam et Ægypti, per cuius medium haberet totus exercitus necessario pertransire. Qui licet in se viles existant et nullius sint reputandi pretii vel momenti nisi haberent auxiliares¹⁰ aliunde, utrum tamen esset tutum vel posset per aliquem eligibilem iudicari contra totam Soldani potentiam exponere exercitum fatigatum vel laboribus conquassatum, sicut esset quando tantam viam et tot diuerticula percurrisset regale prudens iudicium et discretum atque maturum consilium videat et discernat. Breuiter mihi causa aliqua non occurrit quare sanctus Ludouicus inceperit¹¹ facere viam illam, nisi haec sola, quod Sicilia,¹² cum sit prope Tunicum,¹³ pro aliqua parte sui itineris faciliter poterat habere victualia abundanter.

De secunda via, quae est per mare; quae per Regem est nullatenus facienda.

Secunda via est per mare. Cujus principium esse posset in Aquis mortuis, vel in Marsilia, siue in Nicia,¹⁴ sicut magis accomodum videretur. Quando propter multitudinem hominum vel propter defectum victualium

¹ Ergo, M.

² Here M. adds *et ex*.

³ *His que sunt iuxta terminum siue finem*, M.

⁴ Here M. adds *quod*.

⁵ *Intendimus*, M.

⁶ *Puis*, M. (without sign of contraction).

⁷ *MMMD a Tunico . . . MM et CCCC denotantur miliaria*, M.

⁸ M. transfers these nine words to end of sentence, reading: *creature ubi nec cibus . . . inuenitur, in quo si ventus . . . iumenta*.

⁹ *Positus*, M.

¹⁰ *Auxiliaria*, M.

¹¹ *Incepit*, M.

¹² *Scilicia*, M.; P. adds *de* in margin, as M. in text.

¹³ *Tunicum*, M.

¹⁴ *Vicia*, M.

non posset totum exercitum recipere unus portus, progressus tamen¹ esset continuus usque Cyprum, et inde ad quam partem de Ægypto vel de Suria ²exercitus applicaret² cum maturo consilio videretur. Hanc viam fecit sanctus Ludouicus. Hanc faciebant peregrini transfretantes in subsidium terrae sanctae, quando de ipsa ³per nostros aliquid³ tenebatur. Sed haec⁴ difficu[P. 27]ltates plurimas secum habet. Habet enim difficultates quantum ad omnes homines, et specialiter quantum ad Gallicos et Theutonicos,⁵ qui in mari non fuerunt assueti. Ad motum enim maris et agitationes varias et procellas nimium⁶ et efficiuntur saepius sine sensu, ita quod frequenter possent iuditari mortui plus quam viui. Praeter haec, subita mutatio aeris, foetor maris, cibaria insipida atque grossa, aquae foetidae et corruptae, pressura hominum, strictura loci, durities lecti, et cetera⁷ talia multa nimis in eis infirmitates varias generant et inducunt. Equi etiam ⁸haberent incommoda⁸ plurima sustinere. Habent namque pendere districti, jacere non possunt, continue agitantur, carent exercitio consueto, tergi et mundari non possunt, de mutatione aeris, foetore maris, sicut homines affliguntur. Qui quidem foetor propter eos non minuitur, sed augetur. His tantis malis debilitati et infirmati¹⁰ vix possunt in statum pristinum¹¹reuocari seu¹¹ reparari, et frequentius etiam moriuntur. Contingit¹² iterum naues propter ventum oppositum retrocedere. Et ¹³si non possunt,¹³ coguntur ad portum aliquem declinare,¹⁴in quo¹⁴ siue sit habitatio, siue non, propter defectum temporis habent¹⁵ frequentius moras contrahere diuturnas. Interdum in alto maris deficiet eis ventus. Et tunc non possunt retrocedere vel procedere nec declinare ad dextram vel sinistram. Quae quidem omnia sunt in magnum viae dispendium, in magnam materiam expensarum, et in personarum et equorum non modicum detrimentum. Sunt etiam tempestates incredibiles insperatae,¹⁶ ex quibus sequitur debilitas corporum, defectio virium, deperitio virtutum, fractio animorum. Propter quae ab incipiendo tam ¹⁷sancto proposito¹⁷ plurimi retardantur, [M. 8 v] vel a jam incepto forsitan reuocantur. Propter etiam praedictas tem-

¹ Cum, M., which of course reads *Ciprum* just below, *acomodum* just above.

² *Deberet exercitus ampliari*, M.

³ *Aliquid per nostros*, M.

⁴ *Hoc*, M.

⁵ *Teutonicas*, M., as elsewhere.

⁶ *Ninium affliguntur*, M.

⁷ *Ceretera*, M.

⁸ *Habent incommoda*, M.

⁹ *Excercio*, M.

¹⁰ *Infirmiati*, M.

¹¹ M. omits *reuocari seu*.

¹² *Contigit*, M.

¹³ *Si tamen possint*, M.

¹⁴ *Et*, M.

¹⁵ Here M. adds *ibi*.

¹⁶ *Inseparate*, M., which of course reads *depericio* just below.

¹⁷ *Sancte vie proposito*, M.

pestates naues in portus varios seu potius in¹ partes diuersas et contrarias disperguntur. Et sic temporis dispendia subsequuntur,² dum in aliquo certo³ loco habent se mutuo expectare ut exercitus uniatur. Aliquando etiam naufragia patiuntur et⁴ detrimenta plurima et iacturas. Est insuper una alia incommoditas ex hac via. Nam exercitus subito transiens de uno extremo ad aliud extremum, id est, de terra frigida ad terram calidam, in suis complexionibus transmutatur.⁵ Ex quo infirmitates saepius generantur, et mortes plurimum⁶ subsequuntur. Sequitur etiam⁶ dispendium temporis, quod non est [P. 28] pro modico aestimandum. Exercitus enim habet in Cypro toto tempore hyemis expectare, ut ibi⁷ homines et equi post maris incommoda recreentur, et exercitus expectetur, et terra hostium exploretur, ac tempus quo solent Reges ad bella procedere attendatur. Ex quo⁸ quidem dispendio temporis sequitur multiplicatio expensarum tam in marino exercitu quam terrestri. Sequuntur⁹ et discordiae in exercitu atque brigae propter otium cui vacant. Sequitur iterum stipendiariorum¹⁰ depauperatio et stipendiorum consumptio, dum indisciplinati homines in otio sua disperdunt in comensationibus et ebrietatibus, in ludis¹¹ et tabernis, et aliis inhonestis. Sequitur interdum epidimia, malum irreparabile, quae prouenit ex aere calido vel intemperato aeri eorum natiuo contrario puro et frigido, et etiam ex vinis acutis et ardentibus; in quibus si aqua ponatur, ut decet, saporem amittunt; si pura bibantur, intestina et cerebrum destruunt et comburunt. Ista omnia incommoda sensit et habuit in suo passagio sanctus¹² Ludouicus, et specialiter quod CCL. leguntur obiisse de Comitibus, Baronibus, atque Militibus melioribus quos¹³ haberet illa hyeme qua in Cypro ob causas praedictas habuit commorari. Hanc ergo viam quam incommoda tot sequuntur,¹⁴ eligere non debeo nec audeo commendare. Nam si tempore beati Ludouici Christiani¹⁵ fuisse eligibilem non decerno quando nostra Christianitas de terra illa ad quam nos¹⁶ tendimus Acon et aliqua loco alia obtinebat, ubi absque mora in Cypro cum sua comitiua libere poterat applicare, multo minus nunc,¹⁷ quando non obtinemus ibi¹⁸ minimum passum pedis, ut inferius exponetur.

¹ M. omits *in*.

² *Subsequentur*, M.

³ *Stricto*, M.

⁴ *Vel*, M.

⁵ *Transmutantur*, M.

⁶ *Subsequitur*. *Sequitur iterum*, M., which of course reads *exercitus* and *incomoda* below.

⁷ *Ubi*, M.

⁸ *Quo* M. omits.

⁹ *Sequentur*, M.

¹⁰ *Stipendarum*, M.

¹¹ *Lusibus*, M.

¹² Here M. adds *etiam*.

¹³ *Quo*, M.

¹⁴ *Sequentur*, M.

¹⁵ Here P. adds in margin *hanc viam*.

¹⁶ *Nunc*, M., which of course reads *optinebat* below, *incomoda* above.

¹⁷ M. omits *nunc*.

¹⁸ M. omits *ibi*.

De tertia via, quae est per Italiam, via tuta et bona, cujus progressio¹ tangitur esse triplex.

Tertia via est per Italiam, cujus progressus poterit esse triplex. Unus per ²Aquileiam, et inde per Istriam,² dehinc per Dalmatiam, quae quidem sunt prouinciae fidelis populi Christiani, via facilis atque plana, domestica, fertilis et abundans, frumento, vino, et oleo, carnibus atque piscibus, foecunda plurimum et jocunda, habens castra, villas, ciuitates iuxta ad inuicem et propinquas; quorum dominium partim est communis Venetiarum, partim communitatem,³ partim quorundam ibi principantium Dominorum. Ulterius [P. 29] procedatur⁴ per regnum Rassiae, et ⁵peruenietur ad Thessalonicam,⁵ quae est major ciuitas Macedoniae sub Constantinopolitano imperio et dominio ac districtu. De hac ciuitate usque Constantinopolim sunt tredecim paruae dietae de planitie fertili et jocunda et bonorum omnium abundanti. Unum solum videretur alicui difficile in hac via, quod videlicet ab exitu praefatae regionis Dalmatiae usque Constantinopolim terrae, ciuitates, atque dominia sunt gentium quae apostolicae sedis magisterio non intendunt. De istarum vero gentium fortitudine vel audacia resistendi nullam, nisi sicut⁶ de mulieribus facio mentionem. Sed si vellent nostra sancta itinera impedire, faceremus nobis faciliter igne gladio viam,⁷ sicut iuste et licite facere possemus et etiam deberemus, ut in⁸ suo loco inferius exponetur. Hanc viam fecerunt multi qui Romano imperio praesidebant, ut in⁹ tripartita historia clarius inuenitur,¹⁰ quando de Galliis siue de Germania aut de Ita[M. 9 r]lia exercitum deducebant ad domandum vel dominandum seu¹¹ subueniendum imperio orientis; et hoc quia non oportebat eos in mari ponere passum unum nec tentoria figere nec de victualibus fere usque¹² crastinum prouidere; sed viam suam faciebant ordinatis dietis de loco habitato ad locum habitatum et de hospitio ad hospitium transeundo. Alius progressus esse poterit per Brandisium¹³ ciuitatem Apuliae, et inde transire brachium unum maris quod durat circa CL. miliaria in Duracium, quae est ciuitas Domini Principis Tarentini, et inde per Albaniam, quae sunt gentes obediens Romanae ecclesiae et deuotae, inde per Blaquianiam,¹⁴ et ulterius in Thessalonicam¹⁴ procedendo. Alius progressus esse poterit per Hydruntum,¹⁴ quae est etiam ciuitas Apuliae, et inde

¹ *Progressus*, M.

² *Aquileyam . . . Ystriam*, M.

³ *Communitatum*, M.

⁴ *Procedetur*, M.

⁵ *Peruenitur in Thassalonicam*, M.

⁶ *Sint*, M.

⁷ Here M. adds *latam*.

⁸ M. omits *in*.

⁹ M. omits *in*.

¹⁰ *Inuenietur*, M., which below has only *Yta* for *Italia*, the *-lia* being added below by another hand (?).

¹¹ *Aut*, M.

¹² Here M. adds *in*.

¹³ *Brundusium*, M., which below puts *transire* after *maris*.

¹⁴ *Blaquiam . . . Thessalonicam . . . Ydrontum*, M.

per insulam Curfo,¹ quae est etiam Domini Principis Tarentini, peruenire in ²despotatum Arcae, quae² distat ab Hydrunto vix CXX. miliaribus, et inde per Blaquiam in Thessalonicam applicare. In his autem viis siue progressibus tanta est terrae fertilitas quod cum illa quae adhiberi poterit diligentia et cautela nullus defectus penitus esse potest. Hos duos progressus ultimos fecerunt Hugo magnus frater Philippi Regis Francorum et Robertus Comes Flandrensis et alius³ Robertus Comes Normannorum et Tancredus⁴ Princeps Tarentinus in passagio quod mouit Petrus Heremita, sicut [P. 30] in historia de ipso passagio continetur.

De quarta via, quae est per Alamaniam⁵ et Ungariam, via facilis et salubris.

Quarta via est per Alamaniam et Ungariam; ubi cum exercitus fuerit adunatus, exeundo fines Ungariae intrabit plana Bulgariae disposite et distincte, et inde prospere ac feliciter dante Deo cum sanitate⁶ personarum et equorum ac rerum Constantinopolim applicabit. Hanc viam fecerunt multi Principes, Duces, Comites, et Barones qui de lingua occitana,⁷ de ⁸Galliis, de Francia, et de Aluernia⁸ Petrum heremitam fuerunt in praefato⁹ passagio subsecuti. Hanc viam¹⁰ dudum fecerat memorandus¹⁰ et imitandus Karolus Magnus quando terram sanctam de manu infidelium liberauit, sicut ex historiis inde factis colligitur et habetur.

Explicit tertia pars. Incipit quarta pars. Et est quae istarum praedictarum sit pro Rege ac personam suam sectantibus, et quae pro aliis diuersarum partium exercitibus eligenda.

Visa¹¹ descriptione praedictarum viarum, nunc restat ostendere quae istarum viarum sit pro Rege, et quae pro aliis diuersarum partium exercitibus eligenda. Voluntatis autem et intentionis fuit pro quolibet exercitu talem viam eligere ac monstrare quae breuior, faciliior, et utilior, esse possit, et quae sit a marinis incommodis supra positis elongata, in qua de ipso mari tam¹² parum habeant pertransire quod vix ille transitus ad tria miliaria se extendit, et sic usque ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem non habebunt mare aliud nauigare nisi istud de quo loquor mare strictissimum, ut ostendam.

¹ Uirfo, M., corrected from Curfo.

² Depontatum Arce, qui, M., which reads Ydronto (or Ydronco) . . . CCXX., and Thessalonicam, just below. P. in margin corrects Arcae to Acrae.

³ Here, M. adds Comes, giving of course, just above, the spelling Mandrensis.

⁴ Tandredus, M.

⁵ Alemanianiam, M., as elsewhere, which of course has exercitus below.

⁶ Saluitate, M..

⁷ Octaua, M.

⁸ Galliis . . . Francis . . . Alemania, M.

⁹ M. omits praefato.

¹⁰ Dum memorandus dudum, M., omitting fecerat; dum perhaps is intended to be erased.

¹¹ Viso de descriptione, M.

¹² Ita, M., which of course has incomodis above; Ierusalem, ffacilitas below.

Via ergo erit pro Rege, praeuia gratia Jesu Christi, per Alamaniam et Ungariam, quam supra descripsimus quarto loco. Quod autem ista via sit absque omni dubio eligenda ex breuitate, facilitate, et¹ commoditate ipsius breuiter ostendetur. Ex breuitate quidem, quia illud ad longitudinem viae non arbitror aestimandum quod Dominus Rex facere potest per terras suorum fidelium amicorum² fidei Christianae, qui etiam passagium istud summe desiderant et exoptant, qui ipsum, nec dubium, vel multi ex ipsis in rebus propriis et personis deuotius subsequuntur. Ibi enim quoad longitudinem itineris onerosi initium [P. 31] passagii iudicio computandum ubi et quando a terris fidelium est egressus. Facilitas etiam patet, quia de loco habitato ad locum habitatum et¹ de ciuitate in ciuitatem de die³ poterit hospitari in bonis⁴ et quietis. Commoditas est insuper manifesta. Nam in hac inueniuntur⁵ victualia et alia hominibus [M. 9 v] et equis necessaria abundanter, quae Almania⁶ et Hungaria largius subministrant. Per hanc ergo viam exercitus, sicut si essent in propria Francia,⁷ usque ad exitum de Hungaria cum consolatione nimia deducetur. Ab exitu autem de Hungaria in Constantinopolim dirigit duplex via. Una est per Bulgariam, quam supra tetigi; alia per Sclauoniam, id est per partem regni Rassiae cuius feci superius mentionem. Has vias fecerunt, per Bulgariam⁸ quidem Godofredus Lothoringiae⁹ cum fratribus suis Baldouino et Eustachio et Baldouinus⁹ Comes Montensis, per Sclauoniam vero¹⁰ Ademarum Podiensis Episcopus apostolicae sedis Legatus et Raimundus Comes sancti Aegidii et Tolosae,¹⁰ ut in libris aliquibus inuenitur. In aliquibus vero libris leguntur per Aquileiam et Dalmatiam sua itinera peregrisse. Et quia exercitus magnus erit, una pars per Bulgariam, pars altera per Sclauoniam poterit facere iter suum, ut victualia et hospitia commodius habeantur. Dominus autem Rex per Bulgariam, ubi est via planior et breuior, faciet iter suum. Sed antequam extra terminos Hungariae procedatur, ordinabitur quod ab illis qui in Bulgaria, Graecia, et Rassia dominantur securitas habeatur; quam ipsi libentius exhibebunt,¹¹ ut in suis non suis sed violentatis et usurpatis ac tyrannizatis dominiis dimittantur. Ordinabitur etiam ut dicti Domini faciant per gentes suas exercitui victualia pro competenti

¹ M. omits *et*.

² M. adds here *et deuotorum*.

³ M. adds here *in diem*.

⁴ M. adds here *hospitiis*, and, like P., keeps two m's in *commoditas*, though a little later it has *comodius*.

⁵ Written like *inueminetur* in M., which below repeats *hominibus*.

⁶ *Almania*, M.

⁷ *Francia exercitus*, M.

⁸ *Quidam Godefridus dux Lotoringe*, M.

⁹ *Bladuinus*, M.

¹⁰ *Ademanus Pondiensis . . . Raimundus . . . Tholose*, M., which of course has *Aquileiam* below.

¹¹ *Exhibebunt*, M.

pretio ministrari, si tamen in¹ eis fuerit de fidelitate aliqua confidendum. Quod non teneo nec judico esse tutum propter rationes quae loco suo inferius apponentur. Et si judicetur quod ad eos noster introitus sit hostilis, tunc victualia in blado, farina, et carnibus, et vino² sine pretio et in copia habebunt. Terrae enim illae multum sunt in talibus abundantes, et foueae subterraneae in quibus sunt eorum promptuaria cum inuestigatione debita tunc patebunt. Ipsi sunt etiam³ tales ab ubere enutriti quod non cogitant de defensione et resistentia, sed de fuga. Quia vero multi exercitus de diuersis partibus mouebuntur, et⁴ tantam multitudinem non potest recipere via una, ideo [P. 32] de aliis supra tactis viis restat quam quis de ipsis viis accipere debeat ostendendum.

Viam illam⁵ per Africam non eligo nec ullo modo judico faciendam, nisi totus exercitus ad acquirendum ipsam Africam verteretur. Tantum enim est fortis illa patria, tot habet ciuitates inexpugnabiles atque castra quod ad acquirendum eam unum praecogitatum et deliberatum⁶ passagium necessarium videretur. Hoc patet in bellis Punicis, hoc in⁷ Jugurthino, hoc in Numentino bellis, quae Romanas copias minuerunt et eorum potentiam multo tempore lassauerunt. Et licet Romani de ipsis victoriam reportauerint et triumphum, non tamen sine consumptione plurimum et magno reipublicae detrimento. Non tamen⁸ dico quod esset de victoria diffidendum⁹ quando dirigeretur¹⁰ passagium specialiter contra eos. Nobiscum enim est Deus,¹¹ et ipsi a viribus pristinis et virtutibus defecerunt. Vias ergo¹² alias ad prosequendum nostrum propositum, id est, ad acquirendum terram sanctam, ut cupimus, eligamus.

Viam maris tantum faciant homines nauium et galearum officiis deputati cum¹³ rectoribus et capitaneis¹³ earundem et eis quibus secretum regium¹⁴ communicatum fuerit quid de¹⁵ ipsis nauibus¹⁶ et galeis in termino et in via fieri oportebit. Ire etiam poterunt qui in mari fuerint assueti, qui ad maris incommoda non mutantur, et ad tempestates varias non mouentur [M. 10 r].

¹ Sin, M., which of course has *tirannizatis* above.

² M. omits *vino* and the *et* after *pretio*.

³ *Ipsi etiam sunt*, M.

⁴ Here M. adds *omnem*.

⁵ Here M. adds *primam*, reading of course *Africanam*.

⁶ *Deliberatum et praecogitatum*, M.

⁷ M. omits *in*.

⁸ Here M. adds *idem*.

⁹ *Diffidendum*, M.

¹⁰ *Dirigeretur* M.

¹¹ *Deus est*, M.

¹² *Ergo vias*, M.

¹³ *Capitaneis et rectoribus*, M.

¹⁴ *Regni*, M.

¹⁵ M. omits *de*.

¹⁶ M. originally *manibus*, corrected to *nauibus*.

Per viam autem ¹Italiae, cujus progressus tetigimus, per progressum quidem Apuliae ibunt Canciani, qui Aquileiae sunt affines, et Lombardi,² et illi de Marchiis, et alii undecunque³ qui magis isti progressui sunt propinqui.

Illi de lingua occitana,⁴ Prouinciales, Tusci, Romani, et Apuli per progressum ⁵Brandisii et Hydrunti⁶ facient iter suum secundum quod ⁷personis, equis,⁸ et propinquitati⁹ terrae suae magis expediens iudicabunt. Necessarium tamen erit quod isti qui facient hos ultimos progressus⁷ prompta vasa maris habeant⁸ et parata quae ipsos per illa maris brachia superius designata in aliam partem transeant⁹ et transportent. Omnes autem qui per istas vias dirigunt gressus suos¹⁰ in Thessalonicam applicabunt et cum illis se inuenient qui per Aquileiam processerunt. Causam ¹¹huius termini viue infarie¹¹ explanabo.

[P. 33] *Explicit quarta pars. Incipit quinta pars: quae quia monet per regnum Rassiae et per Graecorum imperium¹² transeundum, continet in se tria.*

Ut igitur antequam de terris et terminis fidelium exeamus consulte videamus quam exercitus Domini caute debeat ambulare, quantum ad hoc, ista pars versabitur circa tria. Primo, utrum¹³ cum Imperatore¹⁴ Graecorum vel Rege Rassiae sit foedus aliquod ¹⁵iniendum seu fiendum.¹⁶ Secundo, utrum sit in eis aequaliter confidendum. Tertio, utrum ¹⁷causa inueniri poterit¹⁸ iusta, licita, et honesta ad eorum dominium inuadendum.

Quantum ad primum, scilicet quod non sit cum eis pactum aliquod faciendum, assigno quatuor rationes. Prima ratio¹⁷ sumitur ex parte fidei catholicae, quam ipsi cum sua ecclesia non tenent nec credunt, sed ipsam sic abiciunt,¹⁸ impugnant, et odiunt animis induratis quod etiam audire refugiunt¹⁹ ipsam, sicut perversi haeretici et maligni. Cum enim

¹ *Ytalie . . . Apuleye . . . Carenciani (for Tarenciani?) . . . Aquilei . . . Lombardi, M. Canciani P. corrects in margin to Campani.*

² *Undecumque.*

³ *Octaua, M.*

⁴ *Brundusei . . . Ydronti, M.*

⁵ *Propersonis esequis, M.*

⁶ *Propinquitatem, M.*

⁷ *Ultimos hos progressus, M.*

⁸ *Habebant, M.*

⁹ *Traiciant, M.*

¹⁰ *Suos gressus, M., which reads Thessolonicam, Aquileyam, below.*

¹¹ *Termini huius vie inferius, M.; P. corrects in margin viue infarie to viae inferius.*

¹² *Imperium Greecorum, M.*

¹³ *M. omits utrum.*

¹⁴ *Imperatorem Greecorum, M.*

¹⁵ *Ferendum, M.*

¹⁶ *Tam inueniri possit, M.*

¹⁷ *M. omits prima ratio.*

¹⁸ *Here M. adds et.*

¹⁹ *M. omits the re of refugiunt.*

fratres Praedicatorum ordinum et Minorum ad eorum reductionem ad¹ fidem a sede apostolica destinati eis vellent aliquando fidem catholicam declarare, abjecti, verberati, et contumeliis affecti fuerunt eorum iustionibus et mandatis. Hoc² dicam tantum quod ipsi de fide audire quae vera sunt renuant et contemnant, verum etiam quoscunque de nostris precibus, commissis,³ fauoribus, honoribus, atque minis ad suam perfidiam quantum possunt attrahunt et inducunt. Quod patet in eorum uxoribus quas nostri⁴ Latini miseri eis tradunt, cum quibus matrimonium renuunt consummare donec catholicam fidem renegauerint et eorum perfidiam sint professae; sicut ⁵exempli causa⁵ induco de sorore Comitiss Sabaudiae uxore nunc Imperatoris Graecorum, quae ⁶Graeci perfidia⁶ est effecta. Statim enim ut in Constantinopolim fuit ducta, eidem confessores fratres Minores,⁷ quos secum duxerat, abstulerunt, consiliarios probos viros, et nutrices ac domicellas catholicas de sua curia expulerunt, ita quod cum ea de iis quos secum duxerat nullum penitus dimiserunt, nisi voluissent fidem catholicam abnegare et eorum in scriptis perfidiam publice profiteri. Quod et praedicta Domina fecit in magnum⁸ dedecus Romanae Ecclesiae et opprobrium⁹ fidei Christianae. Sed, ut dicunt illi qui eam volunt in hoc sacrilegio excusare, hoc fecit ipsa non voluntarie, sed coacte. Graeci et eorum sequaces ab exordio nascentis ecclesiae errores et scismata inuenerunt et pertinaciter nutriuerunt. Ab [P. 34] eorum namque malo fonte¹⁰ primitiuis Apostolorum temporibus occasio diuisionis et scismatis emanauit. Nam factum est, inquit Lucas, murmur Graecorum aduersus Hebraeos. Ipsi Paulum Samosatenum,¹¹ Arrium, Sabellium, Macedonium,¹² Nestorium, Dioscorum,¹³ et fere omnes haeresum inventores de thesauro pessimo cordis sui Graeca venena,¹⁴ utique mortifera, diffuderunt. [M. 10 v] Quibus autem erroribus et quam diuersis perfidiae maculis Ecclesia illa Graecorum malignorum¹⁵ jacet defoedata testantur haeresiarcharum ab ipsis corrupta productio, testatur antiqua ipsorum a veritate fidei sectio, et ab ecclesiae obedientia et unitate diuisio, testantur et modernae inter se inuicem sectiones, ubi fere quot sunt hospitia, tot denique sunt errores, testantur plures nationes insuper orientis, quas post caudam suae recordia in perditionis et coecitatis barathrum¹⁶ secum trahit. Romana

¹ *Ac*, M.

² *Nunc*, M.

³ *Promissis*, M., as P. corrects in margin.

⁴ *Meri*, M.

⁵ *Exemplum*, M.

⁶ *Greci perfida*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *Graeca perfidia*.

⁷ *Iminores* originally, M., corrected to *minores*.

⁸ *Maximum*, P.

⁹ *Magnum* (without substantive), M.

¹⁰ *Forte*, M.

¹¹ *Samasatenum*, M.

¹² *Maordomum*, M.

¹³ *Diascorum*, M.

¹⁴ M. omits *venena*.

¹⁵ *Malignancium*, M.

¹⁶ *Baratrum*, M.

iterum mater Ecclesia attestatur et etiam detestatur, dum pro diuersis erroribus quibus fuerunt¹ impliciti ipsos damnat. Doctores imsuper antiqui pariter et moderni ipsorum haereses tam rationibus quam auctoritatibus detestando reprobant et condemnant, quod scilicet spiritum sanctum a solo patre procedere asseuerant, quod nullam animam usque ad diem iudicii esse in paradiso vel in inferno pertinaciter mentiuntur, et quod primum² Ecclesiae non esse in Romano Pontifice astruunt et affirmant, et quia Reges Franciae a tempore quo fidei donum et baptismi gratiam susceperunt semper suscitatores, promotores, ³defensores, et alumni ac⁴ pugiles ipsius, quae sola vera et⁴ catholica est, Romanae fidei extiterunt, et super omnes alios Reges mundi ipsam per se et suos declarauerunt,⁵ et per ipsam vitam disposuerunt et proprium sanguinem effuderunt. Nec⁶ viderentur primis ultima conuenire, si maiestas vestra deuota cum tam perfidis et antiquatis haereticis foedera copularet. Secundam rationem quare foedus iniri non debet⁷ cum praedictis assumo, ne videatur pars accipi contra Deum et pactum fieri cum inferno. Ad hoc dissuadendum suadent me testimonia⁸ scripturarum. Psalmista namque in populum suum iratum fuisse Dominum memorauit quia non disperdiderunt gentes quas dixit Dominus illis, sed commixti sunt inter gentes, et didicerunt opera eorum, et [P. 35] seruiuerunt sculptilibus eorum, et factum est illis in scandalum. Samuel Sauli ex verbo Domini maledicit, Abiecit, inquit, te Dominus, ne sis Rex super Israel, quia projecisti sermonem Domini. Agag enim⁹ Regem ad vitam contra mandatum Domini reseruauit. Jonatham Machabaeum, cui cuncta prospere in bellis Domini successerunt, ipse Dominus captum in¹⁰ manu hostium¹⁰ dereliquit postquam foedus inierat cum Romanis. Acab ex verbo Domini dictum fuit per unum de filiis prophetarum, cum Benadas¹¹ Regem Syriae dimisisset et cum eo foedera copulasset: Quia dimisisti virum dignum morte de manu tua, erit anima tua pro anima ejus, et populus tuus pro populo. Angelus Domini viuientem¹² Josue in loco flantium¹³ protestatur: Pollicitus sum ut non faceret¹⁴ irritum pactum meum ubertum¹⁵ in sempiternum, ita duntaxat¹⁶ ut non feriretis pactum

¹ *Sunt*, M.

² *Prima tamen*, M., which of course reads *francie*, *alumpni*, below; *dampnat*, *condempnant*, above.

³ *Defensores*, *alumpni*, et, M.

⁴ M. omits this *et*.

⁵ Here M. adds *firmauerunt atque dilatauerunt*.

⁶ *Non*, M.

⁷ *Debeat*, M.

⁸ *Testimoniis*, M.

⁹ *Et*, M.

¹⁰ *Manus Domini hostium*, M.

¹¹ *Benedas*, M., which reads *fillis* just above.

¹² *Viuente*, M.

¹³ *Flentium*, M.

¹⁴ *Facerem*, M.

¹⁵ *Vobiscum*, M.

¹⁶ *Dumtaxat*, M.

cum habitatoribus terrae hujus, et nolisset¹ audire vocem meam. Quamobrem nolui² delere eos a facie vestra, ut haberetis hostes. Josaphat Regi Juda cum Acab Rege Israel amicitias copulanti per Jehu³ videntem fuit ex verbo redarguentis Domini intimatum: 'Impio praebeas auxilium et iis qui oderunt Dominum amicitia jungeris. Et idcirco iram quidem Domini merebaris.⁴ De eodem quoque Josaphat legitur in his verbis: Post haec init⁵ amicitias Josaphat cum Acozia Rege Israel, cujus opera fuerunt pessima, et particeps fuit ut facerent naues quae irent in 'Tharsis, feceruntque assem⁶ in Asyongaber. Prophetavit autem Eliezer ad Josaphat dicens: Quia habuisti foedus cum Acozia, percussit Dominus opera tua.

Tertia ratio sumitur ex parte Romanae Ecclesiae matris nostrae, quam ipsi despiciunt et contemnunt. Ipsam enim vocant et pronuntiant [M. 11 r] adulteram, meretricem, fornicariam,⁷ Ecclesiam malignantem. Omnia ejus sacramenta tanquam nulla reprobant et condemnant. Nullum caput, nullum praelatum gratum, statum ordinem in ipsa esse pronuntiant et affirmant. Ejus filios canes immundos vocant, et⁸ pluries in anno et publice denuntiant tanquam haereticos et scismaticos et tanquam 'matre vestra⁹ mortua et corrupta ab unitate corporis Christi mystici separatos excommunicantes et anathematizantes ac pronuntiantes eos 'adimitam pro eo quod in azymo¹⁰ conficiunt¹¹ execrantur. Si quos¹² ex nostris in eorum Ecclesiis celebrare contigerit, ipsas reconciliant et emundant, sicut si essent effusione sanguinis vel seminis emissionem¹³ violatae. Si quis eorum a quocunque¹⁴ paruum vel magnum quid subtraxerit furto, [P. 36] violentia, vel rapina, nulla per suos confessores imponitur restitutio facienda. Ipsi laudant in confessionibus et commendant si quis eorum¹⁵ a nobis aliquid detinet quoquo modo, asserentes omnia esse a nobis tanquam ab injustis¹⁶ possessoribus licite ac meritorie auferenda. Postremo cum omnes nationes aquilonis et orientis de Francis magna aestiment et commendent, omnes obedientes Romanae Ecclesiae Francos vocant, de quacunque gente vel progenie sint¹⁷ exorti,

¹ *Voluissetis*, M., which reads *huius terre* just above.

² *Volui*, M.

³ *Jhesum*, M.

⁴ All this passage is very corrupt in both MSS. M. reads: *imperio prebet auxilium et hiis qui oderunt Dominum amicitia iungulis et idcirco iram Domini merebaris*.

⁵ *Init*, M., which seems to treat *Amicitias* as a name or place, always giving it a capital initial here.

⁶ *Tarsis . . . classem*, M.

⁷ *Fornicatoriam*, M.

⁸ M. omits *et* here, giving also readings of *imundos* above, *publice* below.

⁹ *Membra*, M.

¹⁰ *Azimitas . . . azimo*, M.

¹¹ Here M. adds *et*.

¹² *Quem enim*, M.

¹³ M. omits *emissione*.

¹⁴ M. adds *nostrum* here.

¹⁵ M. omits *eorum*, and reads *comendant* just above.

¹⁶ *Ministris*, apparently, M.

¹⁷ Here M. adds *nati vel*, reading *Ffranci* above.

ac propter hanc aestimationem quam de nobis habent ¹omni quae sub coelo est nos praeferunt nationi,¹ Graeci soli nos praeposterant et rejactant, et tanquam mortuos a corde nos judicant relinquendos, et² tanquam vasa perdita nos contumeliant et infamant. Haec et alia multa mala quae disserere per singula longum esset Graeca Ecclesia illa foeda de pulcritudine ac puritate Romanae Ecclesiae ac de ipsius filiis speciosis false, odiose, et ³tumide opinatur.³

Quartam rationem accipio quae sequitur ex praemissis, ex eo scilicet quod nullus debet haereticis nec hostibus Dei nec Ecclesiae ⁴inimicis exhibere auxilium vel fauorem nec etiam alteri cuicunque in fauorem criminis vel in juris⁴ alterius detrimentum. Cum igitur Rex Franciae apud omnes nationes orientis et aquilonis et apud extrema terrarum admirandae aestimationis est et singularis excellentiae habeatur, et quantum ad omnis generis⁵ nobilitatem supremus et quasi solus inter et super omnes occiduos principes nominetur, multum aduertere ac ⁶insistere toto nisu debet⁶ ut actus suos taliter ordinet et disponat quod ex ipsis nulli et maxime catholico et fideli possit scandalum et detrimentum aliquod⁷ prouenire. Totus autem oriens scit quod Imperator Graecorum et Rex Rassiae duplicis notae macula sunt infames; una scilicet quod sunt haeretici per Romanam Ecclesiam aestimati, ac sicut tales a magnis temporibus condemnati; altera vero, quod sunt juris alieni falsi et proditorii inuasores et violenti⁸ ac tyrannici detentores. Cum ergo nunc usque tales⁹ fuerint a se ipsis et ab aliis reputati quod propter haereses suas ab Ecclesia Romana catholica sunt diuisi, quod et eis fratres Praedicatores et Minores¹⁰ ipsos ad reditum in sinum matris Ecclesiae saepius adhortantes¹¹ per literas apostolicas ostenderunt, et tam auctoritatibus quam rationibus pluries probauerunt, quando scilicet et quotiens auditum aurium praebuerunt, si modo talis ac tantus Rex cum eis foedera copularet, non aliud [P. 37] orientalibus videretur nisi quod eorum errores et blasphemias contra nostros et scismata¹² cum eorum superstitionibus approbaret. Et per consequens praedicti fratres cum suis literis et assertionibus¹³ friuoli redderentur. Videtur¹⁴ quod illa quae tenent usurpata dominia solidaret, quae non a quocunque,

¹ Cum omni . . . est preferant vos nacioni, M.

² M. omits this et.

³ Timide opinantur, M.

⁴ M. adds de here and omits alteri and iuris.

⁵ Gineris, M.

⁶ Visere . . . visu (ut), M., omitting debet.

⁷ M. omits aliquod here, reading fideli just above.

⁸ Vio violenti, M., which reads tyrannici just below.

⁹ Tales M. omits, leaving a space for insertion.

¹⁰ Minores et Predicatores, M.

¹¹ Adorantes, M., which of course reads racionibus, blasfemias, below.

¹² Scismatici, M.; the scribe here apparently wished to correct this (to scismata), but the correction is not thoroughly done.

¹³ Here M. adds mendaces et.

¹⁴ Videretur, M., which of course reads Ffrancie below.

sed proprie ab illis de domo Francia¹ injuste et indebite ac proditorie de[M. 11 v]tinent occupata, ut infra clarius ostendetur. Nec ego¹ possem modum alium cogitare per ²quem ipsis² soliditas majoris fauoris et firmitas auxilii certioris³ in suo errore atque tyrannide possit dari quam quod ille pacem cum eis ineat⁴ atque foedus qui semper fuit haeresum extirpator et justitiae executor. Ex quo certe scandalum fidei et propinqui damnum euidentem sequeretur. Videat igitur qui haec audit et iudicet qui haec sentit utrum juste sit cum talibus alicujus foederis pactio vel cujuscunque amicitiae conuentio facienda.

De secundo quod in hac parte tangebatur, quod scilicet non sit in eis ullatenus confidendum.

Vides⁵ igitur quod non sit pactum aliquod cum eis ²faciendum. Sequitur secundum, scilicet quod⁶ non sit in eis ullatenus confidendum. Et ad hoc probandum quatuor rationes quae sunt de facto breuiter explanabo. Prima ratio est a proprietate generali omnium orientalium nationum, quae habitualement consuetudinem habent fidem varie⁷ mutare atque peruertere cum fortuna. Non enim sunt gentes in mundo quae melius sciant verbis et factis palliatis se tegere, adulationibus ⁸ad alios demulcere,⁸ larga et magna promittere, obsequiis delinire. Nec sunt gentes quae melius sciant a promissis diffugere, magis versute decipere, cautius unam prodicionem texere, nec inuerecundius a juratis atque firmatis fidelitatibus resilire; quibus, cum plus promiserint et iurauerint, minus credas; qui cum plus obsequii impenderint et honoris, tunc ab eis caueas, tunc suspectos habeas velut⁹ hostes. Haec enim faciunt ut assecuratum hominem fallant et decipiant improuisum. Hos illi efferunt summa laude, hos honorant, promouent, et exaltant quos inuenerint¹⁰ magis callidos et versutos, quos viderint pulciora et ¹¹promptiora mendacia¹¹ inuenire, et quos nouerint scire ad finem intentum unam deducere falsitatem. Caue, Domine mi Rex, ne ignem in sinu foueas, hostem in thoro, et ne in gremio scorpionem nutrias aut serpentem. [P. 38] Secunda ratio est, quia licet ipsi¹² cum orientalibus participant in praedictis, quilibet tamen eorum est de domo magis proditoria orientis aut etiam aquilonis. Imperator siquidem nunc Graecorum est de quadam domo quae vocatur Palaeologorum, sic nominata¹³ a quodam

¹ *Ergo*, M.

² *Quam ipsi*, M.

³ *Cretioris*, M.

⁴ *Iniat*, M.

⁵ *Viso*, M.

⁶ *Ferendum . . . secundum secundum quod scilicet*, M.

⁷ *Variare*, M.

⁸ *Demulcere aliis*, M., which of course reads *caucius* below.

⁹ *Veld* (for *velud*), M.

¹⁰ *Inuenerunt*, M.

¹¹ *Promptiora mendantia*, M.

¹² M. omits *ipsi*.

¹³ *Denominata*, M.

qui Palaeologus primitus est vocatus, a quo omnes huiusmodi cognitionis descenderunt. Qui propter proditioes quas in dominum suum commiserat captus fuit et priuatus omnibus bonis¹ suis et cingulo militari. De cujus progenie natus fuit Palaeologus atauus huius qui Graecorum imperium modo tenet. Qui quidem Palaeologus, postquam proditioes² multas commiserat et nephandas, tandem Philippum filium Balduini secundi patrem Dominae Katherinae uxoris felicis³ memoriae Domini patris vestri quandam filiam Karoli primi Siciliae Regis suscepit, de imperio effugauit, et in ipsum imperium temerarie se intrusit. Postmodum vero timens idem Palaeologus quod quia domum Franciae multum offenderet⁴ per expulsionem praedicti Philippi de imperio, qui tam ipse quam pater suus de domo Franciae originem habuerunt, ne per Dominum Karolum Regem Siciliae primum sibi imperium auferretur, qui tunc ad hoc magnum fecerat apparatus, ad calliditates et fallacias⁵ se conuertit,⁶ et ex una⁷ dixit se velle Ecclesiae Romanae submittere et fidem suscipere et seruare, et ad hoc etiam nuntios misit ad⁸ concilium Lugdunense.⁸ Ex altera autem parte Dominum Petrum Regem⁹ tunc Aragoniae⁹ induxit magnis exhibitis¹⁰ pecuniis et promissionibus quod praedicto Karolo rebellante Siciliam¹⁰ occuparet, ut sic ipsum [M. 12 r] Karolum ab inuasionem imperii remoueret, quod et factum est, ut testatur verius dies praesens. Filius etiam huius Palaeologi Andronicus nomine auus istius de quo textitur sermo praesens non sine proditioibus¹¹ vitam duxit. Mortuo siquidem patre suo, clero et monachis coronationi suae assentire volentibus,¹² fuit per eos ad faciendum quinque iuramenta sacrilega inclinatus miser ille¹³ sacrilegus perditus et seductus.

Primum iuramentum fuit quod Romanae Ecclesiae fidem nunquam reciperet, sed ipsam excommunicaret cum omnibus sibi adhaerentibus et malediceret in aeternum. Secundum quod Graecorum fidem nunquam desereret, nec ei verbo vel facto in aliquo contraheret. Tertium, quod quia pater ejus fidei Romanae¹⁴ adhaeserat et mortuus fuerat in eadem, ipsum malediceret et excommunicando perpetuo [P. 39] anathemati obligaret. Quartum, quod in detestationem Romanae fidei et Ecclesiae eundem patrem suum nunquam permetteret sepeliri.¹⁵ Quintum, quod

¹ M. omits *bonis*.

² *Productiones*, M., which reads *Katerinae* below.

³ *Fletis*, M., which as usual makes its *vestri* like *nostris*.

⁴ *Offendant*, M. which, above, corrects *Scicilie* to *Sicilie*.

⁵ *Fallacitates*, M.

⁶ *Conuertis*, M.

⁷ Here M. adds *parte*.

⁸ *Consilium Lugdinense*, M.

⁹ *Agonie tunc*, without sign of contraction, M.

¹⁰ *Peccuniis . . . promissis . . . Sciciliam*, M.

¹¹ *Prodictionibus*, M.

¹² *Volentibus assentire*, M.

¹³ *Ipse*, M.

¹⁴ Here M. adds *ecclesie*.

¹⁵ *Sepelire*, M.

quia pater suus multum effuderat¹ sanguinem monachorum quia nitebantur praedictam unionem cum Romana Ecclesia impedire nunquam per se vel per alium iudicium mortis vel sanguinis promulgaret. Haec autem iuramenta ita stricte et cum tanta perseuerantia obseruauit quod per ipsum usque ad hanc diem dispensatio nulla fuit. Sed postquam fuit in imperio solidatus, licet sanguinem non effuderit, ut firmauerat iuramento, ad alia tamen crudelitatis et infidelitatis genera contra etiam illos de domo propria expressius conuertit. Nam fratrem unum proprium excoecauit, et alterum fecit in carcere mori fame. Sororem etiam suam macerauit squalore² carceris et occidit. Omnes iterum de sua stirpe pene aut proscripsit aut carceri mancipauit, nec permisit aliquam de praedictis cum pace descendere ad inferna.

Tertia ratio est, quia iste qui nunc in Graecia iniquum obtinet principatum, nomine Andronicus, in domo tam praeditoria natus et patrum suorum oblicationibus³ extra veritatem et iustitiam educatus, progressu successorio obtinet, falsitates et proditioes ostendit se in suis⁴ prauis operibus jure hereditario possidere, ut videatur in sua domo quanto posterior, tanto pejor. Et ut de multis pauca dicam, ipse fratrem suum⁵ unicum uterinum manu propria interfecit, auum suum Andronicum supradictum, qui eum nutriuera tanquam pater, de imperio deposuit et dejecit, et in quodam monasterio eum trudentes⁶ violentatum ac pro viribus renitentem⁷ monachum⁸ fecit, ubi adhuc degit in magna miseria et dolore, propter⁹ continuos singultus et assiduas lacrymas factus⁹ coecus. Qui quamuis¹⁰ ista bene meruerit, malus senex tamen a proditione¹¹ nepharia actorem iuuenem non excusat. Haec de Imperatore Graecorum.

De Rege vero Rassiae quid exponam, cum ipse in illo regno de¹² jure locum non habeat neque secum.¹² Sed similis eum infidelitatum, proditionum, ac tyrannidum noxa grauis, ¹³nota tamen,¹³ praedicet ac infamem, et catena scelerum usque ad ipsum a suis progenitoribus extendatur, quae de malo in pejus crescit in eo continue et augetur. Ad hoc autem aptius¹⁴ declarandum, sciendum quod fuit quidam Rex Rassiae qui Stephanus vocabatur. Et hic habuit duos filios; quorum unus Ste-

¹ *Effunderat*, M.

² *Sualor*, M.

³ *Obligationibus*, M., which of course reads *optinet* below.

⁴ M. omits *suis*.

⁵ *Proprium*, M.

⁶ *Trudens*, M.

⁷ *Reluctantem*, M.

⁸ *Eum*, M.

⁹ *Continuatos . . . lacrymas factus est*, M.

¹⁰ *Licet*, M.

¹¹ *Productione*, M.

¹² *Iure non habeat neque focum*, M.

¹³ *Vocatum*, M.

¹⁴ *Apertius*, M.

phanus,¹ alter vero fuit Vrosius nominatus. Post mortem autem Stephani Regis [P. 40] patris istorum Vrosius contra jam fatum Regem Stephanum insurrexit, quem Stephanus bello aggrediens superavit. Sed postea misertus sanguinis fratris sui, ipsum dimisit, et cum eo regnum voluntarie condiuissit.² Accepit Stephanus [M. 12 v] filiam Regis Ungariae in uxorem nomine Katherinam sororem³ felicitis recordationis Dominae Mariae Reginae Siciliae et Ungariae, quae fuit mater bonae memoriae Dominae matris vestrae. Ex ista autem Domina Katherina iste Stephanus filium generavit, qui Vlatislavus fuit⁴ nominatus. Moriens autem Stephanus ^{suum} Vlatislavum filium⁵ Regem et heredem partis regni quam sibi retinuerat dereliquit, ita tamen quod Vrosius ab eodem Vlatislavo⁶ tanquam vassallus recognosceret se tenere reliquam partem regni. Vrosius autem contra Vlatislavum nepotem suum et dominum insurrexit, et ipsum cepit, et ablato sibi regno toto, in carcerem vinculauit, a quo, viuento Vrosio, non potuit liberari. Accepit autem Vrosius uxorem Dominam Elizabeth sororem ^{Dominae auiae vestrae.}⁷ Qua repudiata et viuento, accepit filiam Imperatoris Graecorum qui tunc erat, sororem videlicet istius qui nunc est Imperator. Ex ipsis autem uxoribus filios non suscepit; sed ex diuersis concubinis duos filios generavit, quorum⁸ unus Constantinus, alter vero fuit Stephanus nominatus, qui pater fuit istius qui nunc regnum Rassiae detinet occupatum. Hic Stephanus contra patrem suum Vrosium insurrexit, et eum vita et regno priuare pluries attentauit. Tandem per patrem captus exoculari mandatur, et in Constantinopoli⁹ cum duobus filiis suis exilio relegatur. Et quia carnifex¹⁰ corruptus pecunia in pupillam oculi directe, sicut per patrem ordinatum fuerat et mandatum, lanceolam non infixit, per medicinas appositas oculis, licet non plenarie, aliquantulum tamen vidit. Quod tamen quandiu pater ejus vixit ita celatum esse voluit et secretum quia¹¹ filium proprium, quia hoc puerili sagacitate perpenderat, continuo manu propria strangulauit timens ne alicui reuelaret. Et sic qui patrem occidere voluit, filio non pepercit. Postea vero pater misertus ejus, credens ipsum penitus esse coecum, eum post multos annos quibus in exilio fuerat revocauit. Mortuo autem Vrosio patre suo, [P. 41] cunctis de regno per literas scriptas manu propria manifestans et aperiens quod videret, sequelam maximam ^{promissis}¹² et ^{muneribus} secum traxit, et

¹ M. here adds *vocabatur*.

² *Condimisit*, M.

³ M. omits *sororem* and reads *Katerinam, Scicilie*.

⁴ M. omits *fuit*.

⁵ *Filium suum Vlatislavum*, M.

⁶ *Vlatislav*, apparently, M.

⁷ *Auie Dominae vestrae*, M.

⁸ *Et*, M.

⁹ *Constantinopolim*, M., which of course reads *attemptauit* above, *sicud* below.

¹⁰ *Carnifer*, M.

¹¹ So also M.; P. corrects to *quod*.

¹² *Promisit*, M.

Vlatislaum verum regni heredem jam de carceribus liberatum et ad regnum vocatum de toto regno expulit et fugauit. Deinde fratrem proprium et unicum Constantinum supradictum in carcerem vinculaui et inaudito crudelitatis genere interfecit. Nam super lignum ipsum extendi fecit, et clauis infixis per brachia et per crura et per cerebri medium interemit. Talis est¹ progenies viperina, talia venenata pocula reicit ac diffundit. Si vero quis audire voluerit de isto qui in Rassia modo regnat, filio hujus coeci, profecto cognoscet quod licet sit corpore junior et aetate posterior, veneno tamen malitiae inauditae² suos in factorem tam fortem voluntate² progenitores superat et excedit. Nam patrem proprium, ut praemissum³ est, spurium,³ illegitimum, male natum, crudelem, tyrannum, filicidam, fratricidam, et quantum in eo fuit⁴ patricidam cepit, vinculaui, carceri mancipauit, et plusquam crudeliter interfecit. Ecce, Domine mi Rex, Imperatorem et Regem praefatos ac domus ipsorum tales describo quales esse totus oriens attestatur et magna ex parte certa experientia sum expertus et edoctus. Nunc ergo vestrae circumspectionis prudentia videat et discernat utrum sit in istis de promissione, juramento, ac fidelitate aliququaliter confidendum, qui sicut generatio peruersa et infidelis⁵ de mala natione et praua stirpe proueniunt, de Deo male⁶ sentiunt, ecclesiae non obediunt, parentes perimunt, filiis non parcunt, fratres occidunt, genus proprium destruunt⁶ et confundunt, qui [M. 13 r] consanguineis noscuntur esse alieni, amicis hostes, domesticis inimici, falsi ad dilectores, ad auxiliares⁷ proditores, subditorum oppressores,⁸ alieni juris inuasores, dominorum suorum crudelissimi interfectores.⁹

Quarta ratio quare non sit in eis ullatenus confidendum est¹⁰ propter illa quae alias¹¹ Graeci fuerunt contra nostros proditorie machinati. In historiis enim ultramarinis legitur quod in quodam passagio calcem viuam cum farina, quam vendebant Dei exercitui, miscuerunt, ex qua panis confectus et comestus excidium conferre poterat, non salutem, et cor non confirmare, sed potius infirmare. Quod quidem facinus inauditum et proditio alias¹² a seculis inexpertis multos ex nostris per infirmitates varias et mortes subitas subtraxerunt. Item [P. 42] alia vice¹³ suae malignitatis astutiam ad talem nequitiam conuerterunt¹³ quod naues et

¹ Here M. adds *hec*.

² *Suos in facto non tamen in voluntate*, M. P. corrects *factorem* to *factorem*.

³ *Et suspirium*, M.

⁴ Here M. adds *et*.

⁵ *Infideles filii*, M.

⁶ M. omits *male*, to insert it after *destruunt*.

⁷ *Auxiliarios*, M.

⁸ M. omits *oppressores*.

⁹ *Occisores*, M.

¹⁰ Here M. adds *propter ipsam*.

¹¹ *Alii*, M.

¹² M.'s reading here is preferably *alii*.

¹³ *Ad talem nequitiam suae malignitatis astutiam conuerterunt*, M.

galeas quae necessaria pro passagio transuehebant in portu Constanti-
nopolitano in inferiori parte ipsarum per homines qui vocantur merguli
perforarunt,¹ ut aqua citius implerentur, et in profundum subito mer-
gerentur,² et omnia quae exercitui erant necessaria perderentur, ut sic
³*neccissitatus exercitus aut ad propria remearet, aut certe Graecorum*³
et aliorum infidelium gladiis interiret. Quod et factum fuisset, nisi
Deus propitius et defensor consilium Graecorum malignantium detexis-
set. Quia igitur satis pro modo huic tractatui congruenti digestum et
ostensum est quomodo cum praedictis non est foedus aliquod faciendum
nec in eis est ullatenus confidendum, nunc est ad tertium procedendum.
Tertium igitur⁴ est ostendere ac declarare causas justas, licitas, et
honestas ad eorum dominium inuadendum et ab eis cum serenitate con-
scientiae auferendum. Et licet sint causae sufficientes illae quae elici et
haberi possunt ex rationibus supradictis, tamen aliae quatuor causae
sunt breuiter subnectendae quantum ad istum spectat qui Graecorum
Imperatorem se dicit, quas breuiter explanabo.

Prima causa est, quia licet sui progenitores, velut alter Herodes,
sicut volunt suae genealogiae seriem ordinant,⁵ per quam nituntur pro-
ditiones⁶ quas fecerunt in occisionibus dominorum suorum⁷ infamiam
operire necnon et⁸ gloriam culminis Augustorum se fallaciter sublimare,
rei veritas tamen existit⁹ quod ipsi nec lineam imperatoriam nec paren-
telam sanguinis attigerunt.¹⁰ Palaeologus atauus istius texere inchoauit,
qui fuit primus¹¹ Imperator et primus¹¹ proditor domus suae.

Secunda causa est¹² *proueniens ex praedicta*¹² Patet enim quod nul-
lum jus obtinet in imperio, quod atauus ejus primus violentator, tyran-
nus, et injustus possessor sibi non debitum usurpauit. Nisi velit quis
dicere quod illud obtinet jure proditorio per successionem¹³ et injus-
titiae sibi a suis prauis patribus¹⁴ derelictum. Sed ut videamus¹⁴ clare
quod jus illius imperii ad alterum pertineat,¹⁵ non ad ipsum, quantum ad
patris¹⁶ spectat rationem facti breuiter hic perstringo. Quidam nobiles
de Francia transfretantes in subsidium terrae sanctae Constantinopolim

¹ *Perforarent*, M.

² *Mergentur*, M., which of course reads *exercitui*.

³ *Neccissitatus exercitus apparere mereat aut terre Graecorum*, M.

⁴ *Ergo*, M.

⁵ *Ordinatur*, apparently, M., which of course reads *velud, sicut*, above.

⁶ So M.; P. corrects to *proditionum*.

⁷ Here M. adds *et inuasionem imperii excusare atque obfuscacionem sui generis et natalium suorum*, M.

⁸ M. here adds *in*.

⁹ *Existat*, M.

¹⁰ M. here adds *nisi quam*, joined on immediately to *Paleologus*, etc.

¹¹ M. omits *imperator et primus*.

¹² *Perueniens ex predictis*, M., which of course reads *optinet*, below.

¹³ M. here adds *iniquitatis*, reading *patribus prauis* below.

¹⁴ *Derelicto sic ut videmus*, M.

¹⁵ *Optineat*, M.

¹⁶ *Patrem*, M.

deuene[P. 43]runt, videlicet ¹Balduinus Comes Flandrensis,¹ Ludouicus Comes Blesensis, Stephanus Perticensis,² et Marchio Montisferrati. Inuenerunt autem eandem ciuitatem ab Andronico occupatam, qui fratrem proprium Thurshac³ deiecerat, excoecauerat, et in carcerem incluserat valde durum, in quo posuit Alexium nepotem suum ipsius filium excoecati. Alexius vero Dei volito de carcere liberatus ad praedictorum Francorum [M. 13 v] 'exercitum se conjunxit.'⁴ Qui praedicti tyranni Andronici facinus horrescentes, ciuitati protinus bellum parant.⁵ Quam ingressi, Andronicus effugatur et Alexius iuuenis in imperium coronatur, patre Thurshac prius de carcere liberato. Alexius autem, sicut ingratus et falsus, paruipendens quod⁶ Francos vitam conseruassent⁷ et ad coronam imperii peruenisset,⁸ mala machinatus est plurima contra ipsos, in ⁹hoc a ⁹Graecorum perfidiis¹⁰ non declinans. Qui permissione justa¹¹ diuina per Mortulfam¹² suum quendam hominem capitur et in lecto dormiens strangulatur, postquam jam Francos de ciuitate expulerat et contra ipsos attentauerat, ut praedicitur, multa mala. Nihilominus tamen Franci in detestationem facinoris contra Mortulphum arma capiunt, ciuitatem impugnant, et infra decem dies capiunt impugnatam. Et quia Alexius sine herede et legitimo successore imperium dereliquit, Balduinus supradictus Comes de consilio unanimi et assensu principum, cleri, et populi uniuersi in Imperatorem eligitur et in Ecclesia sanctae Sophiae solemniter coronatur, atque sibi laus imperialis ab omnibus acclamatur. Postquam¹³ vero Franci dictum imperium per successiones aliquas tenuissent, p̄uenit tandem¹⁴ ad Philippum filium Balduini secundi, qui fuerat filius Petri de Cortenayo¹⁵ Comitis Altisiodorensis et sororis primi Balduini et Henrici fratrum, qui ¹⁶imperium etiam sine herede successue reliquerant.¹⁶ Hic Philippus filiam Karoli primi Regis Siciliae duxit in uxorem, quae fuit amita¹⁷ matris vestrae. Ex ista autem uxore praefatus Philippus genuit Dominam Katherinam, quae fuit uxor

¹ Balduinus . . . Flandrensis, M., which of course reads *Ffrancia* above.

² Particensis, M.

³ Tursach de imperio, M.

⁴ Excitum secum duxit, M.

⁵ Pararit, M., which reads *orrescentes* above.

⁶ Quod per Francos, M.; P. corrects *Francos* to *Franci sibi*.

⁷ Conseruasset, M.

⁸ P. corrects to *promouissent*.

⁹ M. omits *hoc a*.

¹⁰ M. adds here *et falsitatibus*.

¹¹ Iuxta, M.

¹² Mortulfum, M., reading, by careless repetition of letters at end of one and beginning of next line, *quendmam*, just below; and giving the customary *Ffrancos*, *Ffranci*, *Scicilie*, *attemptauerat*, *detestacionem*, *nichilominus*, lower down.

¹³ Postque, M.

¹⁴ Quod M. adds here.

¹⁵ Coutenayo, M.

¹⁶ Ipsum tenerant et sine herede relinquerant successine, M.

¹⁷ So P., clearly uncorrected; *amica*, M.

Domini Karoli felicitis memoriae patris ¹vestri et mater sororis vestrae nunc [relictæ] Principis Tarentini.¹ Palaeologus autem tam Philippum praedictum quam Dominam Katherinam ejus filiam de imperio effugavit, et ipsum imperium tyrannice et praedalter occupavit; quod et iste Andronicus Palaeologi pronepos [P. 44] eodem non jure sed injuria detinet occupatum.

Tertia causa est, quia istud² imperium non detinetur in damnum³ alterius cujuscunque, sed in damnum et⁴ detrimentum ac dispendium domus vestrae. Vera enim heres hujus imperii, Domine mi Rex, soror tua est bonae memoriae Principis Tarentini uxor relictæ; ejusque filii nepotes⁵ tui et consobrini germani sunt in tuis manibus orphani derelecti, qui⁶ ad te dirigunt oculos suae mentis, quem diuinæ providentia bonitatis eis contulit et concessit singulare solum et unicum refugium ac⁷ juvamen. Et tu ipse, Domine,⁷ potentiae tuae dextera pupillum et viduam suscipias, et vias Graecorum peccatorum destruas et disperdas, pietatis amator⁸ et justitiae executor.

Quarta causa est vindicta effusi sanguinis Gallicorum fidelium innocentium. Palaeologus namque, quando, ut praedictum est, [imperium] occupavit, omnes Francos quos in Constantinopoli⁹ et in toto late imperio potuit inuenire crudeliter trucidavit. Quanta autem crudelitatis¹⁰ insania tunc et alias Graeci contra Francos ¹¹fuerint debacchati¹¹ testis est agger ossium mortuorum qui in quadam crypta quae est intra murum ciuitatis juxta Bucam leonis palam cunctis videre volentibus demonstratur, quos non permiserunt¹² ullatenus sepeliri in detestationem¹³ nostrae fidei et odium Gallicorum. De Rege vero nunc Russiae patet etiam illud idem, quod scilicet regnum illud nec per successionem legitimam,¹⁴ nec per hereditatis conuenientiam, sed per violationem alieni juris obtentum,¹⁵ per tyrannidem est¹⁶ possessum, et per ¹⁷prodicionem detinet ipsum occupatum.¹⁷ Ipse¹⁸ namque, ut superius est expressum, filius spurii est illius qui in patrem suum Vrosium insurrexit¹⁹ et in eum usque ad mor-

¹ M. omits *vestri*, and reads: *et mater sororis vestrae relictæ nunc Principis Tarentum; Katerinam*, of course, above and below.

² *Iusture, Imperium detinetur non in dampnum*, M.

³ *Ac*, M.

⁴ *Nepotis*, M.

⁵ Here M. adds *quia*.

⁶ *Et*, M.

⁷ M. omits *Domine*.

⁸ *Et mater*, M.

⁹ *Constantinopolim*, M., which of course has *imperium* above.

¹⁰ *Crudelitas*, M.

¹¹ *Fuerunt debacati*, M.

¹² *Miserunt*, M., which reads *cuntis* above.

¹³ *Detestaciones*, M.

¹⁴ *Logitima*, M.

¹⁵ *Obtentam*, M.

¹⁶ M. omits *est*.

¹⁷ *Perdicionem detinet ocupatam*, M., omitting *ipsum*.

¹⁸ Originally *prope* in M., insufficiently corrected to *ipse*.

¹⁹ *Insurrexerat*, M.

tem conspirauerat et multas prodiones tractauerat, propter quae pater ipsum iusserat excoecari et in exilium relegari, qui insuper post mortem patris sui Vrosii Vlatislaum consobrinum vestrum filium Regis Stephani regni praefati verum¹ de jure dominum et heredem² per tyrannidem, prodionem, et injuriosam violentiam effugauit. Si enim in dicto regno aliquod jus haberat, hic inquam spurii filius qui nunc regnat, certe totum dinoscitur ³perdidisse. Fuit³ enim nunc de nouo proditor et captor patris proprii et occisor.

(To be continued.)

¹ *Merum*, M.

² *Heredes*, M.

³ *Prodidisse fuit*, M.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Ancient Records of Egypt. Historic Documents, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited and translated, with commentary, by JAMES HENRY BREASTED, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago. Four volumes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1906. Pp. xlii, 344; xxviii, 428; xxviii, 279; xxviii, 520; and index volume.)

WHILE the historical records of Babylonia and Assyria have long been accessible, in handy form, in Schrader's well known *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, it is somewhat remarkable that up to the present time there has been no similar provision for the study of the records of ancient Egypt. Scattered as they are through a large number of publications, many of them difficult of access, it has been no easy matter even for the trained Egyptologist to obtain a comprehensive survey of the field, while for those students who must consult the sources of Egyptian history through the medium of translations the difficulties have been well-nigh insuperable. A considerable number of important inscriptions are translated in *Records of the Past*, but they are merely selections, made upon no very definite plan, from the great mass of existing material, and with the rapid progress of Egyptology the translations in that series are now, with few exceptions, completely antiquated. For more recent translations, where they exist, search must be made through a wide range of Egyptological literature, and in any case, until the appearance of Professor Breasted's *Ancient Records*, prolonged study was necessary before the student could assure himself that his material approached completeness. It may be questioned whether any student of Egyptian history can ever carry on independent investigation of the subject without a competent knowledge of the Egyptian language, just as no one would attempt to investigate French history without a knowledge of French, or Roman history without a knowledge of Latin. Yet by the aid of reliable translations, and such other help as can be furnished by the Egyptological specialist, much can be accomplished, and it must be admitted that Professor Breasted's work has made the conditions as favorable as possible. In its four volumes he has given practically everything of importance for Egyptian history that is to be found in the whole range of Egyptian literature, as at present known, from the earliest period down to the Persian conquest. The plan of

the work is thoroughly systematic. The texts, arranged in chronological order, are given in English translation, each text being preceded by a brief introduction setting forth the historical significance of the document, its character, and occasionally a summary of its contents, while copious foot-notes describe the individual monuments, give all necessary bibliographical information, and furnish a running commentary dealing with such matters as may require explanation. The first volume also contains a valuable discussion of the documentary sources of Egyptian history, and a very clear exposition of the complicated subject of Egyptian chronology. The mere assemblage of the material for the work must have involved a prodigious amount of labor and this was increased by the general unreliability of the published Egyptian inscriptions and the resulting necessity for collating anew nearly every monument translated in order to secure a trustworthy text as the basis of the work. For this purpose Professor Breasted had exceptional advantages. His connection with the great Egyptian dictionary, now being prepared in Germany, gave him access to all the valuable material gathered for that work, and enabled him to copy from the originals nearly all the historical monuments of Egypt in the various European museums, and a stay in Egypt afforded further opportunities. These advantages he has fully utilized, and the general accuracy of the texts upon which his translations are based may be regarded as assured. The close attention which he has given to this fundamental requirement is characteristic of the thoroughness of his work in all particulars.

In regard to the selection of his material Professor Breasted has shown excellent judgment. In the great mass of Egyptian literature it is not always easy to decide just what constitutes historical material and what does not. In the broader sense the religious, scientific, legal, and commercial documents may very fairly claim to rank as historical material, and perhaps the more purely literary compositions as well, since all these throw light upon important phases of ancient Egyptian civilization. Yet these monuments, for the most part at least, fall more properly within the sphere of archaeology than of history, and the preservation of a just proportion demands their exclusion from a work specially devoted to the assemblage of historical documents. Occasional exceptions have, however, been made with advantage. Thus, the several testamentary dispositions included among the records of the Old Empire (*c. g.*, Vol. I., §§ 190, 200, 213) not only serve to fill out the rather scanty material available for this period but also contribute important facts, while the contracts of the nomarch Hepzefi with the priests of Siut (Vol. I., § 535 ff.) afford invaluable information in regard to the constitution of the nome during the feudal period. The tale of Sinuhe (Vol. I., § 486 ff.) is undoubtedly to be classed with the historical romances so popular with the ancient Egyptians, but it was certainly written at a time when the memory of the historical events alluded to was still fresh, and the date given in it for the death of

Amenemhet I. is corroborated by the monuments. The introductory narrative may therefore be accepted as essentially historical, and the fact that it contains the earliest known account of Palestine would alone constitute ample justification for its insertion.

With regard to the Sphinx Stele (Vol. II., § 810 ff.) and the Bentresh Stele (Vol. III., § 429 ff.) the case is not so clear. Both these monuments are certainly apocryphal, as Professor Breasted of course points out. They were composed at a late period for the purpose of enhancing the importance of certain deities, and the Bentresh Stele, especially, is full of historical absurdities, though it may possibly preserve the traces of a genuine tradition. The introductory narrative of the Westcar Papyrus and the legendary account of the beginning of the Hyksos wars in Sallier I. would seem to have quite as good a claim to be included in the work, though both are omitted. Nevertheless these texts are interesting, and it was probably well to include them as specimens of what the Egyptians themselves regarded as history, especially as it is now well known that both Herodotus and Manetho drew largely from just such sources as these. It perhaps is to be regretted that, except the Abydos inscription of the reign of Khenzer (Vol. I., § 781), Professor Breasted does not give any monuments of the Hyksos period. The historical material for this period is so scanty that even the smallest scrap of information is important, and at least the date (thirty-third year of Apophis) from the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, or the Bubastis inscription of Apophis (Naville, *Bubastis*, I. 35 c) might well have found a place. Omissions of this kind are, however, so rare that they only emphasize the general completeness of Professor Breasted's work.

The translations exhibit the same careful attention to matters of detail that is everywhere apparent. Lacunae, restorations, variant readings, and words of doubtful import are carefully marked, and while comparison with the original is facilitated by numbering the lines in superior type, the text is conveniently divided into paragraphs in accordance with the subject matter. The employment of headings, indicating the contents of the respective paragraphs, may be noted as a useful device. Paraphrases are scrupulously avoided and the endeavor has been made to give a rendering as closely literal as possible without doing violence to English idiom. In this difficult endeavor Professor Breasted has been, as a rule, most successful, and his translations are in all respects the best that have as yet appeared in English. Here and there, perhaps, his close adherence to the phrasing of the original may cause some difficulty, but in all such cases the needful explanation is furnished by the foot-notes. A close translation of this character, which faithfully reproduces the spirit and flavor of the original, is certainly, in spite of some occasional harshness, far better than a smooth rendering in which the difficulties are glossed over and a thoroughly un-Egyptian point of view is read into the texts.

Although the *Ancient Records* is designed chiefly for historical students not possessing a knowledge of Egyptian, and admirably fulfills that purpose, it is safe to say that it will be no less useful to the student of Egyptology. While the most advanced Egyptologist may consult it with profit, to the less experienced scholar it will prove an invaluable boon. Nowhere else can he find grouped together such a comprehensive body of material, arranged moreover in thoroughly convenient form. The very reliable translations supply a safe guide, especially needful in view of the fact that no complete Egyptian dictionary as yet exists; the succinct bibliographies accompanying the individual texts furnish a useful key to the literature of the subject, and in regard to all matters of detail the introductions and notes yield a fund of valuable information which the learner could gather for himself only at the expense of much weary toil. In wideness of scope, thoroughness of treatment extending to the minutest details, systematic arrangement, and conscientious scholarship Professor Breasted's *Ancient Records* takes high rank, and it can not be doubted that it will have a most important influence upon Egyptological studies in the domains both of history and of philology. In the preface the author intimates that he may, in the future, treat in a similar manner the religious, scientific, literary, legal, and commercial documents of ancient Egypt. It is to be hoped that his implied intention may be carried into effect. The whole body of Egyptian literature ought to be made accessible, and no one is better qualified to do the work than Professor Breasted.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

Egyptological Researches. Results of a Journey in 1904. By W. MAX MÜLLER. (Washington: Published by the Carnegie Institution. 1906. Pp. 62.)

IN this volume the author presents the results of his work in Egypt during the summer and autumn of 1904, gathering his material partly from the more recent accessions of the Cairo Museum, and partly from the site of ancient Thebes. It contains 106 plates, chiefly of hieroglyphic inscriptions, but comprising also reproductions in heliotype and in color of reliefs and mural paintings, preceded by 62 pages of commentary and descriptive matter. While some of the monuments here published may justly claim to rank as recent discoveries, Professor Müller's prime object has been, not to discover new inscriptions, but to secure accurate copies of inscriptions already known. The urgent need for such work will be appreciated by every Egyptologist, and has been strongly emphasized by the great advances in Egyptian grammatical studies made during the past two decades. The value of Professor Müller's critical work in the study of Egyptian texts has already been demonstrated in his excellent edition of the famous treaty of Ramses II. with the Hittites (*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, 5), and the present volume affords additional evi-

dence of the wisdom of his course. It is, as he says, precisely in the best known texts that he has obtained the most valuable results.

The monuments selected for publication in the *Researches* are chiefly such as illustrate the foreign relations of ancient Egypt, especially with Asia and Europe. Among the most important texts of this description are the great inscription of Mer-ne-Ptah at Karnak (Pl. 17-32), the autobiographic inscription of Amem-em-het who served as an officer in the Asiatic campaigns of Thothmes III. (Pl. 33-39), the list of Syrian cities conquered by the last named monarch (Pl. 44-53), the list of rebellious cities punished by Ramses II. (Pl. 60-63), the Asiatic names from the great list of Ramses III. (Pl. 64-74), and the list of Palestinian towns plundered by Shoshenq I. (Pl. 75-87). To these should be added the decree of administrative reforms by King Har-em-heb (Pl. 90-104), which deals purely with internal affairs and therefore forms an exception to the general category. All these, it will be seen, are inscriptions of prime importance, and the accurate text established in these cases by Professor Müller is a gain of distinct value.

The reliefs and mural paintings reproduced in the work are especially interesting. Plate 1, for example, reproduces a relief from the Cairo Museum representing foreigners, probably Europeans from the shores of the Aegean, coming into Egypt with tin, a metal which at that period was ultimately obtained either from Britain or from the mountains of central Germany. The monument dates from about 2500 B. C. Of the same period is another relief (Pl. 2) depicting Babylonian ambassadors or merchants visiting the land of the Nile. The fine representations in color of Aegean ambassadors from the tomb of Sen-mut (Pl. 5-7), and of Asiatics from the tomb of Ann'a (Pl. 8-11) date from about 1500 B. C. All this bears striking testimony to the lively intercourse existing at a very remote period between the peoples of antiquity, in regard to which evidence has for some time been accumulating. Plates 105-106, representing surgical operations performed about 2500 B. C., are particularly interesting. The author's commentary is replete with acute observations and valuable suggestions. The plates are admirably executed and the appearance of the book is attractive. A proper share of credit should be given to the liberality of the Carnegie Institution which made possible Professor Müller's mission to Egypt and the publication of his work.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne du Christianisme. Par CHARLES GUIGNEBERT, Chargé de cours à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. *Les Origines.* (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1906. Pp. xxiii, 549.)

THE sub-title of M. Guignebert's manual raises the agreeable hope that he proposes to continue the work. The present volume is limited to the first century, and M. Guignebert who is the author of a work on

Tertullian (Paris, 1901) shows that he has a special competency in the materials belonging to the second century. He disclaims any intention of addressing *les savants*, having in mind a general public of lay readers, who in France, he notes, are accustomed to preaching and polemic on the subject of Christianity but are profoundly ignorant of its true history as scholars have constructed it. It is indeed a vast army of readers and not confined to France who need to be initiated into an historical view of the development of the Church and it would be difficult to find a better book than this for their assistance. The author must have a warm sympathy for religious conceptions since he is capable of such luminous and interesting exposition, but his scientific impartiality and his unprejudiced use of both Catholic and Protestant scholarship make it impossible to detect his ecclesiastical predilection. It is true that this historical statement is inconsistent with all older dogmatic views, but historical science has conquered a place in Catholic as well as in liberal Protestant circles and M. Guignebert will be read with interest by both classes of readers. With impartiality the author has competency. The *savants* who are not primarily addressed will value this exhibition of a careful and critical judgment and especially the luminous construction of facts into an intelligible and interesting unity. The author disclaims erudition and originality, but his discriminating and critical use of the sources and of the best modern investigations together with his own independent and judicious construction are an adequate erudition and a desirable originality.

Admiration of M. Guignebert's ability does not involve a complete assent. Apparently he thinks that Renan was original in suggesting Cerinthus as the author of the Fourth Gospel, though the Alogi of the second century made that affirmation. It is incautious to date the Epistle of James in the last third of the first century, and while the Didache and the Epistle of Barnabas derive the material of The Two Ways from a common source, who will agree with Guignebert in finding the common source in the Synoptic Gospels! It is rash to date the Old Roman Symbol from the end of the first century and the possibly unintentional and hasty expression will mislead some readers into thinking that the legend of apostolic authorship was as early. The author's reflections on the dogmatic possibilities of the symbol outrun the limits of the period of which he writes.

Apart from such details the book illustrates admirably the net result of modern critical scholarship without capricious and individual views and at the same time is the expression of a mind which has thoroughly and independently conceived the whole matter. The exposition of Paul's conceptions is a masterpiece of compression without inadequacy or obscurity and with full indication of secure critical penetration. What a note of competency in the remark that "*l'idée du πνεῦμα chez Paul n'est pas des plus claires!*" Equally satisfactory is the account of the moral and religious conditions of the Graeco-Roman world in which Chris-

tianity spread. Many a liberal Protestant historian betrays a pessimistic judgment of the blending of Greek thought with the Palestinian movement, but M. Guignebert's undogmatic mind notes with approval the gain thereby of an extraordinary power of adaptability and universality, while he also reflects with approval on the limits set to this process as a safeguard against the limitless and dispersive speculation inherent in Hellenism. A good illustration of sound judgment is afforded by the discussion of the Christianity of Domitian's victims, Flavius Clemens, Domitilla, Acilius Glabrio. In Guignebert's view they were Jewish proselytes inclined toward the Christian church but remaining at its border, while their descendants entered fully into the Christian faith. Such a judgment comports with the data of Dion Cassius and Suetonius and with the facts of archaeology.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Geschichte von Venedig. Von HEINRICH KRETSCHMAYR. Erster Band (bis zum Tode Enrico Dandolo). (Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1905. Pp. xvii, 522.)

HEEREN and Ukert's *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, begun almost a century ago and continued latterly under the vigorous guidance of Professor Karl Lamprecht as *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, experiences an increase with the present volume which falls in no respect below the high level of the series. Dr. Kretschmayr brings an admirable combination of scholarly training and intellectual vigor to the service of his undertaking. He writes from the sources, treating them with carefully balanced reserve and daring; with all due respect for the hoary traditions of a famous city he is not blinded to their habitual misrepresentation of historical facts; and he studies Venice not merely as a government but as a people, mounting step by step from the primitive conditions of a sparsely disseminated group of fishermen to the material splendor and moral energy of one of the most fascinating civilizations of all time. Only the generous scale of the book, permitting a very ample treatment of every phase of Venetian development, can prevent this work from replacing every previous history of the Republic in the library of the general reader; on the shelves of the student it will take immediately a pre-eminent position. It is apparent throughout that the author has been filled with the desire not to sacrifice the fair bride of the Adriatic to the Moloch of dry scholarship: he has given his page a more literary look by relentlessly confining the foot-notes within the limbo of an appendix; and he never relaxes his effort to interest as well as to instruct his readers, and to keep unimpaired before their eyes the image of the whole unobscured by a too luxuriant detail. Nevertheless when we ask ourselves if the vast mass of raw material in this book has been leavened to the lightness of a genuinely artistic product, we are obliged to give at best a qualified

assent. So difficult a thing it is to mate the passion for facts with the artistic temper.

We get an immediate taste of the thoroughness and originality of the author's scholarship on taking up his treatment of the difficult question of Venetian origins. In this particular investigation he found himself confronted with a body of tradition, arbitrarily invented by the early chroniclers and elaborated with patriotic intent by the official historiographers of the Renaissance. Fortunately the minute analysis to which the Venetian chronicles have recently been subjected by Simonsfeld and Monticolo and the illuminating labors of Hegel, Hartmann, and others on the period of the Germanic settlements in Italy, have cleared the way for a new presentation. This we get in an admirably secure and connected narrative of the beginnings of government and civilization within the lagoons. The author's general tendency is to restrict considerably the scope of the boasted Venetian independence, and to reduce the growth of the city to the ordinary terms of Italian life in the Lombard and Carolingian epochs. Venice becomes in consequence a very small and insignificant settlement, subject to the Emperor of the East long after the fabled election by popular acclaim of an independent duke in 697, and saved from the Emperor of the West only by the ever precarious position of that potentate. If the city loses some of the veneer of a republican dignity of immemorial antiquity it gains much more than it surrenders by taking a credible place in the organic development of the peninsula.

Students of the Italian communes will be particularly interested in the development of the doge and in the beginnings of those institutions which, during the general instability of political affairs in the period of the Renaissance, aroused the envy of all the wayward neighbors of the Republic. In this field, too, the author is inclined to make considerable subtraction from the vaunted democracy which, according to the current account, was the birth-right of the free folk of the lagoons. The dogate has two periods: until the twelfth century it is an absolutism, tempered, in the manner of absolutisms, by assassination; beginning approximately with 1172, it is converted into a constitutional monarchy. In the matter of this conversion the author maintains a very interesting point of view. The traditional presentation of the reduction of the doge's power predicates a revolution covering the period 1172-1179, during which a league of the great families took the helm and created a series of checks upon the doge by setting up all those institutions—the great council, the small council, the *quaranta*, etc., by which the government acquired its definitive form. Following the conclusions of Lenel the author scouts the opinion that the oligarchical régime received its final shape in a sudden upheaval of the twelfth century, and makes out a very plausible case for the gradual development of the Venetian constitution along the general lines of the neighboring communes of northern Italy. Here again Venice loses something of that uniqueness

which has always made it a kind of *lusus naturae* of the Middle Age, but does not become a less attractive product of civic energy by being assimilated to the general laws of medieval growth. Since volume I. does not go beyond the death of Enrico Dandolo (died 1205) we have yet to await the author's development of the victory of the oligarchy. It will be particularly interesting, in view of the submitted analogy of the Lombard cities, to see how he explains the absence in Venice of that reaction against the great families which converted the cities of Lombardy into despotisms.

But, as has already been said, the work is no mere constitutional study. It takes into account all the forces which played a part in the development of Venetian civilization, furnishing novel and reliable information on the relation of church and state, commerce and industry, shipbuilding, and the fine arts. Is the student interested in the long and confusing struggle of the patriarchs of Grado and Aquileia? He will find here a swift and authoritative review of their remarkable rivalry. The economic expansion by which Venice was enabled to enter the capitalistic stage ahead of almost all other medieval states, and thus to reduce a considerable portion of the Mediterranean world to dependence on herself, receives wise and thorough attention. The foundation the author lays in this respect makes it possible, too, to show how it was largely the pressure of capitalistic forces which drew Venice into the Fourth Crusade and raised Dandolo to the proud height of conqueror of Constantinople. He denies, however, that the capitalistic agents acted consciously from the first, and upholds the much combated view that the turning aside of the crusade to Greece was in the nature of an accident. As the fine arts are treated with the same understanding as the economic and political problems of the city, the student of this field will be delighted with a very careful and valuable disquisition on Venice as the battle-ground of Lombard (or Italian) and Byzantine influences.

Much remains calling for attention in this great store-house of fact. Suffice it to say that Appendix I. contains a masterly discussion of the sources of the period, and to add, not without regret, that, as in the case of so many German books, the paper is poor and the binding atrocious.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Venice. Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic. By POMPEO MOLMENTI. Translated by HORATIO F. BROWN. Two volumes. Part I., *The Middle Ages*. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co.; London: John Murray. 1906. Pp. ix, 223; viii, 237.)

THE title of this book wrongs both the author and his readers by conveying an inadequate conception of the contents. Why the author should have hesitated to send out his work under some name clearly

indicating that we have here a study of the private life of the Venetians is incomprehensible, unless it be that he felt obliged to make formal acknowledgment of his very occasional treatment of public affairs. That it is desirable in a book devoted to the private life of a people to present a parallel sketch of the development of the state, goes without saying, but the subsidiary feature ought not to enjoy the place of honor on the title-page, and further, once incorporated with the text, should be treated with understanding and respect. What is Mr. Molmenti's procedure in this regard? He has seen fit to give to the constitution of Venice one chapter (chapter III.), which in matter and manner does not rise above the ordinary school-book presentation, and which in the single point, the question of Venetian independence, where it undertakes to penetrate to the sources, remains hopelessly entangled in the time-honored and discredited traditions. All that he says of *tribuni*, *dux* and *magister militum* shows that he has profited nothing from Hegel, whom, nevertheless, he cites in his foot-notes. From these same foot-notes we gather that he is acquainted with the scant sources—mostly relatively late chronicles—of the beginnings of Venice, but owing to his inability to subject these sources to a critical analysis, and, further, because of his failure to take advantage of the scholarly reconstruction of others, his exposition never gets fairly out of the realm of fable. In this connection it is enough to say that he has an unshaken, rock-like faith in the sovereign doge elected by popular action in 697. The faulty historical method and infirm grasp exhibited by the author in dealing with the constitutional problem do not dispose the reader to approach the main theme of the book, the private life of the Venetians, with great confidence.

And unfortunately the augury is borne out by the event. Mr. Molmenti is certainly a learned man in the limited sense of the word, that is, he is a collector pure and simple, whose primitive notion of a book is a succession of scrap-heaps, labelled chapters, which his readers are set to pick over for bright and valuable matter appearing here and there like raisins in a cake. If we hold the old-fashioned view that the work of organization and artistic shaping of the raw material of scholarship should not be left to the reader, but ought to be done by the author himself, we are not likely to be greatly edified by this production. Take for illustration chapters I. and II. Here we have an abundance of valuable notes on the physical growth of the city, but the vast accumulations of detail fail utterly to fit themselves into a picture which does justice to the noble creation of refugees of the lagoons and with which the reader will feel rewarded for his pains. The chapter on the laws is of the same loosely woven texture; that in the Venetian statutes are to be found elements of Roman, Greek, and Germanic origin the author has not failed to perceive, but whoever looks for a clear and incisive statement of the evolution of Venetian justice will be disappointed. Even the section on maritime law, a field where the special

conditions of the sea-city invite an original and sparkling treatment, suffers from the mental monotony which spreads its shadow over the rest of the book. Looseness of thought usually breeds carelessness of speech. In the chapter on art (chapter XII.) no distinction is made between Roman and Romanesque, and the term Gothic is treated like a conversational stop-gap of no definite intellectual value. In this chapter, too, Mr. Molmenti yields with more than usual frequency to his preference for long lists of names about as interesting as a page of the city directory (pp. 107, 114), but it is a pleasure to report that his story of the construction of the ducal palace and the Ca' d'Oro has intrinsic if not literary worth.

Many passages could be enumerated which furnish proof of knowledge and of patient research: such are the notes on Venice as seen by rivals and contemporaries (pp. 88-92), the description of Venetian costume (chapter IX.), and the history of letters, with regard to which the author attempts to palliate the meagre results attained by the republic (chapter XIII.); but this and much besides does not suffice to rescue the work from its besetting sins of heaviness, disorder, and lack of significance. Why this bootless discussion as to whether the rich or the poor fled to the lagoons (p. 16) when we have practically no certain information of any kind about the early settlements? What are we to think in a book dealing with facts, of the many vapid deductions of which the following may serve as an example: "It is clear that an agglomeration of people . . . could not have held together during the preceding centuries . . . unless they had had to guide them a code that was both fixed and written" (p. 98). This to American and English readers acquainted with states which have held together for centuries in spite of the deplorable lack of a code "both fixed and written"! Of course it is only the matter for which Mr. Molmenti is personally responsible; conceivably in its original tongue the book is not the dreary waste it proves to be in the translation. In Mr. Horatio F. Brown of the title page it is hard to recognize the accomplished author of an earlier history of the Republic of St. Mark. Certainly in his original works he has not permitted himself to indulge in the mixed metaphors and loose periods which are found on almost every page of the translation. The chapter conclusions (*e. g.*, vol. II., p. 175) culminate in flights of rhetoric truly Icarian in their daring as well as in their issue. We hope that the four additional volumes which the publisher announces will show a desire to remedy some of the shortcomings of the present installment.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

The Dawn of Modern Geography. Volume III. A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Middle of the Thirteenth Century to the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century (c. A.D. 1206-1420). By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1906. Pp. xvi, 638.)

IN this third volume Mr. Beazley brings to a conclusion his consideration of the "Dawn of Modern Geography". The period under review in this truly excellent work is a long one, and the better title for it seems to be his second one, in which he speaks of the subject matter treated as a "History of Mediaeval Exploration and Geographical Science". This has the advantage of clearness, and this has been his theme.

In the first volume the author presented an account of geographical movement in Christendom between the years 300 and 900 A. D., calling attention in particular to the early pilgrim travellers and to their share in the work of exploration, to the missionary and commercial enterprises of those centuries and to the geographical theorists, who as a rule were theologians. In his second volume the period covered is from the ninth to the middle of the thirteenth century, a period marked in particular by the movements of the Northmen and the Crusaders. The part taken in the expansion of geographical knowledge by the pilgrim, the commercial, and the missionary travellers received detailed consideration, as did geographical theory and description such as those centuries afforded. In the third volume he carries us to the opening of the fifteenth century. Quite appropriately he refers to the volume "as an attempt to open up comparatively fresh fields of historical and geographical inquiry". The same general plan is followed throughout the series.

The crusading movement had failed of its purpose, but travellers continued in this new period to journey to the East, penetrating to central Asia and beyond. To gain strength for a pious life, as the author shows, did not now so frequently impel as did an eagerness for commercial profit. During this third period interest does not alone centre in overland exploration. In one of his best chapters the beginnings of maritime enterprises are discussed.

The volume opens with a somewhat lengthy chapter on the great Asiatic travellers, chief among whom was Marco Polo. In near one hundred and fifty pages we have as good and as readable a résumé of Marco Polo's book as may be found. If no particularly original contribution is offered in this part of the work there is at least set forth in a clear manner the significance of that great land-journey, perhaps the most important ever made in far-reaching influence.

Those who may be counted as among the most significant of the followers of the Polos were the friars who undertook to plant Latin missions in the far east, among whom John of Monte Corvino stands as a pioneer. But in this religious intercourse the author notes that there

was a surprising facility and abundance of commercial and diplomatic reciprocity. With the marvellous riches of the East disclosed to the West trade was not slow in entering the field. In the extended consideration of missions and mission travel, in which are discussed the life, writings, and journeys of such men as Odoric of Pordenone and Marignolli of Florence it is shown how the way was opening for commercial enterprise.

In a third part of the chapter on The Great Asiatic Travellers, we are told of the later explorations of commerce, diplomacy and adventure. The Crusaders' Manual of Marino Sanuto the Venetian is assigned a place of importance not so much because of the purpose for which it was written—to revive the crusading spirit—but rather because of the attempt made by Sanuto to show how Christians could get the Oriental products without recourse to the land of the Cairo sultan, because of the sketch he gives of the great trade-routes which passed through Egypt and Persia, and because his outlook was wide, "almost prophetic".

The Book of Sir John de Mandeville of course could not be passed over; it receives a true rating as in very large part a compilation. The author has undertaken in a foot-note, p. 322 *seq.* to point out "the sources for each section of this marvellous imposture".

In Pegelotti's *Book of Descriptions of Countries* . . . we have something more substantial and meritorious; the book undertakes to point out "what relations the merchandise of one land or one city bears to that of others; and how one kind of goods is better than another, and whence come the various wares".

Out of the many accounts which have come down to us from this time indicating how geographical knowledge was gradually expanding Mr. Beazley has selected well, and has throughout analyzed well the significance of each. He has shown clearly how the barriers in the overland connections between the East and the West were broken through and then how in time the European found it increasingly difficult to penetrate Asia, until at last, as he is shut out from overland communication, a "flank movement" is attempted around Africa. Here follows, as I have said, one of the most interesting and most important chapters, treating of Maritime Explorations. This is particularly the author's period as he has shown in other publications, and we venture to express the hope that we are yet to have the published results of his continued studies in this field.

How failure in overland exploration led to maritime exploration is carefully traced, at least as carefully as space will allow. In the often repeated story of Prince Henry the Navigator and his enterprises we have almost forgotten, if we ever knew, how great was the part taken by the Italian sailors in the earliest maritime adventures down the coast of Africa. We can get on more rapidly in our understanding of this pre-Columbian period of maritime exploration if we will but discard the great majority of the monastic and Moslem tales of a fiery zone and

impenetrable seas. What Italian seaman would have been terrified by such tales! His difficulties were those that beset practical seamanship, and in time they were overcome. How well these seamen could chart the coast of the Mediterranean and beyond, to north and south, even in the earliest years of the fourteenth century, is remarkable in the extreme. There is scarcely a connecting link between the medieval monastic map of the world and the splendidly drawn portolan chart of the Catalan or Italian seaman. We pass almost abruptly from fantastic picture-maps to the semi-scientifically constructed chart.

Mr. Beazley has reproduced some of these early portolanos or port charts and has called attention to their importance. It is a pity that his reproductions are not better done, but they serve to illustrate the text and will doubtless contribute their part in awakening an interest in the study of early charts or maps. The maps of the period have yet to be more carefully studied if we would know the full value of the geographical and historical records they contain. The volume concludes with a chapter on Geographical Theory, or the Geography of the Schoolmen, a chapter on the Later Moslem and other Non-Christian geography, and a valuable appendix in which the leading manuscripts of the principal texts of volumes II. and III. are listed as are also the leading editions of the principal printed texts.

Mr. Beazley's work is most timely. It is without doubt the best that has yet appeared on the subject. It is not only a work belonging to geographical literature, it has an important place in historical literature. Such a work serves well to impress the importance of Historical Geography, an importance which receives commendable recognition in the European countries, but which we in America are slow to appreciate.

E. L. STEVENSON.

The Censorship of the Church of Rome and Its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. Volume I. By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, Litt. D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xxv, 375.)

THERE has been a long-felt need for an English book on the subject suggested by the title of the work before us. A brief summary of the first volume, which carries the narrative down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, will best set forth the scope and plan of the work, which is professedly largely based upon a few authorities. The book begins with an introductory chapter followed by a slight sketch of the censorship of books in the early church, and in the Middle Ages. Then comes an account of the book regulations in various European countries; and of the papal censorship, from the invention of printing down to the publication of the first Indexes. The sixth chapter deals with the Roman Inquisition and the establishment of the Congregation of the Index; and then the rest of the book is taken up with analyses of the

Indexes, issued in different parts of Europe, with chapters on the Council of Trent and the Index of Pius IV.; the condemnation of Galileo; Erasmus and Luther in the Index; and the Jansenist Controversy and the Bull Unigenitus.

A distrust in the reliability of the book begins with the preface, where Mr. Putnam makes several mistakes in referring to his chief authority. He states that Reusch's *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* is in three volumes "which comprise 2400 closely printed octavo pages" (p. vii), when in fact it is in two volumes and contains only 1800 pages. To be sure Reusch did publish a collection of Indexes as a separate work in 1886, and it is included in the bibliography, and although quite accessible was probably one of those from which Mr. Putnam "did not have occasion or opportunity to make citations" (p. ix).

In basing his work upon Reusch's book, Mr. Putnam has made use of his references without verifying them, and sometimes with strange results. To cite a few typical examples of his method of book-making. On p. 61 he cites on the Decretum Gelasianum the incomprehensible "*Conc. Gesch.*, ii, 217"; in Reusch (I. 13) there is a reference to "Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.*, II. 217". In Putnam's bibliography the only edition of Hefele mentioned is the English translation in three volumes, yet on p. 65 we find "Hefele, iv, 712", and on p. 66 "Hefele, v, 833". Again, p. 196, there is a reference to *Archiv für Deutsch. [sic] Buchh.*, v, 147, which is cited by Reusch (I. 346) as authority for another statement, although on this same page Mr. Putnam has successfully conveyed three other references from one page of Reusch. In the account of the censorship regulations in Bavaria, Putnam (p. 220) cites a document in the "*Staats Archiv Münchens*"; Reusch (I. 472) cites the same document correctly as "*In Münchener Staatsarchiv*".

In the same way a careless and unintelligent use is made of Mendham's authorities. In his *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*, Mendham (p. 19) gives a list of condemned books, taken from the first edition of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, which he notes is not to be found in subsequent editions, or in Wilkins's *Concilia*, where it should be found; Putnam (p. 89) copies the list and comment from Mendham, and cites as his authority "Wilkins, *Concil.*, Fox, iii, 403". One must doubt whether Mr. Putnam ever saw Mendham's "reprint of the Index of Gregory XXI." (p. 159), any more than he saw the work to which Reusch does refer, which is not a reprint but a study of the Index of Gregory XVI. But then, by abbreviating the title of one book, Mr. Putnam creates a second (pp. 148, 151); and a copy of the Roman Index of 1682, in the Royal Library at Munich (Reusch, II. 34 n.) becomes an edition printed at Munich in 1683 (p. 324). On p. 176 Mr. Putnam gives a translation from a letter of Latinus Latinus, citing Mendham as his authority. Now only half of the Latin original of Putnam's text is to be found in Mendham (p. 52); Reusch cites Mendham; but Putnam's citation is only a translation from Reusch's rendering (I. 295) of a more extended extract of the letter.

At times errors are due to gross mistranslations. In the account of the censorship in Bavaria, Reusch (I. 466) notes that in 1565 it was "verordnet dass fortan nur theologische Schriften, die in katholischen Städten gedruckt seien, verkauft werden dürften". Mr. Putnam finds in this statement authority for writing that an edict was issued "forbidding the sale of theological works in any but Catholic towns" (p. 217). Again Reusch (*ib.*) states that in "1566 wurde ein ausführlicher Catalogus der Bücher, die in Baiern öffentlich verkauft werden dürften, also das Gegentheil eines Index librorum Prohibitorum veröffentlicht", while Mr. Putnam tells us that the Ducal Commission of Censorship "issues an *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and also a general catalogue of books which it is permitted to sell and to read within the duchy" (*ib.*). Translations from the French are equally faulty. A passage from Dejob (*L'Influence du Concile de Trente sur la Littérature*, p. 77) "ils semblent moins en vouloir à ces livres qu'à ceux qui les étudient; si donc on ne prend pas les devants, c'en est fait des travaux de plusieurs saints . . . et, perte lamentable, de tous les commentaires des Juifs", is rendered "The people whose judgment should count concerning books are of course those who through study have knowledge of their character. These compilers have not hesitated to condemn the works of many saints and (a loss much to be lamented) all the commentaries of the Jews" (p. 210).

Mr. Putnam interprets his English authorities when he does not copy them, and he can not even follow his own narrative, as one example will show. We are informed on p. 23 that "A 'Directory' of heresy was prepared early in the sixteenth century by Nicholas Eymeric of Cologne"; on p. 69 that Gregory XI. in 1378, as a result of a denunciation by the inquisitor Nicholas Eymeric, condemned two hundred propositions . . . of Raymond Lully"; on p. 85 that "About 1520 Nicholas Eymeric brought into print in Venice, under the title of *Directorium Inquisitorium*", etc.; and on p. 121 that "The chief original authority for the system of the earlier Inquisition is the *Directorium Inquisitorium* of Nicholas Eymeric, who was Inquisitor-General for Castile in 1316". A fly-leaf notes some thirty errata; twenty solid pages would not suffice to point out the mere misprints, when one finds an average of eight in the titles of certain of the Indexes (*cf.*, *e. g.*, 148, 152). Mr. Putnam expects that his work "will be used chiefly for purposes of reference" (p. xi), but who can commend in any way, especially to a general reader, looking for information on a specific point, a book which contains numerous errors on almost every page?

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

A History of the Reformation. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, Principal, The United Free Church College, Glasgow. Volume I. *The Reformation in Germany from its Beginning to the Religious Peace of Augsburg.* Volume II. *The Reformation in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Scotland, and England. The Anabaptist and Socinian Movements. The Counter-Reformation.* With Map of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (1520-1580). [International Theological Library.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906, 1907. Pp. xvi, 528; xvii, 631.)

DR. LINDSAY'S work marks a salutary reaction in interpreting the Protestant Revolt. While intent on doing full justice to the political and social factors on which Ranke, Janssen, and Bezold have dwelt, the author emphasizes primarily the spiritual aspects of the grand upheaval. It is his thesis that the "Reformation had its roots in the simple evangelical piety which had never entirely disappeared in the medieval Church". Consequently he lays great stress on the "popular and family religious life in the decades before the great revival", and tries to show the "continuity in the religious life of the period" (volume I., preface).

In collecting material Dr. Lindsay has "read and reread most of the original contemporary sources of information". This applies to printed documents, for he seldom if ever cites unpublished sources. He has diverged from the beaten theological track in making much use of poetry, especially of folk-songs. Chronicles he has drawn on to a very limited degree; his use of correspondence and of the Calendars of State Papers is more copious; and in certain chapters, notably in that dealing with "The Church of Herry VIII." he has constructed elaborate if somewhat conventional mosaics. Superfluous material rarely blocks the stream of narrative; the movement is swift, and the current leaps at times from one generalization to another. Though the product of many years of study, the book, it is said, was rapidly written, and its lucidity and swinging style bear out the assertion. It is nothing if not concrete; often so picturesque that one regrets that the plan of the *International Theological Library* excluded the illustrations which would naturally have rounded out a narrative so vigorous.

It is not surprising that the treatise shows the defect of its virtues: there are a number of points, more or less trivial, where a slower pace would have meant a surer footing. To begin with obvious misprints, we suggest the following corrections: *Emcrtton* (I. 158, note 1); *Euricius Cordus* (I. 255, 517); *Lazarus Spengler* (I. 256, 526); *Bremensis* (II. 3); *Maurenbrecher, Friedensburg* (II. 484, note 1); and Luther's cry, often given as: "O wann wirst du einmal fromm werden und genug tun, dass du einen gnädigen Gott kriegest?" has certainly been tampered with by the printer's devil (I. 427). As for dates:

Thomas de Vio, Cardinal Caietan, lived 1469-1534, not 1470-1553 (I. 232); and the Marburg Colloquy of 1529 is set a month too late (I. 353), as Luther arrived September 30 and departed October 5. The First Helvetic Confession of 1536 is attributed to Zwingli (I. 467, note 1), whereas he died in 1531. The Racovian Catechism appeared long before 1642 (*cf.* II. 473), as it was printed in Polish in 1605 and in Latin in 1609. We must, further, challenge the explanation of "gehobelter Eck" as "Eck with the swelled head" (I. 249), suggesting that it is merely "*Eccius Dedolatus*", in slang phrase, the rough corner (Eck) "polished off". Sundry statements of fact also need revision. By "Cardinal Bonzio" (I. 2) is meant Bonizo, who is listed as a simple bishop. Gabriel Biel, during the years that he was a "celebrated professor" (I. 196) taught not at Erfurt but at Tübingen. The tradition that the Marburg Colloquy took place in the Rittersaal (*cf.* I. 353) is erroneous; it was held in a smaller room, probably near the present office of the Director of the Royal Archives. Cop's Address is unquestioningly attributed to Calvin (II. 98), without mentioning the very serious doubts on this point entertained by many scholars. The remark that excommunication freed Luther from his monastic vows (I. 250) is, to say the least, loosely put. Likewise the assertion that the doctrine of ubiquity is "essential to the Lutheran theory of the Sacrament of the Supper" (II. 4) is open to misconstruction, for it ignores the view taught by Chemnitz and known as *multivolipraesentia*. The statement concerning the attitude of Clement VII. toward bigamy (II. 324 f.) also demands revision. It is perhaps carping to suggest titles that should have been included in the compressed bibliographies which head the various chapters; but certainly the usefulness of the book to students is lessened by the omission of S. M. Jackson's *Selected Works of Zwingli* (New York, 1901), and that excellent aid toward understanding the Council of Trent, the *Symbolik of Loofs* (Bd. I., Leipzig, 1902). The monumental work of P. Fredericq, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicæ* (The Hague, 1889-1906) surely deserved a niche alongside the venerable Gerard Brandt (*History of the Reformation*, London, 1720), from whom the author draws some stirring anecdotes. Finally, the colored map contained in a pocket in the second volume, valuable as it is for giving an idea of the regions touched by the Anabaptist agitation, generalizes the sixty years' spread of the Reformation (1520-1580) in puzzling, almost misleading fashion.

Turning from detail to weightier matters, we notice that the writer's--unusual gift of sympathetic interpretation has its natural barriers. Although no hero-worshipper, he glows instinctively for Calvin, the Huguenots, the dyke-cutting Dutch, above all for William the Silent: in other words for the spiritual congeners of Scotch Presbyterianism. Zwingli he rather disparages, particularly in the matter of his secret marriage (II. 37), whereas a study of the precise stage reached in 1522

by the movement for the marriage of the clergy might have led to a more charitable judgment. His antipathies, which he has usually overcome, are directed chiefly against the persecutors of the Protestants. In estimating the Jesuits he is evidently influenced by Symonds. Though not altogether unsympathetic, the fact that he can assert that the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola produced a "prolonged hypnotic trance" (II. 545) sufficiently indicates his attitude.

- We have dwelt too long on the defects of an excellent book; many of them are superficial and can be easily remedied. The total impression left by the two volumes of Principal Lindsay is very favorable; they are the best thing we have in English on the subject. They combine scientific worth with literary charm, and will appeal strongly not merely to students but also to the thoughtful layman. -

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

The Reformation. Being an Outline of the History of the Church from A. D. 1503 to A. D. 1648. By JAMES POUNDER WHITNEY, B.D., Chaplain of S. Edward's, Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. viii, 501.)

WHITNEY'S *The Reformation* constitutes volume VI. of a series entitled *The Church Universal*, of which Mr. W. H. Hutton is editor. By "Church Universal" is not meant Christianity in general or the invisible church, but the Eastern and Western hierarchical ("Catholic") ecclesiastical organizations, the Anglican Church being somewhat illogically regarded as a constituent part of the latter because of the perpetuation in its hierarchy and its formularies of the essential elements of the medieval system. The Anglo-Catholicism of the writer is manifest in the apportionment of his space and on almost every page. His effort "to be fair to all schools of thought and to all the men of the time" has, in the opinion of the reviewer, met with indifferent success. An introduction of fourteen pages touches lightly upon medieval ideals, the papacy, the political and ecclesiastical relations of Italy and Germany, the growth of individualism, monastic revivals, mysticism, the revival of learning, the Brethren of the Common Life, and the Inquisition. There seems little ground for the assertion that Dominic, Thomas Aquinas, and Wiclif (the precise expression is used only of the latter) were the almost impersonal heads of movements, whereas Loyola, Erasmus, and Luther are "personalities above all else" (p. 6). The statement that "no less than fourteen translations of the Bible into High German appeared before the days of Luther" would probably be about correct if "translations" were changed to "printed editions". Of course that number of manuscripts with considerable variations may exist; but it is not likely that so large a number of versions was independently prepared. The author speaks of "Revival of Learning" as "a phrase often used to imply more ignorance on the part of the Middle Ages than they possessed" [*sic*]. To note a tithe of the author's in-

felicities and inconsequentialities would require more space than is available for the entire review. Only forty pages can be spared by him for Germany and the Reformation up to 1529 and sixteen pages to Germany after 1529, and of these Luther gets barely five or six with an occasional sentence *passim*. Even in these two chapters popes, humanists, and Catholic opponents of Luther are much in evidence. Mr. Whitney does not know Luther. He supposes that Luther attributed the *Deutsche Theologie* to Tauler (p. 28). He speaks of Luther as "typically scholastic" and as having "never departed from the standpoint of his master Staupitz". As a matter of fact he was antipodal to scholasticism, as was Staupitz, and he did depart from Staupitz as widely as can well be conceived. He declares that Luther was "absolutely free from any scruples as to breach of unity", which is very far from the fact.

Zwingli and the Swiss Reformation fare no better as regards space; but the author's characterization of Zwingli and his teaching is somewhat juster than in the case of Luther. He declares Zwingli's "free and intellectual study of the Scriptures interpreted by the individual powers and for the individual needs" to be "Humanism pure and simple, unfettered or unchecked, as with Erasmus, by regard for religious authority and the unity of the Church". He further characterizes Zwingli as "the revolutionary theologian of the Reformation", a designation which would be more suitable to Luther and still more so to some others. It is in the chapter on the Reformation in Switzerland, strangely enough, that the Diet of Augsburg and the Augsburg Confession are treated. Here Mr. Whitney makes the amazing blunder of supposing that the Confession presented by the Lutherans had "Apology" for its original title. Of course the Apology was Melancthon's defense of the Confession against the Refutation put forth by the Roman Catholic theologians. The author's statement (p. 377) that Zwingli derived his sacramental views from Van Hoen, a Dutch theologian, is not quite correct. It was to Erasmus that he owed his mode of thought which determined his attitude toward the sacraments, and the influence of Carlstadt, who seems to have owed something to Van Hoen, probably had to do with the formulation of his views. While he insists that "the influence of Calvin cannot be estimated too highly" and gives a fairly satisfactory account of his theological and theocratic views, he cannot forbear to speak of his genius as "sinister". Knox is dismissed with a few short, disconnected sentences (pp. 348, 354, 364), which involve no adequate appreciation of his character or work.

Chapters VII.-IX. (141 pages) are devoted to the Council of Trent. Here we at once become aware that the author is treading on firmer ground. He no longer deals in vague generalities or manifests the "possession" on his part of vast supplies of ignorance and misinformation, but he shows interest in the minutest details and the possession of a creditable amount of authentic knowledge. These chapters constitute

the only really valuable part of the work and justify its publication. No other history of the Reformation has treated the subject so fully. The chapter on "Germany: 1555-1648" is also far better than those on the Reformation proper, as are also those dealing with what we call the Counter-Reformation, including the work of the Jesuits in various lands. His account of the English Reformation is of course strongly colored with Anglo-Catholicism, but is not without merit. The author's concluding note on "Justification by Faith" is not particularly illuminating. A somewhat poor bibliography and a good index are other features of the work.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

The English Patents of Monopoly. By WILLIAM HYDE PRICE.
[Harvard Economic Studies, Volume I.] (Boston: Houghton,
Mifflin and Company. 1906. Pp. x, 261.)

THIS is really a twofold work. On its economic side it has to do with a certain class of monopolies during the reign of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. These are patents, nearly in the modern sense, temporary monopolies granted to claimants of special processes of manufacture, mining, or other industrial processes. Mr. Price is interested in the rise of these patents of monopoly and in the experiences of the patentees, the crown, and the community under them, during this early and experimental period. In his interesting "Part II., Industrial History", he tells the story of some eight of these monopolized trades, with their most unsatisfactory results for their holders, for would-be participants, for the crown, and for the community. Among the appendices also six of these patents are printed *in extenso*. So far the monograph is a comparatively simple study, the result of which, as pointed out with perhaps unnecessary asseveration by the author, is to show the undesirability of monopolies granted and protected by the government under the conditions of the period he is describing.

But combined with this is a more complicated and more ambitious study, performed with less success. This is a discussion of the whole subject of government monopolies during the period adverted to. Sometimes Mr. Price is treating his narrower subject, sometimes his broader one; and without always indicating to his readers or perhaps perceiving for himself, which he is engaged with. One of the most familiar popular complaints in the later Elizabethan and early Stuart period is of the possession by private men or partnerships of what are variously called monopolies, patents, licenses, impositions, dispensations, commissions, privileges or grants. These were for many purposes, from a grant of the export duty on rabbit skins, or the privilege of licensing brewers in London, or a copyright for the printing of the Psalms of David, to the monopoly of manufacture of glass in all England or a license to suspend the provisions of the law regulating the tanning of leather in certain cases. One of the greatest needs in the discussion

of this subject is to discriminate clearly, if possible, and explain the contemporary use of these various terms, to classify these various forms of patents and monopolies, to discover the reasons for the grant of each respective class, and to measure the degrees of popular opposition to each. The parliamentary petitions against the monopolies, for instance, seem scarcely to have taken into consideration that class of patents which is chosen as the principal subject of this book, nor did the proclamations or laws contemplate them, except in a quite subordinate degree. The industrial monopolies, in other words, may be of especial interest to the economist, but to the historian, who takes into consideration all the phenomena of the time, they are only a small part of a much larger whole.

This somewhat perfunctory treatment of the larger question involved is our principal, in fact almost our only criticism of this serious study by a well-trained investigator of an interesting and important subject. We would, however, call attention also to a certain *a priori* method of treatment. After a very slight examination of Continental phenomena, the author suggests the probability that England was the precursor of other nations in developing industrial patents. Afterwards the suggestion is treated as an ascertained result, quite in the manner of Thorold Rogers, and he speaks without hesitation of England as the "birthplace of the system" of patents for the encouragement of new manufactures. The same tendency appears in the treatment of industrial patents as due to the deliberate policy of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, the grants of monopolies of other kinds as simply a later and unintentional accretion. There is no sufficient authority given for this; nor can we doubt that monopolies were granted principally for financial or personal reasons, and in answer to an appeal either to the acquisitiveness, the fondness, or the good nature of the sovereign. We regret that a more restricted subject was not taken, or else that the first chapter, the "Political History" of the monopolies, was not made much longer and more serious, more discriminating and more scientifically historical. We have no doubt that the author is entirely capable of having so treated it, but was led astray by a predominately economic interest.

The English Factories in India, 1618-1621. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office. By WILLIAM FOSTER. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1906. Pp. xlvii, 379.)

THE printed documentary material for the early history of the East India Company has been happily increased by this volume. Already, to mention only the most important sources of comparatively recent publication, we have had the "Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1599-1603" published by Mr. Henry Stevens under the title, *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, Sir George Birdwood's *Register of Letters, 1600-1619*, the six volumes of the *Letters received*

by the East India Company from its Servants in the East (vol. I. being edited by Mr. Danvers, the others by Mr. Foster), and chiefly for a somewhat later period Mr. Forrest's Bombay Government Papers, "Home Series", and "Mahratta Series". Other publications by Government in India and various volumes of the Hakluyt Society such as Mr. Thompson's *Diary of Richard Cocks*, and Mr. Foster's *Sir Thomas Roe and Journal of John Jourdain* have all been printed since Sir George Birdwood first in 1878 gave the student that invaluable *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*. These are rich additions to the earlier *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, for which the student has long been indebted to Mr. Sainsbury.

This last volume, edited by Mr. Foster, is a sequel to the *Letters Received*, which included the year 1617. The method followed is, however, somewhat different. Here, though some documents are given practically *in extenso*, a considerable abridgment in accordance with the fashion of the Historical Manuscripts Commission has been the rule. This has involved in part a certain repetition in less condensed form of some of the work already done by Mr. Sainsbury. But in many instances valuable notes have been added and the introduction is excellent. The documents themselves, whose particular location is indicated in each instance, are chiefly from the Original Correspondence Series, the Marine Records and the Factory Records of the Company, the East Indies series of the Record office and the Egerton MSS. 2122 and 2123 (British Museum). A few are reprinted from Purchas and a few others have already appeared in the Hakluyt Society's *Sir Thomas Roe*. With these exceptions the documents have not hitherto been published.

In 1618 the English had infrequent factories and ports of trade from Arabia to Japan. On the west coast of India Surat was not to be surpassed by Bombay for another half-century, while on the east coast Masulipatam had not as yet been deserted for either Madras or Calcutta. Among the islands further east the Company still believed its greater profits were to be found; but in 1622 the settlement in Japan was abandoned and in 1623 the bloody results at Amboyna emphasized the strength of the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago. Even on the mainland furious rivalry with the Portuguese had barely made clear the hope of future success for the English. The French and Danes had made their first appearance; and on all hands, whether from the uncertainties of native princes or the jealousies of European competitors, there was great peril. The profits of Eastern trade had, however, been made evident and the English bent to their task. International rivalry, oriental politics, the economics of Asia, and the conduct of Europeans under alien conditions can all be studied to advantage in Mr. Foster's book.

The student of American exploration and history will find much to interest him where perhaps he may scarce expect it. Here he can find further light on the character of Sir Thomas Dale, trace the later voy-

ages of Martin Pring, his successor in command of the East Indian fleet, or learn of the work of William Baffin in the tropics. Here he can investigate the pioneer missionary work of the Rev. Patrick Copland, who was also to collect money in the East for a free school in Virginia, or get indication of the origin of the quarrel between Sir Thomas Smyth and Lord Robert Rich, which was later to lead to the election of Sir Edwin Sandys as Treasurer of the Virginia Company. Thus are made clear both the varied interests and the unity of British expansion in the early seventeenth century.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

La Colonisation Hollandaise à Java: ses Antécédents, ses Caractères Distinctifs. Par PIERRE GONNAUD. (Paris: Augustin Challamel. 1905. Pp. 606.)

APPEARING in the series of Paris doctoral theses in which the early work of many of the best French scholars has been published, to which we owe important books by Seignobos, Langlois, Funck-Brentano, Masson and many others, this large volume rouses keen anticipation in the mind of anyone interested in the special field it covers. The author promises in his preface to fill a gap which he conceives to exist in the sources of our information on Java, by writing not as a naturalist nor as a historian, but as a student of colonial science, and by describing the essential features of the evolution of Java as a European colony.

He devotes the first hundred pages to a physical description of the island, covering its geology, topography, climate and natural resources. The description runs into minute and tedious detail. It is not interesting, and it adds little to what can be gained from Junghuhn and the third volume of Veth. With all its faults, however, it is the best part of the book. The author may be a good geographer; he may possibly be an adept in the mysteries of the "colonial science" of the day. He certainly is not a historian; and the bulk of his book, which is historical in form, would never have been written, or would have been written very differently, if he had been trained in the French historical school.

In the hundred pages devoted to the history of Java before the arrival of the Dutch the reader begins to lose faith. He doubts the wisdom of devoting so much space to an obscure period, far removed from the goal which the author has in view. He demands that at least this period should be treated with the object of the book in mind. He finds a mass of conjectures on unessential details, and almost entire neglect of the great problems of native society: origin of the village group and government, early forms of land tenure, possible tribal influences. Village origins are dismissed in less space than is given to the ruins of Boeroe Boedoer.

Doubts as to the author's capacity become certainties when the narrative enters the period of Dutch rule. Most of the facts for the period from 1600 to 1800 are taken from half a dozen collections of voyages,

books with which a geographer would naturally be familiar, and useful sources also to the historian, but hardly the sources on which a history can be based. Let the American reader picture to himself the kind of history a foreigner would write of the British colonies in America, from Hakluyt, Kalm, Burnaby, Chastellux, etc., with an occasional reference to a modern writer, but disregarding some of the most important modern works and practically all of the colonial documents, and the weakness of this part of the book will be apparent. The standard modern history of this period, by M. L. van Deventer, is not mentioned. Lacking also is the indispensable book on the East India Company, by Klerk de Reus. Most serious of all is the neglect of the documents in De Jonge's collection. There are occasional references to this collection, but there is hardly a page of the book on which an error could not have been corrected, or an important fact supplied, if the documents had been scanned with any care.

The part dealing with the nineteenth century is no better. To enumerate the important sources which the author has failed to use would require too much space. It will be briefer, and to the wise it will be sufficient, to say that he quotes one book more than any other, and the one book is Money's *Java: or How to manage a Colony*. The result is a grotesque perversion of fact.

Concluding chapters give a description of existing conditions. Personal observations on the crops and some of the economic phenomena are of interest and value; reflections on the social and political organization are of little importance, because the author, to put it bluntly, does not know what he is talking about. He has not even a speaking acquaintance with the results of the great government investigations into native life, and because he did not know for what to look he might as well have been blindfolded much of the time. Of this as of other parts of the book it may be said that the author fails not only to collect the necessary facts from the scattered sources of information, and to sift the true from the false; he lacks, to all appearance, the general knowledge of human society which would direct his search, would enable him to appreciate the relative importance of different classes of facts, and would enable him to construct from his material a scientific statement of conditions. He talks much about native society, but if it were more than a name to him he must have devoted at least some attention to the land and labor relations on which it is based, of which, in fact, it largely consists. Of these native institutions he seems entirely ignorant. The problem of individual and communal land tenure is dismissed in a line.

We shall have many more books like this. Colonial questions have been so much in the public mind that there is an insistent demand for a colonial science, and many rise up to proclaim themselves its prophets. We shall have a real science of colonies when we apply to the study of

colonies the same principles which guide the search after truth in other subjects, and not before then.

CLIVE DAY.

The Great Days of Versailles. By G. F. BRADBY. (London: Smith Elder and Company; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906. Pp. viii, 384.)

MR. BRADBY'S title indicates accurately the contents of his book. The great days of Versailles were in the reign of Louis XIV., and the court life of Versailles in the latter years of Louis's reign our author has described. The subject is not new, but probably it will never lose its charm. The court life of Louis XIV. is not one of the great chapters of history, but it is devoid neither of interest nor importance.

The sources from which information as to this period can be obtained are familiar, and Mr. Bradby has consulted them with care and with discrimination. The memoirs of Saint Simon will always be the most important, as it is the most interesting, record of the later days of Louis XIV., and yet, as Mr. Bradby justly says, no writer needs to be read in a more critical spirit. In addition to the many volumes indited by the Duke of Saint Simon, are the memoirs of Dangeau, the letters of Madame de Maintenon and of the Princess Palatine, and the numerous other memoirs of the period. Mr. Bradby has consulted those of most value, and he has used his material with good judgment. Occasionally some anecdote is told, some incident related, which a severely critical historian might reject, but in this there is no great harm. A collection of social gossip, a history of court life, of pageantry and parade, does not require, perhaps, to be investigated in so rigid a spirit of criticism, as if different and more important fields of historical research were under examination.

In his book Mr. Bradby has told us much of the solemn splendor, of the minute ceremonial, which to those of this generation would seem so tedious, by which the existence of the great king was surrounded. He has described very fairly the character of the sovereign, who in many ways was an unusual man. Mr. Bradby does not exaggerate the foibles and frailties, the dullness and the limitations of the king, nor does he underestimate the elements of unusual strength that were found in that unusual combination. As he justly says, the character of Louis XIV. was "full of contradictions, beset with unexpected shallows and equally unexpected depths".

Apart from a description of the life of the court, of the splendors of Versailles, and its social etiquette, there is a detailed account of a few who were its most prominent figures. Some of them were wholly unprofitable and uninteresting, like Monsieur, Monseigneur, and the Duke of Berry. Others, like Madame de Maintenon, the Princess Palatine and the Duchess of Burgundy, would have been interesting to know when alive, and it is interesting to read of their careers. To all

of them Mr. Bradby is fair. As we have said, some legends he picks up from his Saint Simon and other memoir-writers, that would not bear the test of rigid analysis, but they are not important.

One minor peculiarity may be referred to. Mr. Bradby seems to have an extraordinary taste for death-bed details; to the closing scenes he gives a space which seems excessive. The people at Versailles died very much like those of less importance. To be sure, formality and pageantry did not cease even at the death-bed, and perhaps it is for this reason that our author describes in so much detail the farewell hours of kings and dauphins.

It is possible that an equally vivid description of life at Versailles could have been given in somewhat less space and with somewhat less of detail. But condensation has its dangers. The advocate who speaks with fullness and reiteration is more apt to persuade his jury, than he who contents himself with a bare and condensed statement of facts. Mr. Bradby's book gives a fair account of phases of life and thought which are now as extinct, and seem almost as remote, as the ways and usages of the Pharaohs, and in the study of them one can find much interest and some profit.

JAMES BRECK PERKINS.

La Révolution Industrielle au XVIII^e Siècle; Essai sur les Commencements de la Grande Industrie Moderne en Angleterre. Par PAUL MANTOUX. [Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, IX.] (Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition. 1906. Pp. 544.)

THE Industrial Revolution in England offers a field for historical research still inadequately explored. Over two decades have elapsed since the fragmentary studies of Held and Toynbee. It has remained for a foreigner, after several years of investigation, to make from a wider range of sources than either of these a serious examination of this difficult subject,—difficult not only from the complication of the questions involved but from the comparative paucity of evidence available for their resolution. M. Mantoux, with considerable thoroughness and critical discrimination, has used a large part of the printed contemporary material, the *Journals of the House of Commons* as well as the statutes, the observations of foreign travellers as well as the assertions of native pamphleteers, some four or five local newspaper files besides the *Annual Register* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He has also of course consulted more recent books, general and local, biographical and technical. But more than any of his forerunners he has utilized documentary material, the Place and Webb collections in London, the Wedgwood papers in Liverpool, the Soho, Wyatt, Timmins and Clarke papers in Birmingham and the Owen papers in Manchester. The result is a well-written book which for the time being will stand as the best description we possess of this great turning-point in economic history.

The work falls into three main parts. The first, entitled "The Antecedents", deals with the domestic system in the woollen manufactures as typical of the older form of industrial organization, with the expansion of commerce and transportation, and with the agricultural changes which characterized the eighteenth century. The second part vivaciously describes, with some new details but with little that is fresh in point of view, the history of the chief among the great transforming inventions, commencing naturally with those in the cotton industry, passing on to coal and iron and concluding with the steam engine. A review of the immediate consequences of the new industrial order forms the third and last section of the book. In well-arranged sequence are discussed the changes in amount and distribution of population, the formation and character of the new industrial capitalist class, the condition of the working class both in and outside the factory, and the struggle between the old and new policies, state intervention and *laissez faire*. Here especially is manifested the author's talent for narration, for the facile grouping of multifarious details. He recognizes that in economic history "a multitude of obscure facts, almost insignificant in detail, group themselves in great confused wholes and interact in infinite modifications. To grasp all of them is a task which must be renounced, and when some of them are chosen for description it cannot be ignored that there vanishes, with a part of reality, the somewhat vain ambition of rigorous distinctions and of complete explanations." M. Mantoux has perhaps shrunk too much from distinctions and explanations, but certainly he has succeeded in reducing to convenient order the "great confused whole" which forms the first stages of the Industrial Revolution.

That there should be some slips in handling such a complex mass of details is inevitable. In addition to the appended page of errata, there are some incorrect references in the foot-notes and here and there some errors of fact, such, for instance, as the statement that cotton from Virginia and the Carolinas was first imported at Liverpool in 1794, or that in 1753 the statutes of the Framework Knitters' Company were abolished by Parliament. The existing evidence scarcely warrants the repeated assertion of "a veritable arrest of development" and "diminishing production" in the iron industry of England previous to the middle of the eighteenth century. There is an apparent contradiction on an important point regarding the cotton industry. Following the usual view, it is stated that the industry "had all the advantages of liberty", yet later comes an equally positive declaration that it "did not escape from protection and from official restraint". One balks at an occasional rhetorical flourish such as that which ends the chapter on labor conditions: "It was on the money of the poor, extorted half from the public, half from the poor themselves, that the great fortunes of industrial capital were erected." But more disquieting than these random inaccuracies are the errors in the chapter on agricultural changes. M. Mantoux fails to recognize the composite nature of the class of yeomen

and gives too early a date to the decline of this class. He repeats the erroneous view as to the devastating character of the sixteenth-century inclosures. More and Latimer are quoted, as might be expected, but after Miss Lamond's labors it is surprising to find Hales's *Discourse* figuring as "William Stafford in 1580" (with a reference to W. Stafford, *Pictorial History of England*). Despite a foot-note citing contemporary pamphlets and despite further information ready at hand, he asserts the cessation of the inclosure movement in the seventeenth century. The further description of eighteenth-century agricultural conditions is almost equally unsatisfactory. The inclosures of this period are not properly characterized either in their methods, their purposes or their resulting effects. Smaller matters may be passed over; it is of less moment that a quarter (of wheat) should be described as a measure of weight or that the system of "roundsmen" should be completely misunderstood. In a second edition the whole chapter should undergo a thorough revision and it is to be hoped that then at least Hasbach's *Die englischen Landarbeiter* (1894) and H. C. Taylor's brief but useful monograph on the decline of landowning farmers in England will not be neglected. In that revised edition the works of Reuleaux and Matschoss should also be consulted for the history of the steam engine.

Even within the limits of time, country and method of treatment which he has judiciously drawn, M. Mantoux has not, unfortunately, fully attained his purpose of deducing the "general notions indispensable for the orientation of new research". Good in the main as historical description, this skillfully constructed and industrious narrative falls short in economic and social analysis. It does not sufficiently penetrate to the core of the matter. Kulischer's paper in Schmoller's *Jahrbücher* (1906) covering a part only of the same great subject, though with far less equipment of fact, poses more searching questions, suggests deeper connections and stimulates more keenly to research.

EDWIN F. GAY.

William Pitt der Jüngere. Von Dr. FELIX SALOMON, Ausserordentlichem Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Leipzig. Band I. Bis zum Ausgange der Friedens-periode, Februar, 1793. Teile II. und III. (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1906. Pp. xiv, 600.)

READERS who follow with interest Professor Salomon's activity in the field of English history will greet with pleasure this portion of his work on Pitt. An introduction to the present section and to a concluding volume which is to follow, was issued by the author in 1901. This introduction, styled by him the *Foundations*, was calculated to arouse in the reader misgiving. In its pages patient investigation and sound scholarship were manifest; but the acumen and brilliancy, which suggested the ability in the writer to produce a notable work upon his

theme, were obscured by a heavy style and faulty perspective. The timeliness also of the introduction's appearance was open to question. It offered nothing in itself complete, and it was a bare promise, without performance, of a feat the success or failure of which only later volumes could determine. Enough of the work is now in print to justify an attempt at a verdict; and one may presage, with a measure of confidence, that the vices of the introduction will disappear in the virtues of the completed work. The heavy style, previously in evidence, is here much alleviated; in so far as a foreigner may judge, this hindrance indeed has almost if not quite disappeared. The author no longer wanders from the path of his narrative; and of his whole undertaking, it is a pleasure to observe that the load, since he has settled to the collar, moves.

Readers of Professor Salomon's introductory volume will recollect that the task which he has set himself is not light. His purpose, as enunciated there and repeated here, is not merely to write a biography of Pitt: the narrow bounds of family life are broken; an adequate account is attempted of the movements, passions, and conflicts of which Pitt was the centre; and that statesman is given his proper setting in English history during the stormy time when he was helmsman of the English state. In order properly to execute this purpose, the author justly observes the need of viewing Pitt in two relations, the one to England herself, and the other to the history of Europe in the period of the Revolution. The present volume, covering the years of Pitt's public life from its beginning to 1793, deals largely, though not exclusively, with the first of these relations, as the next volume presumably will with the second. While chronology had dictated this order of treatment, the author, in the present portion of his work, by no means dissociates England from the Continent. In this connection, he observes in fact, concerning England, that her decline between 1763 and 1783 was not due, as is traditionally held, to the loss of America alone. On the contrary, the mistaken colonial policy which drove America to insurrection was but a single strand of a rotten cable; England's political, social, and economic organization, like that of France, was unsuited to the time; and England's problem was quite that of Europe and of the period, the adaptation of an antiquated system to the needs of a younger generation.

It was the work of Pitt, as a constructive statesman, to initiate and fix in peaceful channels this reform in England, the counterpart of which, in France, cost that country the Revolution. Dr. Salomon, in his introductory volume, recounted what Pitt drew, for his assistance in this task, from his family's and his country's past. Starting from this foundation, the author opens the present volume with an able sketch of the situation and leaders in England at Pitt's entry into public life. Thence the narrative passes in turn to the combination of new Whigs and new Tories which gave England peace with America, and

to the successive prevalence of the new Tories over their temporary allies by the accession of Shelburne to the premiership on the death of Rockingham and by the decisive victory of Pitt over Fox. These events and the subsequent reform, whereby Pitt embodied in the government of England the constitutional and economic ideas of Chatham and Smith, occupy the first half of this volume. In the second, the narrative passes largely to other than domestic affairs, to Pitt's colonial policy, and to the share of England, under his guidance, in the European diplomacy which culminated in the struggle with France. In both portions of the volume Professor Salomon displays in his narrative the freshness and virility of the investigator. His search for new material has been careful; and he is able to report, in this respect, good results. At the same time, he warns against the heresy that unprinted material must necessarily supersede the printed. Printed material indeed, if sufficiently neglected, becomes a mine for the historian. As a case in point, Professor Salomon cites the English Parliamentary Debates, too little regarded even in England; and he remarks well that the biographer of an English statesman, if he neglect these debates merely because they are printed and easily accessible, will forego the very material which any other biographer would covet. Professor Salomon himself has given them all the attention and weight due in the case of Pitt, whose life centred, to a degree unusual with English statesmen, in Westminster. In this and other points, the author, who is not a stranger to England, has shown an insight, and possibly a sympathy which have drawn upon him the censure, by at least one of his countrymen, that he is no longer a cold critic of English institutions. By English readers the fault, if it exist, will be lightly forgiven.

H. M. BOWMAN.

Napoleon's Campaign in Poland, 1806-1807. By F. LORAINÉ PETRE.
(London and New York: John Lane Company. 1906. Pp. xxiii, 339.)

It is a pleasure to take up a volume with such excellent paper and type: the manufacture of the book calls for especial praise. Its author has found in English no detailed work on this campaign, which he feels "could not be less interesting than . . . Austerlitz and Jena"; and he has filled the gap by patient study, though his list of authorities is not exhaustive. The book begins with a chapter on the state of Europe in 1805 and 1806, with a crisp sketch of the armies, the leaders and the lieutenants on both sides, and gives a careful description of the topographical features of the difficult theatre of war—its marshes and forests, its mud and snow, its summer heat and winter tempests. Then follow the several operations, from that beginning in November and culminating in the battles of Pultusk and Golymin at Christmastide, 1806, through the butchery of Eylau in February and its succeeding winter quarters, the siege of Danzig, and the "final triumph" at Heils-

berg and Friedland in June, 1807, followed by the Treaty of Tilsit. At the end are three maps of the theatre of war, on two sheets, and seven battle-plans on a third sheet.

The style is simple and direct, with abundant foot-notes, the matter in some of which might be incorporated in the text, to save interruption of the narration by the reader. The detail is considerable, but not too great for a work dealing with a single campaign. There is much comparison as to numbers engaged; no item in military history is so elusive as this, the archive records being often wrong. The manoeuvres are intelligently described; but Napoleon's lapses from the skilful management he had shown in former campaigns might be more accentuated. There is little to criticize in the Austerlitz and Jena campaigns; there are many points of criticism in the Polish. Up to this date, for instance, Napoleon had made it a maxim to assemble his army out of reach of the enemy and then fall in mass upon him. In the Polish campaign he practically opened by a concentric operation, such as he had always superciliously criticized in his opponents, and one in which battle might be expected to occur before concentration; and as generally happens, the several bodies did not co-operate, and despite claims of victory, were practically beaten in detail. Had his opponent been of the first force, Napoleon might have been driven into an excentric retreat, to his great loss. Again, in the last part of the campaign, the emperor moved by his left to cut Bennigsen off from Königsberg, when the Napoleonic manoeuvre would have been to move by his right to cut him off from his Russian base, and force him back on the sea. Or again, after Friedland, it would have been easy, despite the losses and exhaustion, to seize Tapiau and thus control Bennigsen's real line of retreat, for Königsberg was at best only a secondary base. These lapses are all mentioned by the author; but to the ordinary student, a fuller comparison with other campaigns, or the discussion of strong or weak points would prove interesting.

In Bennigsen, Napoleon had an enterprising and able antagonist; but like most of the others, one who was afraid to push home when once started. His two attacks on the French were well timed and executed; but when success was in his grasp he paused, and Napoleon, with his wonderful ability to divine what was doing and sense of the proper moment to strike, seized the initiative.

When you weigh, against the almost perfect conduct of the Ulm-Austerlitz, or the Jena campaign, the false concentric operation on Golymin and Pultusk, the venturesome, useless and costly attack at Heilsberg, the wrong strategic manoeuvre on Friedland, one must conclude that despite many truly Napoleonic features, this Polish campaign exhibits less skill than some of the others; and that while of marked interest it is chiefly so for its astonishing trials of fortitude between the French and Russians, and as a proof that even this great captain was liable at times to be less than himself.

We close Mr. Petre's book with the feeling that he has done a good piece of work, filling a needed gap; and we welcome his forthcoming volume on "1806", in which, however, he will find more predecessors. In all European languages military history is prominent. Among us English-speaking peoples it is deficient, mainly because we have practised war only at intervals, and not constantly, as have the Continental nations. With our growing world-policy and the Monroe Doctrine we may in the not distant future need more military knowledge than we now possess; to create a military cult is worth while; and all good books on campaigns worth study should prove acceptable. We hope Mr. Petre has entered the arena in earnest.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk. Door P. J. BLOK. Zevende Deel. (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1907. Pp. iii, 545.)

DR. P. J. BLOK, the professor of Dutch history at the Leiden University, is successor to Robert Fruin. He issued the first volume of his *Geschiedenis* in 1892, when at Groningen. Of his seven volumes, three have been put into English, bringing the story to the end of the Truce, 1621. Of this final volume, No. VII., Book XI. covers in six chapters the "French Period", that is, from the organization of the Batavian Republic to Waterloo and the return of the Prince of Orange. Book XII. covers in four chapters the period of the Kingdom of the United Netherlands to the secession of Belgium in 1830, and the time to 1839. The author's original plan, outlined in his preface to volume I., is thus symmetrically carried out. No other work in the Dutch language occupies a place equal to Blok's, in comprehensiveness united with fresh and scientific treatment of sources. Before becoming historian, he delved long and patiently in the archives of his own and of other countries.

Dr. Blok begins volume VII. by picturing in sprightly vein the great convention at the Hague in 1796, when the Unitaries and the Federalists met for debate and organization of the Batavian Republic. This assembly was over-rich in dangerous radicals. Returning patriots wanted the model of a French Republic followed closely, but Schimmelpenninck happily presaged the desires of the best men of both parties. Friesland and Zeeland were at that time strongly provincial or federalist, while Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel favored the Unitary idea of centralized power. Along with the undoubted evils of French rule, order and much uniformity were brought in. The immensely diverse and foolish customs along with privileges were abolished, the archives centralized and put in order and the two feeble universities closed. Napoleon spent only three weeks in the kingdom over which he placed his brother, preparatory to incorporation with France. In addition to galling taxation, the people suffered from the decline of native manufactures and industries. Of forty thousand Dutch conscripts who marched to Mos-

cow, not two thousand returned. The experiment of Frenchifying Dutchmen was not a success. The Dutch were quite ready, after Napoleon had been sent to Elba, to meet him at Waterloo, on which field five thousand Netherlanders performed prodigies of valor.

The Kingdom of the United Netherlands was formed by action of a congress of the Powers, but Dr. Blok shows very clearly why such an ill-starred union of the Dutch and the Belgian peoples, as unlikely to mix as oil and water, could not and did not hold together. Their historical precedents, the differences in religion, the diversity of economic and industrial interests, made it impossible that the clamps put on by a congress of aliens could hold together such an artificial structure. The Belgians, most of whom would have preferred being incorporated with France, had no sympathy with Protestant Holland. Rising in revolt, they chased the Dutch out of the country. Dr. Blok goes into pretty full detail in describing the second congress, which, like divorcing lawyers, met to undo the work which their predecessors had hoped would never be put asunder. It must be painful reading to a Dutchman to note how the great monarchies employed this congress as a mere pretext to gain their own ends, using Holland as a shuttlecock. An American reader wonders whether, after all, our local and national politics are any worse than those of the sort done under such high-sounding phrases. The work concludes with a glance at the northern provinces as they begin again their separate life.

Comparing the general result with title and plan, it must be said that Dr. Blok has failed in one direction, while winning signal success in others. Here is a first-class political history, and in so far a positive contribution to knowledge. His pages show familiarity with the schemes of diplomatists and with the real thoughts and ambitions of politicians, generals, and statesmen. The great figures, like Maurice, Barneveldt, and the line of Williams, great and little, stand out on his pages as clear personalities. The trend, development, and issues of great movements are apparent, the author showing ability and grace in marking off the various periods. He sees when an issue is dead. He knows well the economic bases of the nation's story. His pages are wonderfully clear in their revelations as to the opening and closing of trade-routes and markets, and in showing how the legislation and customs of surrounding peoples made weal or woe for the Dutch people. At times he is informing and brilliant in his pictures of phases of society, notably in his treatment of the Burgundian era. From this view-point, his work is highly satisfactory. Yet on the whole, those who seek in these volumes a real history of the Dutch people, how they grew to be a nation, and what were the forces outside of politics proper that shaped them, will be disappointed. If religion be a real force in the making of a people, then one mighty factor in the evolution of the nation has been overlooked. Even the great emigration of "the Dutch Pilgrim Fathers" of 1830, and later, which so filled our own Northwest, is not so

much as mentioned. The part played by women is scarcely noticed. Herein Dr. Blok has rather fallen away from his promises. The scientific student of Netherlandish history will however richly enjoy this work, with its copious reference to authorities, both in foot-note and special chapters, its excellent indexes, and the colored maps accompanied with proper annotation in every volume. Certainly in critical value Blok's history has no rival.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

Rome et Napoléon III. (1849-1870). Étude sur les Origines et la Chute du Second Empire. Par ÉMILE BOURGEOIS et É. CLERMONT, avec une Préface de GABRIEL MONOD. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1907. Pp. xvii, 370.)

THIS is an important book. First, it illustrates that fine disinterestedness which characterizes contemporary historical scholars in France. They have the good fortune to be placed within reach of material which their brothers in Germany and England are denied. There is nothing so kind to a historian as a successful revolution if it unearths the material he requires. Since 1871, or more properly since about 1885, Republican France has been lavishly pouring out state secrets concerning the Republic of 1848 and the Second Empire. As a political move what could be shrewder than to expose the blunders and wickedness of Louis Napoleon's régime? The dullest Frenchman can hardly wish to restore the Empire, when he has seen the Empire as it was. What historian does not wish that he might have equally free access to the archives of Prussia and Germany from 1860 to 1890, instead of having to depend on official historiographers, who naturally write to fit their story to the prescribed Hohenzollern legend? Fear of *lèse-majesté* does not conduce to impartial writing. But the French wish to do more than discredit Imperialism; they are earnestly bent on profiting by their national failures. It is the purpose of learning from the recent past what to shun in the present and what to pursue in the future that gives to a monograph like this of MM. Bourgeois and Clermont its impress of *actualité*, as the French themselves call it. And the general spirit of veracity, even when veracity exposes French blunders, makes their work disinterested.

In the next place this book traces for the first time the results of Napoleon III.'s meddling in Rome. We have had hitherto a mass of testimony, both French and Italian, in regard to the Roman Expedition of 1849 and the September Convention; we have also a good deal of material about the preliminaries of the War of 1870 and of the attitude of Italy and Austria after war was declared: but MM. Bourgeois and Clermont are the first to show, in a single volume, the causal sequence between the three crises. With commendable openness they follow step by step the insincerity which prompted the Prince President to despatch Oudinot's corps to suppress the Roman Republic of 1849, and

the fatuity with which, twenty-one years later, he allowed his entanglement at Rome to cost him the help of Italy and Austria in his struggle with Prussia.

Although the authors assign nearly half of their volume to the first episode, the second and third sections really contain the freshest material, especially the chapter on the attempt at a triple alliance (France-Austria-Italy) in 1869, and the chapter entitled "Le 25 juillet: Rome et l' Empire". Professor Bourgeois, to whom this part of the work falls, shows that Napoleon, after having set in motion the negotiations for the secret alliance and found his would-be partners willing, failed to make a binding league. Yet in the following year he went on to act as if the league had been clinched, when, on declaring war, he assumed that Austria and Italy would support him. M. Bourgeois apparently believes that, although documentary proof cannot be produced, Italy and Austria had given the emperor sufficient reason to rely on them and then deserted him. But surely if the Imperialists had any papers to that effect, they would long ago have published them, in order to lift from their shoulders some of the terrible responsibility for bringing calamity on France.

However that may be, Professor Bourgeois states that on July 25—which "with Sedan and the capitulation of the French army are the most unhappy dates in our history"—Napoleon refused to sanction the entry of the Italians into Rome as the price of Italian co-operation. M. Bourgeois admits that the Clericals, working through the empress, had a large share in this decision, but that Ollivier, on his own admission, finally persuaded the emperor to adopt it. And thus Nemesis exacted full retribution for the crime of 1849.

The authors provide an extended criticism of the authorities used by them. They regret that much necessary material is still inaccessible—not only foreign material but Imperialist, which the Bonapartists control. Ollivier alone, of the old ministers, has become garrulous. But in Italy the memoirs and correspondence of Nigra and Visconti Venosta, not to mention those of lesser men, would be needed to complete the sources on that side—it is not clear that our authors know Chiala's indispensable work—and in Austria Beust, the younger Metternich and others are still to be heard from—for Beust's revelations are obviously only partial. How much is hidden in Prince Napoleon's papers no one can say. Empress Eugénie is supposed to have rescued the most important secret documents before her flight from Paris, but her memoirs may not be printed for many years, and they may not be trustworthy. And yet, in spite of gaps in the evidence, the general accuracy of MM. Bourgeois and Clermont's analysis cannot be doubted. Were nothing more ever to be added to the testimony it would be perfectly clear that Louis Napoleon in forcing himself into the position of protector of the Pope, unwittingly hampered his future policy and prepared his own downfall.

M. Monod's able preface merits more than passing praise. He has succeeded in presenting briefly the argument of the book itself. But we regret that such an important work should have no index. How much longer will Continental scholars continue to deprive their readers of that indispensable adjunct?

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Der Krimkrieg und die österreichische Politik. Von HEINRICH FRIEDJUNG. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta. 1907. Pp. viii, 198.)

HEINRICH FRIEDJUNG is well known in Germany as the author of what is widely acknowledged to be the best general treatment of the political and military struggle in our day between Austria and Prussia, *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland, 1859 bis 1866*, (two volumes). This work has gone through six editions and owes its reputation to a remarkable combination of scientific method and popular presentation. The present publication is declared in the preface to be part of a study in preparation on the history of Austria, 1848-1859; having grown beyond its proper limits it is now published in advance, the remainder being promised in about a year. It is possibly this quality of an excerpt that explains (certainly without justifying) the entire absence of information as to sources or literature; we are given no statement whatever about the material at the disposition of the writer, though of course most of his published authorities are to be determined through the foot-note references. It is difficult to understand how a serious student can make such an omission, can fail to remember that, especially with a study in recent diplomatic history, we need to be guided in our judgment by exact and full information as to the unpublished material used or available. The author has used documents of a most confidential kind, but apparently not under primary conditions; the secondary publications from which they are derived are however given no critical scrutiny, though in most cases they are manifestly more or less partizan and controversial. There is no hint at archival limitations, but only two or three archival references are given in the foot-notes; it may be that Herr Friedjung had practically no access to archival deposits and that he assumes that this will be understood. In that case however, apart from the question of the wisdom of entering on thorough research under such conditions, a strong protest must be entered against the absence either of any clear statement to this effect, or of any indication of it in the manner of presentation.

Only one reference is given to private unpublished material, that being (p. 161) to the "ungedruckten Tagebuche Kubecks", concerning which or its place of deposit no further information is vouchsafed. For Gortschakoff's Vienna dispatches the author apparently relies wholly on two Russian works; one is Petrow's *Der russische Donaufeldzug*, about which we are not given even enough information to locate it, the

other is Baron Jomini's *Étude Diplomatique sur la Guerre de la Crimée* (two volumes, St. Petersburg, 1878), which as Friedjung himself tells us was prepared under Gortschakoff's direction in order to make out a case against Austria. The dispatches from the Austrian ministers abroad seem to be got mainly from the memoirs, etc., of these individuals; it will be remembered however that in almost every case these diplomats were partizans then and later, and that they published their diplomatic remains with controversial intent.

One would be almost justified in dismissing a study set before us in this manner with the remark that it is impossible to judge of its value. But after reading the book this seems too cavalier a proceeding with what is evidently not only a serious study but a remarkably effective one. It is a very clear and judicious analysis of the curious conditions of the conduct of Austrian foreign relations in the years 1853-1856; a most tangled web is handled with great skill and precision. On the whole the previously prevailing conclusions are not disturbed, though there is much additional light as to detail and some shifting of emphasis. That the Austrian administration was in incapable hands, that Austrian counsels were divided, that the Austrian policy was selfish and timid in the extreme, that nearly all the other powers were in turn alienated and that Austria emerged isolated in Europe; all this we knew before. But we are here given a careful analysis of the contending elements, and explanations of the Austrian point of view and of the unlucky turns through which the Austrian aims and methods were doomed constantly to make the worst possible impression. It is purely a diplomatic study, concerned wholly with those who conducted foreign relations for the moment; no information will be found on any other sides of the Austrian conditions. Necessarily it is to a considerable degree a study not only of the Austrian but of the European diplomacy of the Crimean War. While the book cannot be conclusive or even of great authority, it is of much interest and suggestiveness; the treatment is objective and the tone judicial, and in all probability the analysis of the situation and the representation of the course of events are entirely trustworthy. If this special study marks Herr Friedjung's transition from popular to scientific work, historical science may well welcome the accession; with however the warning that the passage does not appear to be yet fully accomplished.

VICTOR COFFIN.

La France et Guillaume II. Par VICTOR BÉRARD. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1907. Pp. ix, 315.)

M. VICTOR BÉRARD has brought together under the title *La France et Guillaume II.* a series of papers on Franco-German relations, which have already appeared in the *Revue de Paris*. It does not pretend to be a systematic treatise on diplomacy nor an impartial examination of the policy and measures of the German Emperor. It is on the

contrary an argument against the economic stability of Germany and a diatribe against the "Machiavellian" and "treacherous" diplomacy of Berlin—clear, suggestive, and entertaining, but hardly destined to escape the oblivion that overwhelms things printed. By conviction, M. Bérard is against imperialism of the Chamberlain and Rhodes type, but with Mr. Hobson and Mr. Reinsch he understands the pitiless pressure of economic forces in the expansion of Western Nations and he wastes no time on beatific dreams of *la petite France*. He studies the relations of France and the Emperor in the light of the conflict of interests in the world market-place.

His volume falls into three parts, the first of which is devoted to an examination of French colonial and foreign policy, French economic activities so far as they are related to external politics and finally the exigencies of French finance. On the first of the three points, he warns his countrymen that they have an eastern frontier as well as colonies and that they must keep their powder dry. He therefore rejoices in the Anglo-French *entente cordiale*, which has a foundation deeper than sentiment in reciprocal economic advantages. The German monopolists, he declares, are at cross purposes with the civilized world; their commerce and industry are in conflict with England and the United States; and their agriculture clashes with that of Russia and Austria. On finance and diplomacy, M. Bérard is more eloquent than convincing; he scorns the financiers and holders of foreign securities who sacrifice the honor and true interests of their country rather than endure a decline in stocks, but he will hardly keep them out of politics by suggesting that patriotism and poverty are more to be desired than truckling diplomacy and great riches. He admits that the exigencies of high finance were responsible for the resignation of Delcassé in the recent affair with Germany over Morocco—an affair which, he believes, will mark a turning-point in the national life of France.

M. Bérard's second book contains an analysis of German foreign and commercial policy as exemplified in South American enterprises—especially in the development of Venezuelan resources. The conclusion so far as the German emperor is concerned was foregone: brutality is odious to the French—they hold with the old-fashioned English radical that force is not a remedy. The German emperor, however, is troubled with no such scruples: "alors que l'humanité entière se met en marche vers une justice plus équitable, vers une paix fondée sur le droit, vers un bonheur démocratique, le seul Guillaume II. croit son destin lié à défense des vieilles choses, des crimes hamidiens, de la barbarie marocaine, de l'autocratie tsarienne, du 'péril jaune,' de la misère chinoise, de caporalisme, de la monarchie de droit divin". Despite this fact, however, the emperor's militarism and bravado will not avail him anything, because the competition of other nations brings ruin to German industries; the great Brazilian paradise has proved a desert and German trade with it fails to fulfil expectations; the other South Amer-

ican republics are hornets' nests guarded by the Yankee; Finland and Poland may become autonomous, Russia constitutional, Austria democratic and modern, Hungary and Slavonia federal, and the Balkans free and reformed;—finally the whole world except the Sultan is alarmed at his pretentious imperialism.

M. Bérard concludes with an examination of *Menaces et Offres Allemandes*, taking as his text a speech by von Bülow to the effect that any attempts to construct a circle of antagonistic powers and thus isolate Germany would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. This, according to our author, is just what is most likely to happen. A mutual understanding between Russia, England, and France is one of the probabilities of the near future, and Denmark and Norway will turn toward the west rather than to Prussian tyranny. The union of southern Europe will be even more easily accomplished: the Triple Alliance will die; German competition weighs heavily on Italian industries and shipping; Hungary rising rapidly to a position of industrial independence will resist the tutelage of both Vienna and Berlin; in the contest for the Levant trade, the merchants of Fiume and Trieste find formidable competitors in the ubiquitous German and no mere political alliance can effectively withstand the strain of trade war. Slavs, Magyars, and Latins are destined to be linked by economic interests and the future seems a happy one for the Frenchman. If brilliant hypothesis, carefully selected statistics, and ardent hopes were conclusive, this would be an impressive book. Whether its thesis is a prophecy or a delusion, the future alone can decide.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Letters and Recollections of George Washington. Edited by LOUISA LEAR EYRE. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 289.)

George Washington, Patriot, Soldier, Statesman, First President of the United States. By JAMES A. HARRISON. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. xxiii, 481.)

MRS. EYRE's volume comprises ninety-one letters from Washington to her grandfather, Tobias Lear, between the years 1790 and 1799, Lear's account of the last days of Washington, and one hundred and thirty-nine letters from Washington to various persons on matters connected with the private life of the writer of them. Very few of the letters in the book are included in either Ford's or Sparks's collections, no doubt for the reason that they do not deal with the more important public phase of the life of Washington. Moreover, most of them have been printed hitherto in special editions, which are not readily accessible to the student. Their publication in this popular form will confer a favor, therefore, on the public, although the present edition has the

serious shortcoming of having neither index, list of letters, nor explanatory notes. The text itself, so far as there is duplication of selections, shows unimportant variations from the two leading collections; and the forms given by Mrs. Eyre have the appearance of being the older ones. Of the Lear matter we are given by Mrs. Eyre a reproduction of the copies of the letters made by Benjamin Lincoln Lear for Sparks, who in his own collection, as is well known, made liberal corrections with the purpose of making Washington's style conform to modern standards. Mr. Ford adopted the better plan of making only those changes which a reasonable desire to avoid eccentricities would suggest. Mrs. Eyre's text conforms more closely to Ford's in those few letters which are included in both collections, and where there are variations her forms seem more antique, which raises the presumption that she has followed the originals with pretty fair exactness. But it must be said that the reviewer has not been able to compare her texts with the original letters, and that, of course, is the only means of coming to a sure judgment on this point.

The history of the letters to Lear is an interesting story, and one not easily attainable. The originals went after Lear's death to his son, Benjamin Lincoln Lear, who died intestate, leaving a widow and one daughter, Mrs. Eyre. When the widow died the daughter was in Europe. On her return she learned that the correspondence in question was in the hands of another relative, and brought suit to recover. Judgment was given for the other relative, but in the end the letters passed into the hands of the latter's lawyer, from whom they passed to his stepson, a recently prominent American literary man. The latter kept them together till his death, but since that event many of them have come into the hands of Mr. W. H. Bixby, of St. Louis, who has printed what he had in a limited edition. While the papers were in the hands of Benjamin Lincoln Lear, he made copies of the letters and of his father's account of the last days of Washington for Jared Sparks, who later presented these copies bound in a volume to Mrs. Eyre with an inscription which she has reproduced in the volume now under review. It is from this manuscript volume that she takes her text of the letters and the narrative as well.

It was inevitable that George Washington should come at last into the *Heroes of the Nations* series, but it is a little disappointing that his entrance should be made in so sorry a plight as in Professor Harrison's romantic volume. This author seems to write under the spell which John Esten Cooke by his *History of Virginia* casts over the old and unscientific school of Virginia historians. He presents his story in a wealth of fantasy which Cooke himself would never have used. President Woodrow Wilson has made for us a beautifully idealized portrait of Washington in the style of a master painter, Mr. Paul Leicester Ford has given us a satisfactory account of Washington's inner life in most of its phases, and Mr. Lodge and others have presented valuable and

sufficient stories of Washington in his varied public relations; but the present writer has done neither. His intimate relations do not touch the real Washington, his presentation of the man of public affairs has the least possible regard for the problems or conditions of the time, and his whole picture is unreal.

To be more specific: "The strong, controlled passion of a soul which strove in vain to spend itself on men and affairs, now, at twenty-six, turned its ardour [*sic*] towards a lovely woman who was, like the gallant colonel himself, a 'consummate flower' of the Virginia planter commonwealth" (p. 114). And again, "Having married a fashionable woman, a sensible 'nut-brown' maid . . . Washington felt it necessary to be fashionable too, in all his dress and appointments" (p. 129). Probably Professor Harrison is the first man to attribute Washington's care to make a good appearance to the influence of his "nut-brown maid" who at the time of her marriage was the mother of two children. Washington's presidency is given to us in one chapter of twenty-seven pages, the first six of which bring us through the inauguration ceremonies of 1789. In the remaining part of the chapter there is but the slightest grasp of the subject. We are told: "The dear old mother-country had erred grievously in her behaviour [*sic*] toward her child, but Washington, forgiving but not forgetting, could not bring himself to break with her, eminent as were the claims of France to his gratitude, when the French war came on in the nineties. He loved England too much to set himself against her, and this exceeding affection at last put Britain—reversing Scripture—into the position of the prodigal mother who, having spent her immeasurable wealth of colonies in riotous living, came to fall at the feet of her child and ask its pardon" (p. 429). The scriptural allusion may be above criticism, although to the reviewer it seems a little mixed; but we may well ask, when did England fall at the feet of America during either the presidency or the life-time of Washington? Was it at the time of the Jay treaty? Or was it at the time of the French difficulty—which was not a war—when she was still insisting on the right of impressment and smiling to see how near the prospect of war with France was bringing, not England to America's feet, but America to England's?

A History of the People of the United States, From the Revolution to the Civil War. Volume VI., 1830–1842. By JOHN BACH MCMASTER of the University of Pennsylvania. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1906. Pp. xviii, 658.)

BETWEEN the second war with England and the era of the Civil War there is one period which has been the favorite study of historians, and there is one typical character, the strenuous hero of that generation, who has always possessed an unfailing attraction for biographers. That period is the decade which scarcely contains the first three presi-

dential administrations of a triumphant new democracy. That character, of course, is, not the persuasive Clay nor the Titan Webster, but Andrew Jackson, idol of the common people. To that period and to that character Professor McMaster's study of our national development has now come. This sixth volume, comprising chapters LIV. to LXX., inclusive, of the whole work, is devoted almost entirely to a continuous and thorough analysis of political events, forces, and controversies during the presidencies of Jackson and Van Buren. A single concluding chapter begins the narrative of John Tyler's first stormy year, and drops it abruptly as the fruit of the first great victory of the Whigs was turning into Apples of Sodom upon their lips.

The first two chapters (LIV., LV.) present the familiar topics of Jackson's war against the Bank, the beginnings of the nullification movement, and the states'-rights discussions that sprang up over the propositions to sell the public lands, and to seize the Indian lands in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Eight chapters (LVII.-LXIV.) contain the story of Jackson's second administration, with the elections of 1832 and 1836. Along this well-beaten path we find the controversies over the tariff and the end of Nullification, the removal of the deposits, the battle of "hard" and "soft" money which gave to Benton his picturesque sobriquet, the rise of anti-monopoly and abolition parties and the Southern wrath on account of anti-slavery petitions in Congress, the war between Texas and Mexico, the debates over the proposition to distribute the proceeds of the sales of public lands and the concomitant extravagances of speculation and of "internal improvements".

One chapter alone (LVI.) is professedly devoted to sketches, all too brief, of social conditions and movements in this period. The author reviews here the growth of anti-slavery sentiment and agitation, the upheaval of "Native American" antagonism to the evils of unrestricted immigration, the effect of railways and canals upon commercial and industrial progress, and the evidences of a gradual improvement in moral standards, as shown in prison reform and other projects of amelioration for which, although the author does not say so, we owed much to European example and leadership. It is instructive to observe how the age of the new democracy was an age of mob violence. The lack of unity between social classes was more marked than it now is. On one hand there was a racial revulsion against the first wave of Irish peasant immigration, and, on another, a strong moral revulsion against alleged injustice, first, politically, of Masonry and, next, of slavery. Democracy, confronted by problems that Jefferson had not solved, was compelled to re-define its political philosophy and to rediscover its conscience.

An interesting episode is revealed in the story of the boundary dispute between Michigan and Ohio, involving the territory wherein the city of Toledo now stands. An account of the origins and spread of Mormonism loses somewhat in interest and force from desultory treat-

ment, and a similar difficulty, possibly almost unavoidable, weakens the narrative of the attempts to secure the Oregon country by colonization.

Five chapters (LXV.-LXIX.) describe the plucky struggle of Van Buren and his advisers against abounding adversity. First comes the panic of 1837 and a long analysis of the opinions of party leaders and journalists concerning its cause and cure. Another chapter ranges over the boundary disputes from Maine to Oregon and to Texas, and shows how the administration braved unpopularity in trying to preserve a correct attitude toward the Canadian rebels on the one hand and the British government on the other. Chapter LXVII. portrays the slave power striking down Elijah Lovejoy at Alton and closing the door of the House of Representatives to anti-slavery petitions. A continuation of the same subjects in the following chapter incidentally gives an excellent account of the "Buckshot war" in Pennsylvania, the "Broad Seal war" in New Jersey and the "Aroostook war" in Maine, three controversies of illustrative character which are usually described only in obscure allusions. In chapter LXIX. is retold the always interesting story of the fantastic presidential campaign of 1840. Although the author usually contrives to avoid the temptation to employ his gift of humor, we do catch glimpses here of the frenzied battalion of Greeley's "scrambling mob of coon-minstrels and cider-suckers".

The last chapter (LXX.) although entitled "The Quarrel with Tyler", deals more at length with such affairs as the Amistad case, the trial of Alexander McLeod, and the chaos of currency in the West and South than with the avowed subject.

The volume before us presents a coherent, comprehensive, and illuminating narrative. It is not a series of monographs, but gives the impression of the progressive development of national powers in relation to one another. The most striking feature of Professor McMaster's work in this, as in other volumes, is the prominence given to careful abstracts of congressional speeches and important public documents, and also of editorial articles in influential journals. This patient dissection of actual arguments on both sides of every controversy becomes at once an excellence and a danger. It must undoubtedly win the appreciation of the student, if not of the general reader; but there is danger that what is gained in minuteness or subtlety of appreciation may sometimes be lost in sustained interest and dramatic force.

Despite the prominence given to speeches, however, the reader obtains few clear impressions of the speechmakers. Attention is steadily directed to the incidents of the play rather than to the actors. In the work of Schouler, thus far our author's principal competitor, rather the reverse is true. When one remembers what masterful personalities spun the web of the story that Professor McMaster unfolds, it seems a little surprising, though not disappointing, that one so seldom sees the actual men moving here among the threads.

It is strange that the birth and growth of the modern metropolitan press in New York city finds no place in this chronicle. Amid so many summaries of editorials how could the development of an institutional press be overlooked! The period with which this volume deals saw the culmination of the influence of the great party organs in Albany, Washington, and Richmond, and the inception of the cheap dailies that gradually overtopped all others and revolutionized the journalistic profession. Of the three cheap dailies that succeeded in these first attempts to bring news to the multitude, and the multitude to the news, the *Sun* was started in 1833 as a paper for working people, the *Herald*, in 1835, as the first real newspaper in the country, but with only one principle, "We have never been in a minority and we never shall be"; and the *Tribune*, in 1841, as a mouthpiece for advanced ideals of righteousness upheld by one of the most remarkable personalities in our history.

A few typographical errors have been noted, as *Newburne* for *Newbern* (p. 74), *campagn* (p. 115), *Greeley* for *Greely* (p. 513). In the account of the imbroglio with France on page 236, the reference to King Charles obviously should be changed to King Louis Philippe.

The volume contains three maps, one of the independent Republic of Texas, one of the United States in 1838, and one showing the distribution, east of the 100th meridian, of the population of the United States in 1840.

C. H. LEVERMORE.

The American Nation: A History., Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XVI. *Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841.* By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. With Maps. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xv, 360.)

ALTHOUGH so much has been written on the difficult topic of American slavery both before and since the Civil War, conditions that might seem ideal for the historian of the general subject of slavery in America are unfortunately not yet present. An accurate and full knowledge of its local history in all the American political communities that supported the institution is still so far from complete that safe and final generalizations on slavery as a whole and the vital questions to which it gave rise are not readily made. The controversial nature of these questions only enhances the historical task, so that the appearance of a work that appreciates and attempts fairly to present both sides of the discussion is refreshing and stimulating.

Professor Hart has approached his subject in a catholic spirit and has written in a clear and interesting style a book which will be recognized as a valuable contribution to the literature of the anti-slavery movement. The slavery controversy is the central theme in the author's mind, rather than the details of the institution, though the latter are described at some length because of their causal character. His expressed intention is

"to show that there was more than one side to the controversy, and that both the milder form of opposition called anti-slavery and the extremer form called abolition were confronted by practical difficulties which to many public-spirited and conscientious men seemed insurmountable". The record of the overcoming of these difficulties through political intervention is left for subsequent volumes in the series, while this one, as a special monograph emphasizing the social and moral issues of slavery, supplies the blank on that subject purposely left in Professor MacDonald's excellent study of *Jacksonian Democracy*.

From this point of view a unity and balance of treatment is well sustained except in the particular of the inclusion of the chapter on the "Panic of 1837". However necessary the financial events of Van Buren's administration there related may be to the general plan of the series, no additional light is thrown on the slavery question. The first three chapters (48 pp.) of the book parallel the social, intellectual, and commercial conditions of the North and of the South, somewhat to the disadvantage of the latter, and supply the background for the division and contest of sentiment. This portion of the book introduces the first phase of the question, slavery and the Southern economic and social system, described in the following six chapters (87 pp.) with reference to the classes, whites, free negroes, and slaves both on the plantation and as to the slave mart. The remainder of the text (chapters x.-xxi.), a little more than half of the book, is devoted to the slavery controversy and the results of abolition; stating and estimating the arguments *pro* and *con*, and giving an account of the rise and progress of abolitionism, of the split between the branches of abolitionists, and of the attitude of the states, nation, and certain foreign powers to the movement opposed to slavery. A final chapter (xxii.) contains a well systematized bibliography with some critical comment, comprising the selected authorities, exclusive of the author's personal acquaintance and inquiries in the South, upon which the work is based. There are six illustrative maps and a frontispiece, a full length portrait of John Quincy Adams, the "inveterate defender of the sanctity of petitions". A few manifestly typographical errors are to be noted, p. 25, l. 20; p. 283, l. 21; p. 295, l. 10.

Events are followed in the main from 1830 to 1841, but in a number of instances, especially in the first half of the book, it has been found necessary for clearness to trace movements such as enslavement, slave trade, or anti-slavery from origin to a culmination in 1850 or 1860. Professor Hart says (p. 50) that "the English settlers at once began to enslave their Indian neighbors", but he escapes the almost universal error of identifying the institution of slavery in America with the few negro servants imported into Virginia in 1619. The use of the term "slaves", however, as applied to convicts (p. 49), in view of his statements on servitude (pp. 49, 76), cannot be intended to be taken literally. Though he has no greater sympathy for slavery than the thinking

Southerner of to-day, he candidly admits that in practice the system contained features that were good.

Exhaustive and expansive crops like tobacco and cotton, as well as the land and labor systems which developed with them and of which they were in part the cause, were of importance in producing the static and non-self-sustaining condition of Southern agriculture prior to 1860, and the author remembers (p. 169) that slave labor was negro labor and that at least one charge against the form of labor organization, that it was uneconomic, is not wholly sustained by "the experience of the last forty years". In a brief but suggestive chapter on the free negro a conclusion is reached that his criminality both in the North and in the South was "far above" his numerical proportion, and that though subjected to discriminations and a "fearful potentiality of punishment" the well-behaved and industrious free negroes were "probably little disturbed".

The strongest part of the book is the latter half, in which, through the description and analysis of the argument in slavery polemics and apologetics, the mental attitude of the disputants is made clear. New light is thrown on the history of anti-slavery sentiment and organization prior to 1829, and the relative importance and success of the Garrisonian and non-Garrisonian abolitionists in attaining the great end by their widely different methods and aims is so well stated as to materially modify the traditional view of the typical abolitionist which is current at the South. The radical Garrison, reputed head of the moral movement, was not necessary to its ultimate success, rather it was conservatives of New England, the Middle States, and the West that furnished the practical brains and sinews of war and turned what might have remained a mere moral crusade and philosophic propaganda, important though this was, into political anti-slavery, effective as an organic process in current events rather than as philosophic propaganda. The theory of impelling the South by "moral suasion" or the force of organized outside opinion to self-action was impracticable and as little understood perhaps at the South as the real conditions of slavery were understood at the contemporary North; but abolitionists, though beyond the Underground Railroad accomplishing little to mitigate or limit slavery, convinced the North that slavery "was not only harmful to the South but contrary to their own interests", and in laying hold of the positive principle of free discussion as opposed to the southern plea for silence and *laissez faire* they had an immense advantage in the controversy.

Aside from a sometimes too literal following of authorities where opinion rather than fact is stated, Professor Hart has given us the best general description and study of the social and moral aspects of the American slavery controversy that has yet appeared.

J. C. BALLAGH. .

John Sherman. By THEODORE E. BURTON. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1906. Pp. vi, 449.)

THERE has been a reasonable expectation that this new life, published in the *American Statesmen* series, would add materially to the knowledge of the character and career of Sherman, but unfortunately this hope is disappointed. If the author had access to private papers and letters, there is little evidence in this volume. Disappointment is the more keen because there are many passages in Sherman's life which require explanation for a clear understanding of the course of political events. The work is more a financial history than a biography of Sherman; as a history of taxation, national banking, silver, and government indebtedness, it is a sober and careful presentation; but pages, if not chapters, follow in rapid succession with hardly a reference to Sherman's influence on the life of his time. In many ways it is simply a condensation of Sherman's own *Recollections of Forty Years*, lacking, however, the frank and open judgments of men and motives which Sherman freely expressed. Possibly the author was overwhelmed by the mass of historical matter so near to his own life-time, and felt the necessity of arranging it in an orderly narrative; if so, he has done it at the sacrifice of personal detail. In this the book does not bear favorable comparison with Stanwood's *Blaine*, published in the same series. If these biographies are to win appreciation they must rely upon the assumption that the reader has acquaintance with the historical events of the period, and it is therefore to be hoped that in the succeeding volumes of the series, the authors will not feel the obligation of a restatement of national politics, but will devote a larger share of the necessarily limited space to a portraiture of character and to the molding influence of these characters upon these general policies. For example, pages 88-106 cover an account of the financial legislation of the Civil War with not a single reference to Sherman; in chapter VI., containing twenty-five pages of taxation, loans, and the national banking system, there are eighteen pages in which Sherman's name does not appear even by indirect reference; and in succeeding chapters on the Reconstruction period, at least two-thirds might with equal propriety be included in any volume of general history of post-bellum conditions.

Too often when Sherman is brought upon the stage, it is through long quotations from speeches taken from the *Congressional Record*. In vain one looks for any account of Sherman's reported activity in seeking Southern delegates for the presidential nomination; or, for an analysis of the complications in Ohio politics which perplex the general reader and make it difficult to understand the varying fortunes of the statesmen of that commonwealth. It is not idle curiosity or desire for amusement on the part of the reader to wish for more quotations from correspondence like the one given on page 296. In 1880 Sherman wrote: "The nomination of Arthur is a ridiculous burlesque, and I am

afraid was invited by the desire to defeat the ticket." Possibly it is too early as yet to publish much of Sherman's correspondence, but a gleaning of the newspapers would have given a large amount of color which could be justifiably used in the preparation of a biography. As a history of national politics in the last quarter-century, the volume is highly creditable. Criticism is directed against the editorial plan of the publishers rather than to individual shortcomings of Mr. Burton.

DAVIS R. DEWEY.

Life of Edward H. Rollins: a Political Biography. By JAMES O. LYFORD. (Boston: Dana Estes and Company. 1906. Pp. viii, 547.)

THE subject of this biography was a prominent figure in the political life of New Hampshire from 1854 to 1884. Although he early entered upon a business career and served as treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad during the most critical years of its history, the scope of this volume makes its sub-title, *A Political Biography*, accurate. Edward H. Rollins was the efficient organizer of the Republican party in New Hampshire, the way for which had been prepared by John P. Hale, Amos Tuck, and their Free Soil associates, and the successful manager, as chairman of its state committee, of its campaigns for twenty years. Endowed with keen political instinct, talent for organization and leadership of men, he rose to the highest political honors of his state, being successively speaker of the New Hampshire legislature, member of Congress for three terms (1861-1867) and United States senator (1877-1883). The portrayal of his life reveals a practical politician of much strength with some of the defects of his class and a legislator who served well his day and generation.

The story of such a career naturally includes a brief account of each of the political campaigns in New Hampshire from 1855 to 1883, sketches of the chief actors in both parties and the part played by each, and as the author says, "has afforded opportunity for collecting and preserving facts connected with the political history of New Hampshire for this period, which, except for a work of this kind, are not likely to be gathered together". The addition of this material gives the book its largest value for most readers, and makes it in effect a narrative history of New Hampshire politics during the generation named. The campaigns described are of more than local interest. New Hampshire, the home of President Pierce, wrested from Democratic control in 1855 by the Know-Nothing coalition under Rollins's leadership, long remained a doubtful state. Further, its election, held annually in March until 1878 and so the first of the year in any part of the Union, made New Hampshire a pivotal state. Hence both political parties sought to win this election for its national effect, and these campaigns were fought largely on national issues. One result of this almost constant

political struggle and the nearly even division of the voters between the Republican and Democratic parties was to intensify political feeling as perhaps in no other New England state, and explains the exceptionally strong party organizations of New Hampshire during that period.

The numerous sketches of the political friends and opponents of Mr. Rollins have been penned with charity, and some perhaps disclose fewer wrinkles and warts than the actual faces of these battling politicians revealed to their contemporaries. The brief sketch given on page 44 of Ruel Durkee, who is popularly assumed to have been the original of Jethro Bass, one of the chief figures in Winston Churchill's famous novel, *Coniston*, is of especial interest.

Scant reference is made to the political ethics of the period, and the reader will regret the omission of a fuller statement of the policies of the two great contending parties during these eventful years. Occasionally extracts from the resolutions of their respective conventions are quoted, and it may be suggested that an appendix reprinting the party platforms in full from 1856 to 1886 would be a more valuable document than that giving the names of the members of the state committees of those parties which forms Appendix 2. The author has made use of the best sources, Senator Rollins's letter-books and correspondence, the official records of the Republican state committee for the years 1858, 1859, 1860, from which interesting extracts are made (see "Votes", "laying assessments for campaign expenses upon Congressmen and state judges", pp. 80-87), newspaper files and legislative documents. His style is clear and graceful, and skill is shown in the selection and arrangement of salient facts, as well as due sense of proportion. It is the only book which has thus far appeared which gives a clear, orderly and accurate narrative of the political life of New Hampshire during this important epoch, and by his painstaking labor Mr. Lyford has made a distinct contribution to the history of the state.

JAMES F. COLBY.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XX. *The Appeal to Arms.* By JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, LL.D. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xvi, 354.)

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXI. *Outcome of the Civil War.* By JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, LL.D. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. Pp. xiv, 352.)

THESE books might bear more felicitous titles. "Appeal to Arms" suggests the mere opening of the war, and "Outcome" the end or the results. "The Civil War, Volume I." and "The Civil War, Volume II." would tell exactly what the works contain. Each volume has an introduction by the editor and a preface by the author. *The Appeal to*

Arms, in twenty-one chapters, covers the history through Gettysburg and Vicksburg; *The Outcome*, eighteen chapters, brings us to the end. The chapter-division is original and true to the matter. Relatively more attention than in most histories of the period is paid to Civil War politics, finance, social conditions, and diplomacy, and to naval operations on inland waters, all of which subjects are ably discussed. The style throughout is clear and vivacious. Each volume has a well-made index, also a critical essay, constituting a chapter, on authorities. This Civil War bibliography is probably the most valuable extant. We miss in it no document worth mentioning unless it is *Pickett and his Men*, by Mrs. Pickett. The maps look bare but are really the clearer for this paucity of detail. A few lucid plans to each great battle, like those in Mr. Ropes's war books, would much improve Mr. Hosmer's accounts.

They need such aid the more since in them appears the sole important literary blemish which these pages betray, a certain appearance of fullness tending to make readers think they understand a battle when in fact only a sketch or a compend is intended. Either a little more amplitude or the same or greater brevity distinctly avowed would add value to the exposition. The defect referred to is illustrated by the description of Second Bull Run. The unknowing reader quite misses the rationale of this brilliant and scientific battle and thinks of Lee as simply "pitching in". Such a false appearance of fundamentality extends to a few other discussions, like that of the origination of the war in chapter 1. of *The Appeal to Arms*. No satisfactory aetiology of the secession movement is disclosed here or anywhere in the book.

Yet Mr. Hosmer's history must be pronounced critical. He writes from the sources and in the light of the best comments. He utilizes his material well and uses it with care. He hardly ever betrays bias, Trojan and Tyrian alike receiving due praise and due blame. Lee, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan are appreciated yet shown not to have been infallible either as commanders or as men. Refreshing fairness marks observations upon Halleck, McClellan, McDowell, Buel, Joseph E. Johnston, and Longstreet, each of whom it has been the fashion in certain circles to belittle or to vilify. One would have welcomed similar appreciation for D. H. Hill, so "tenacious of his battle" at Antietam. In Schofield, too, our author does not see quite all there was. The victor of Franklin, Sherman's right hand in North Carolina, he calls just "a good soldier", by profession a teacher, like Garfield and J. L. Chamberlain. To his credit Hosmer espies in Nathan B. Forrest "some of the qualities of a great commander", though in calling him "probably the only very conspicuous Confederate who came directly from private life", he for the moment forgets John B. Gordon. Pope receives a kindly word, his lamentable manifesto, so unworthy of a capable leader, being represented as "drafted under the dictation in substance, of Mr. Stanton; and one sees in the background the figure of Ben Wade, chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War,

and other similar impetuous spirits, fuming over the catastrophes that had come to pass, and dinning into the ears of the new general their demands for an able and aggressive course”.

Touching references are made to poor, brave Hood. “It throws an interesting light upon the men with whom we are dealing to read that a few days before his death, as they were riding together, the bishop (Rt. Rev. Lieut-Gen. Leonidas Polk) was told by his fellow lieutenant-general, Hood, that he had never been received into the communion of the church, and he begged that the rite might be performed. The bishop arranged for the ceremony at once—at Hood’s headquarters, a tallow candle giving light, the font a tin basin on the mess-table. The staff were there as witnesses; Hood, ‘with a face like that of an old crusader’, stood before the bishop. Crippled by wounds received at Gaines’s Mill, at Gettysburg, and at Chickamauga, the warrior could not kneel, but bent forward on his crutches. The bishop, not robed, but girt with his soldier’s belt, administered the rite. A few days later (Joseph E.) Johnston was baptized in the same simple way. Now the bishop’s time had come: June 14, while reconnoitring on Pine Mountain, a Federal cannon-ball struck him full upon the breast and his life of devotion was ended.”

As a piece of historical work Mr. Hosmer’s performance will rank high. It possesses every one of the historical merits usually named and is an invaluable accession to Civil War literature. Nearly every chapter thrills the reader with the most intense interest. At a few points, however, slight changes would make the statements more acceptable.

Only the most positive evidence can justify so much as the suggestion that Stonewall’s tardiness at Cold Harbor was owing to his refusal to march on Sunday. Cooke, Henderson, White and Dabney explain otherwise. Hood led Stonewall’s van, eager as always for fight. Had a “camp meeting” held him back he would surely have remembered and recorded the fact. Stonewall fought at Kernstown on a Sunday, where he was the attacking party.

The troops of Buford who met Heth (*Appeal*, p. 289) the first day at Gettysburg were *west* of the town rather than *north*. Heth was marching from Cashtown.

The account of Southern society at the outbreak of the war (*ibid.*, p. 7) minimizes too much the middle class of whites. The border states in particular contained many white men in moderate circumstances owning perhaps a few slaves each, also some land, whom no one ever thought of as “poor whites”.

The spectacled Massachusetts corporal just from college (*ibid.*, p. 11) and the Arkansas sharpshooter who “had probably never seen a city and could read and write only imperfectly” were not to any extent typical Northern and Southern soldiers. Take the two armies as wholes, West and East, the South had scarcely any appreciable su-

periority in marksmanship or other backwoods talent. City boys predominated in but very few Northern regiments. In most others a majority of the soldiers had from early years used firearms, ridden horseback, and often slept in the open at night.

General Cox's strange judgment disparaging West Point training as a preparation for Civil War officers seems to us unworthy even of notice. The author gives it considerable attention though in the end he refutes it thoroughly enough. If some of Forrest's operations and the capture of Fort Fisher be excepted, hardly a piece of work by a civilian general in all the war was brilliant or decisive. Cox is no doubt right in deeming the course at old West Point narrow and shallow but he undervalues the *esprit* there imbibed.

While Mr. Hosmer sets forth with remarkable fullness the Confederacy's military and naval doings, paralleling those of the Union to an extent leaving nothing to be desired, its internal and civil history is not presented in a detail at all comparable with that allowed the corresponding phases of history on the side of the North. Southern war legislation and diplomacy, the acts and attitudes of Southern states and statesmen, party leanings and squabbles, and other such topics, receive rather scanty consideration. Paucity of material partly accounts for and justifies this, but there would seem to be a further reason, a word or two upon which shall end this review.

Though meant to be perfectly fair, as we have said, and in nearly all particulars actually fair, what Mr. Hosmer has written is a Northern history after all. To his credit as a patriot he cannot wholly forget that he wore the blue. His soldier passion has cooled, while life and study have broadened his mind and his sympathies. Generous, thoroughly informed, honorable, never intentionally or reprehensibly partizan, still it is only with effort that he succeeds in carrying his point of view across Mason and Dixon's line. He can use the word "rebel".

The work under examination, therefore, while an excellent record so far as it goes and on the whole the best Civil War history yet written, is too little objective to serve as the final history of that war. We do not go so far as to demand that this great episode in our national life be written upon as a mere phase of biology, yet we shall never present it quite triumphantly till we both see and feel that the secession movement was, no less truly than the spirit and measures frustrating it, a logical outgrowth of our constitution, a result which our history and conditions rendered inevitable. Passion did not originate it, and even if it had done so the nature and power of that passion would still remain to be explained.

E. BENJ. ANDREWS.

Reconstruction in North Carolina. By J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON. (Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards and Broughton. 1906. Pp. 264.)

THE work under review is the latest published result of those investigations in the field of Reconstruction history which were begun some years ago under the direction of Professor Dunning of Columbia University. If carried to completion Dr. Hamilton's promises to be one of the most useful of those studies. In North Carolina as in other Southern states the Reconstruction can be explained only after an examination of ante-bellum and Civil War conditions, so in this work Dr. Hamilton has first given a summary of political conditions before 1865, with special reference to the development of the secession movement and to the rise of a peace party during the war. The second chapter is devoted to an account of the two attempts at reconstruction during the war—one by natives from within, the other an attempt by President Lincoln to set up the Stanley government. Social and economic conditions at the close of the war are also described in order to complete the background of the Reconstruction. The remainder of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the "Johnson" government, its overthrow by Congress, and the inauguration of the new régime under the Reconstruction Acts. The volume closes with the second coming into power of Governor W. W. Holden in 1868, leaving for later treatment the working out in North Carolina of the congressional plan of Reconstruction.

In making this study the author has evidently exhausted the material relating to his subject. He has used not only the stock sources, but it seems that he has made an examination of practically all of the newspapers of the state, and of the manuscript archives of the state—a source that none of those who have previously worked in the Reconstruction field have been able to explore. To the reviewer it appears that the use of these sources has been careful and the interpretation judicious. The material has been digested and condensed in order to avoid overloading the text with details. A more extended use of the correspondence in the better Northern newspapers would have given sidelights upon conditions in North Carolina that could not be had from local newspapers.

A work of this kind must, of course, go again over ground already partially explored by previous workers on similar subjects. The marked originality of Dr. Hamilton's treatment consists in its being an account of affairs in North Carolina, a state of the Upper South which had its own peculiar problems, distinct from those of the Lower South which have been already described. In North Carolina the problem of the negro, for instance, was far from being as grave as in the Lower South. This allows other factors to become more important and makes possible a marked political division of the whites before, during, and after the war. Dr. Hamilton does his best work in his treatment of

the shifting of political parties and leaders during the decade before 1868. A similar work must be performed for each other reconstructed state before a clear understanding of Reconstruction and of present politics can be had.

Some points are worthy of special mention: the author emphasizes the continuing influences of the ante-bellum rivalry of Whig and Democrat; the curious fact is clearly brought out that some of the radical secessionist leaders not only soon wanted peace, but later strongly opposed negro suffrage and finally became leaders of the negro party—W. W. Holden of North Carolina and F. J. Moses of South Carolina are types; the conservatives, largely Whigs, effected secession at the last, fought the war, formed the "Johnson" governments, and later organized the Democratic party—so that in North Carolina even more than in other Southern states the present Democratic party rests on a Whig foundation.

In criticism of the work little can be said. The influence of secret societies in forming the negro party was, as the author says, important, yet this point is not developed; in discussing the number of North Carolina troops in the Confederate army (p. 35) the total enrollment is given, not the number of individuals; and since there was such a close relation between the number of negroes in a community and the politics of the whites in that locality, it would have been well if the author had shown more clearly the differences between the black and the white counties, especially since the geographic, social, and political sectionalism of North Carolina was more complicated than that in other Southern states. However, it is possible that in the second volume these matters are to be dealt with, and the neglect of them in this volume does not prevent it from being the most useful treatment of state politics during the period.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XXXIX., 1683-1690. Vol. XL., 1690-1691. Vol. XLI., 1691-1700. Vol. XLII., 1670-1700. Vol. XLIII., 1670-1700. Vol. XLIV., 1700-1736. Vol. XLV., 1736. Vol. XLVI., 1721-1739. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1906, 1907. Pp. 303, 473, 324, 313, 319, 313, 331, 376.)

VOLUMES XXXIX.-XLIII. of this series, so far as their documents follow the strict chronological order, are occupied with the last two decades of the seventeenth century. More space in these five volumes is occupied, however, with extracts from missionary chronicles covering practically the entire second half of that century, and with appendices giving ethnological descriptions of the Filipinos in general and of the relations of the Spaniards with the Moros, including documents coming down to the last years of Spanish rule in the Philippines.

The narration of Dampier, concluded in volume XXXIX., falls properly under this last head. Dampier is not very reliable as to Philippine geography, but his accounts of the Magindanaos and of the inhabitants of the Batanes Islands, among both of which peoples he and his companions stopped for some time, are interesting throughout, and contain points of value for ethnologist and historian. The fifty-page appendix on "Moro Pirate Raids" in volume XLI. is excellent for its abstracts and its condensed bibliographical information. In this connection, the map (*circa* 1700) of Magendanao (Mindanao) by Fakynolano, elder brother of the Sultan, reproduced from the original in the British Museum, deserves notice. The selections from Friar Combés (1667) in volume XL. deal with the natives of the southern islands, and especially with the Moros. Combés's work is valuable as a history of Spanish operations in the Moro territory, but he is an untrustworthy guide as to the customs of the people, lacking totally the spirit or interest of the scientific observer. The annotations here drawn from Blumentritt and Retana (both of them strangers to Mindanao and the Moros) and from Father Pastells are never of much value and are often unreliable. The nineteenth-century letters from Jesuit missionaries in Mindanao, printed in volume XLIII., are of interest but of scant scientific value. This volume's appendix contains 65 pages reprinted from the *Narrative* of Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842, this extract dealing especially with Sulu and the first official relations of the United States with that archipelago. In a foot-note on page 187 is reproduced the English text of Lieutenant Wilkes's treaty with the Sultan of Sulu regarding the treatment to be accorded to ships and traders from the United States.

The "ethnological appendices" which occupy nearly all of volumes XL. and XLIII. deal mainly, however, with the Filipinos of the Christianized provinces. Of the authorities here translated or abstracted, the Jesuit Colín (1663) easily leads. It must be remembered, however, that he wrote a century after the conquest, and moreover he rarely indicates to the reader whether he is testifying as to primitive Filipino civilization, customs, etc., from his own observations or from the writings of earlier chroniclers. The extracts from Friar San Antonio (1738) are valueless on this score, being a mere jumble of data drawn from Plasencia, Colín, Combés and others. Likewise the review of the peoples of the Philippines by Friar Zúñiga (1803) is remarkable chiefly for being fantastic. It is interesting to compare (volume XLIII.) the similarity of the Filipino superstitions described by Friar Ortiz (1731) with those shown to be still persisting, even in central Luzon, by a Filipino writer of 1905. Friar San Agustín's famous letter (1720) on Filipino characteristics is well presented, with both sides of the subject brought out in comments and selections from the Jesuits, Murillo Velarde and Delgado, and others, in volume XL.

The friar-chronicles here translated and abstracted are: Recollect

history, 1661-1712, by Father Assis (compared as to Mindoro and Zambales missions, with the later history of Father Concepción); Augustinian history, 1670-1700, by Father Díaz; and Dominican missions in Zambales, Pangasinan and Kagayan, 1669-1700, by Father Salazar. Among these, Father Assis easily leads as a historian, and his compilation contains a good fund of miscellaneous information, shedding light upon religious and ecclesiastical conditions, Spanish administration and trade, and even upon the life of the people. Few and far between are such items given by the tedious Father Díaz, chronicler of chapter happenings, and, even as abstracted, one must regard the space he occupies as in great part wasted.

Among the various documents in strict chronological order, those in volume XXXIX. presenting the contest of Archbishop Pardo (1681-1689) with civil authorities and ecclesiastical seculars, and those in volume XLII. presenting the controversy over Archbishop Camacho's attempt to enforce episcopal visitation of the friars' parishes, are of prime importance; and they have been well presented and annotated. The Pardo controversy is of interest as a contest not over principles, but over personalities in the main, and because it reveals the state of jealousy between civil and ecclesiastical authority, between regular and secular ecclesiastics, and among the orders themselves. The Camacho controversy involved an important principle, which was not, however, decisively settled in practice till later in Philippine history.

Volumes XLIV.-XLVI. are taken up for the most part with the continuation of Alvarez de Abreu's *Extracto Historial*, bringing the history of Philippine commerce down to 1736, and the translations and compilations regarding education in the Philippines throughout the entire period of Spanish rule. Among the documents which carry along the chronological record, the letter of Master-of-Camp Santisteban (1730) is what the modern editor would call a document of "human interest", though its revelations of Philippine politics and trade as affected by cliques and intrigues in Spain, Mexico, and the islands themselves furnish material for the historian only upon the sordid side of man's nature. If the story of Governor Bustamante's assassination were to be reproduced, one would wish to see both sides quite fully presented; here we have only the glossed-over accounts of the archbishop, of a Jesuit, and of the Augustinian friar, Concepción. Yet the abstract of this period from Concepción's history only tells us that he "gives the principal items of revenue and expenditure at this time" (1718); one would prefer to have that "budget" from Concepción, with only a bibliography, if space failed, of the Bustamante scandal. At any rate, Montero y Vidal's account of this episode should have been mentioned.

The *Extracto Historial* of Alvarez de Abreu is a work of prime value, and a service has been performed by its reproduction in this series. It sheds light on the details of the galleon trade, on Spain's bad economic policy, the failure to develop Philippine internal trade and resources

(only 30,000 *pesos* yearly of Philippine products being sent to Acapulco about 1720), the question of the *situado*, or subsidy from Mexico, etc. Still we do not get exact details on the system of government book-keeping as between Mexico and the Philippines. We do learn that the net payments in cash from the Mexican treasury to the Philippine treasury ranged from 73,000 to 93,000 *pesos* annually during the years 1723-1731.

The appendix on "Education in the Philippines", occupying most of volumes XLV. and XLVI., forms, together with documents previously published in this same series, and with its very carefully prepared bibliographical data and annotations, by far the best treatment of that subject available in any work. In fact, there is no other comprehensive treatment of this subject to compare with it. It is a most praiseworthy piece of editorial work.

JAMES A. LEROY.

MINOR NOTICES

Mr. Garret Chatfield Pier has issued the first part (University of Chicago Press, 1906, pp. 23, 21 plates) of a catalogue of his collection of Egyptian antiquities. The catalogue will extend through several volumes. The antiquities catalogued in this part have been acquired by the author since 1897. They consist chiefly of domestic implements and ornaments, and notably of seals, the development of which, in their various forms and materials, is here traced and illustrated. In the plates the most remarkable pieces of glazeware are colored, and the attempt is made to reproduce the softened tones of their present condition. The stone implements figured in the catalogue are representative specimens from a large collection, the majority of which are Fayum surface finds. A specimen of every common Fayum type, and a few of the more unusual forms, are given. The provenance of some of the antiquities is unknown, and in the case of many others, information on this point is confined to the statements of dealers and Arabs.

The Roman System of Provincial Administration to the Accession of Constantine the Great. By W. T. Arnold, M.A. New edition, revised from the author's notes by E. S. Shuckburgh, Litt.D. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1906, pp. xviii, 288.) The merits of this work are too well known to need mention here. No one has described in so concise, attractive and trustworthy a fashion as Arnold has done the functions of the general and local governments in the provinces, the strong and the weak points of Roman rule, the development of imperial policy, and the influence of expansion upon domestic politics. It remains for us here merely to note the changes which have been made in the book for the new edition, and to consider whether it reflects our present knowledge of the subject. So far as the body of the text is concerned it is essen-

tially a reprint of the first edition. A few foot-notes have been added, and some of the old ones enlarged, but even in this matter the policy of the editor has been very conservative, as one can see by reading page 101, note 1, or page 150, note 5. It was a great loss to scholars that Arnold did not live to revise his work in the way in which he probably would have wished to revise it. He could have given us a more adequate treatment of the provincial budget, of the administration of justice, of the army in the provinces, of the imperial cult, and of the importance of the concilia. More to be regretted still is the editor's failure to study the great system of Roman military roads, and to make such a résumé of the work of the Limes commissions in Germany and Austria as Kornemann has lately drawn up (*cf. Klio*, VII. [1907], pp. 73-121) in his article on *Die neueste Limesforschung im Lichte d. römisch-kaiserlichen Grenzpolitik*. The work in the main is thoroughly trustworthy, but the chapter on taxation needs careful revision. The *patrimonium Caesaris* and the *res privata principis* (pp. 208-209; p. 208, n. 1) should not be identified. The senate probably did not lose its control of the *aerarium Saturni* until well into the imperial period (p. 215). Egypt did not belong to the emperor's *patrimonium* (p. 128). In the opinion of the reviewer the uprisings in different parts of the Empire in the third century A. D., and the establishment here and there of independent or semi-independent governments do not find a sufficient explanation in the ambitious hopes of aspirants for the throne. Sectional, national, or racial tendencies must be taken into consideration. We do not yet know when the separation of civil and military functions in the provinces took place, but it was the result of a gradual development, which can probably be traced farther back than the reign of Aurelian (p. 172). The following slight errors may be noted: p. 47, read *B. C. 197* for *B. C. 179*; p. 70, *Roman* for *Rome*; p. 78, *effectively* for *effectually*; and p. 125, *instrument against him* for *instrument against them*. The forms *Raetia*, *Dyrrachium*, and *Gaius* are preferable to those used in the text. Mr. Shuckburgh has prepared an index, a map, and a bibliography for the revised edition.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

The Quest for a Lost Race. By Thomas E. Pickett, M.D., LL.D. [Filson Club Publication No. 22.] (Louisville, John P. Morton and Company, 1907, pp. xxiii, 229.) This work was first printed, in connection with the Home-coming of Kentuckians at Louisville in 1906, in a leading Kentucky journal. It is reprinted now, as the twenty-second number of the *Filson Club Publications*, in a revised and expanded form. The paper centres about Du Chaillu's theory that the English-speaking people of today are of Scandinavian and Norman rather than of German origin. Dr. Pickett is not indeed a strenuous advocate of this theory; the tenor of his work is rather that of a semi-serious discussion intended only to divert the reader. An appendix contains an alphabetical series of Norse, Norman, and Anglo-Norman names copied from ancient records in England.

Dr. Joyce's larger *Social History of Ancient Ireland* appeared in 1904 and was discussed in the ninth volume of this REVIEW (p. 775). The book now in hand contains a briefer presentation of the same general material. By omitting nearly all references, and by closely restricting quotations from documents and discussion of disputed points, the author has reduced the original work to a third, or less than a third, of its bulk. But the abridgment follows the plan of the longer treatise and covers the same ground. Scholars who wish to make a critical study of the material, or to test the validity of the sources of information, will naturally consult the complete edition. General readers or elementary students, on the other hand, will find in the single smaller volume a good description of early Irish civilization as it is portrayed in the native literature or as traces of it have been preserved in productions of the ancient native arts. All phases of the life of the people, both public and private—government and laws, religion and education, the arts of war and peace—are included in the survey. The shorter work like the longer is freely illustrated with maps and drawings and excellent reproductions of many objects of artistic and archaeological interest.

Certain criticisms which were made with reference to the larger work hold true in equal measure of the abridgment, though they are perhaps less fairly urged against a popular production. There is, from the nature of the case, no advance in the comparative study of the institutions treated; and the critical analysis of sources is still less adequate than it was before. This latter fault may fairly be deplored in a book addressed to the lay reader, where the clearest possible distinction should be drawn between legendary matter and trustworthy history. It would have been easy, without sacrificing much space, to make the reader better aware of the unequal authority of the different sources followed by the author.

Exception might also be taken here and there to individual statements. The identification of *Bél* with the Phœnician *Baal* (p. 121) was questioned in the review of the earlier edition. The date of the *Liber Hymnorum* is certainly put too early on page 222. The total denial of human sacrifice in Ireland (p. 119) is rather too positive, though evidence for it is scanty. (Cf. Dr. Kuno Meyer in *Eriu*, II. 86.) But the multiplication of these objections is not worth while, and the errors (assuming them all to be such) do not greatly impair the value of the book as an account of early Irish life. If the description is a little idealized—and this idealization is somewhat more apparent in the simple and dogmatic narrative of the shorter work—the exaggeration may have its value in counteracting in the popular mind the traditional, and far more erroneous, impression of the savagery of the "wild Irish".

The Lombard Communes: A History of the Republics of North Italy. By W. F. Butler, M.A., Professor of Modern Languages, Queen's College, Cork. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. 495.) This

is a welcome addition to the small number of books written in English concerning medieval municipal history. It gives a good general survey of the early relations of the cities of Northern Italy to the counts and bishops who ruled over them, the rise and development of the Lombard communes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, their dissensions and leagues, their conflicts with the German emperors, and the rise of the tyrannies and the downfall of municipal liberty in the valley of the Po during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. If Professor Butler had devoted more attention to the growth of communal institutions, his book would be more valuable. For example, the third chapter, which deals with the rise of the communes, does not penetrate deeply into the origins of city government; nor do the later chapters give detailed information regarding the development of the civic constitutions or the position of the guilds in the evolution of the municipal polity. Moreover, in the early chapters too much reliance seems to be placed upon older writers, like Leo and Hegel, and the recent literature of the subject is inadequately presented to the reader. The author seems to share the opinion of an English local writer who regards foot-notes as "an aid to bewilderment". In fact, there are few references to authorities, primary or secondary. The book is not a work of research, based upon the original sources; but it is scholarly and well written. There is, indeed, no other book in English which covers the ground so satisfactorily.

Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e Siècle, par Louis Halphen (Paris, Picard, 1906, pp. xxiv, 428.) Few periods of French history, perhaps, in recent years have been more minutely studied than that of the early Capetians. The seed sown by MM. Luchaire and Pfister has brought forth an hundredfold since 1884, the year of the appearance of the former's notable *Institutions Politiques de la France sous les Capétiens directs*. The point of application, however, has somewhat changed, and today the emphasis is upon local history. Yet the field is still vastly unexplored. M. Halphen modestly remarks that however imperfect his book may seem to be, it will not have been written in vain if it stimulates other scholars to make minute studies in the local history of France elsewhere.

The introduction consists of a careful survey and estimation of the sources and authorities of the period under consideration, in the course of which the work of Miss Norgate is somewhat severely judged. M. Halphen particularly objects to her treatment of territorial questions (p. 95) and her judgment of Fulk Rechin "comme un soldat sans courage et un prince sans esprit de suite" (p. 176).

The work is divided into two parts, the first treating of the territorial development of the county of Anjou and its early administrative organization; the second deals with the particular work of Geoffrey le Barbu and Fulk Rechin. The institutional history of Anjou, to the reviewer, seems to be far the most valuable portion of the volume. In this development, the church, especially the regular clergy, had a large

part (p. 81). It is not without significance that it coincides in time with the rising power of the Cluniac order, which came at the phenomenal hour when the church in northern Gaul was at its lowest point owing to the ravages of the Northmen and the invasion of the sanctuary by the power of feudalism (pp. 82 ff.). The new movement—M. Halphen calls it *rénovation*—was remarkable for the depth, grandeur, and permanence of the forces engaged; it was a veritable renaissance of its kind. Raoul Glaber, in allusion to the new structures rising up over France, like white samite in their freshly carved stone, says that it seemed to snow churches.

The process of institutional development in Anjou in the eleventh century was identical with that which characterizes the history of the Capetian monarchy from Robert the Pious to Louis VI. The Angevin counts intensively developed their power by waging relentless war upon the swarm of petty barons who infested the land. "Comme celle de Louis le Gros, leur vie ne fut qu' une longue lutte contre les barons; lutte non pas intermittente . . . mais une lutte sans relâche et poursuivie jusqu' à la victoire définitive" (p. 204). But as in the Ile-de-France in the eleventh century, so in Anjou, the counts were not so utterly devoid of forces in their favor (aside from the church) as is ordinarily supposed. One of the most valuable parts of M. Halphen's study is his treatment of local institutions. The persistence of Carolingian local forms, of course not in a complete, yet in a fragmentary way, is admirably established. The lamented Maitland has somewhere observed that lichen and moss will survive storms that fell the oak; in the present instance some of the humbler features of Carolingian institutional history are shown to have survived the forces that whelmed the *missi dominici* in ruin (pp. 107, 108). Six appendices and a catalogue of the acts of Fulk Nerra, Geoffrey Martel, Geoffrey le Barbu, and Fulk Rechin conclude the book, and form nearly one half its body. In the list of additions and corrections the date of the capitulary of Servais, erroneously given as 953 instead of 853 in the note on page 1, is not amended.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

M. L. Halphen's *Étude sur les Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise* is an exhaustive study of the relation between the *Gesta consulum Andegavensium*, the *Liber de compositione castri Ambasiae*, and the *Gesta Ambasiensium dominorum*. Mabille was the first scholar to make a serious study of these sources, in 1871. The present study is a fine example of synthetic criticism. M. Halphen shows that these three sources of Angevin history were not arbitrarily composed nor confused by copyists, but that they have an intimate association. The *Gesta Ambasiensium dominorum* was composed in part with the aid of the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*; the author of the *Liber de compositione castri Ambasiae* adopted the preface of the *Gesta*. The result of this research is double. In the first place, the elements that

entered into each composition, and the authors of each are established; in the second place, the order of each of them is demonstrated.

J. W. T.

The Golden Sayings of the Blessed Brother Giles of Assisi. Newly translated and edited, together with a Sketch of his Life, by the Rev. Fr. Paschal Robinson, of the Order of Friars Minor. (Philadelphia, The Dolphin Press, 1907, pp. lxiii, 141.) In the Franciscan order there existed from an early date a school of asceticism remarkable at once for elevation of thought and vivacity of expression. Of this twofold characteristic, one of the best exemplifications is this collection of sayings, which is ranked by the Bollandists at the head of its class. Giles was of the first company of St. Francis and outlived him thirty-five years. To him, as a link between the first and second generations of Franciscans, many of the younger members of the order resorted for advice after the death of its founder, and Giles's replies to such inquiries are the genesis of this collection. Giles himself was unlettered, and the identity of the collector, or collectors, is unknown. The collection existed, in manuscript, as early as the thirteenth century, and it was first printed, in Latin, at Mainz in 1463. Notwithstanding the mention by Sbaralea of an English translation supposed to have been issued at Douai in 1633, the present volume appears to be the first English edition. The *Golden Sayings* themselves are of historical value as illustrating the spiritual side of early Franciscan teaching, an aspect hitherto inadequately recognized; and historians will appreciate especially the editor's scholarly introduction.

Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I., edited by G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., Honorary Fellow of King's College. Third edition. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906, pp. cxxv, 490.) This standard and indispensable work now appears in a third edition. The changes are few. One statement in the introduction has been modified, and six documents have been added in the appendix. The pagination of the body of the book remains unchanged in the three editions.

None of the new material is here printed for the first time. Mr. Lingelbach has made us familiar with the Charter of the Merchant Adventurers, 1564. There is a Letter of Marque of the year 1585, with two accompanying papers, which throw light upon the half-piratical methods of reprisal in vogue among reputable governments during the Elizabethan age. The Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, 1582-1589, throws light upon the introduction of Presbyterianism into England. The striking similarity between these "conferences" and the "exercises" authorized in the diocese of Peterborough in 1571, three years before Queen Elizabeth suppressed "those vain prophecyings", makes clear how short the step would have been in those early years to complete Presbyterianism. The Commission for Depopulation, 1607, shows

the method of collecting statistics on the growth of enclosures and the decay of towns.

The value of this collection to the serious student of American history can hardly be over-estimated. It contains a rich treasure of concise and accurate information upon all phases of the structure of English society at the beginning of American settlement. Whether one wants a general idea of some important institution, or facts bearing upon some point of detail, there is no single volume for the period which compares with it in richness of content. With no great labor in piecing the fragments together, one can get a complete view of the essential features of the structure and organization of the English Church. By simple reference to the index one will find something short and illuminating upon such a subject as indentured servants, or the care of the poor. Though ecclesiastical doctrine does not fall strictly within its scope, I do not know where to find a better brief statement of the doctrines of the Independents than on page 223, or of early Puritan demands than on page 191.

The long introduction is not the least valuable part of the book. It offers a general view of such topics as the organization of Parliament, the relations of Parliament to the Crown, the arbitrary courts, the rise of Puritanism, penal laws against the Puritans and the Roman Catholics, the judiciary, the army, and the navy.

G. J.

De Republica Anglorum. A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England. By Sir Thomas Smith. Edited by L. Alston, Christ's College, with a preface by F. W. Maitland, LL.D., Downing Professor of the Laws of England. (Cambridge, University Press, 1906, pp. liii, 210.) This treatise is a famous work, and yet not accurately known. A Latin translation has been mistaken, even by scholars, for the original text. The present volume is a reprint of the first edition, published in 1583, eighteen years after the work was written and six years after the author's death. Smith was the first Regius Professor of civil law at Cambridge; and he was appointed secretary of state under Somerset in 1548, and again, under Elizabeth, in 1572. In scholarship, law, and religion, he was on the side of reform. In this treatise his breach with medievalism appears by his ignoring all connection between theology and politics. On the other hand, the editor maintains that Smith's position as a forerunner of the modern view of parliamentary, as against royal, supremacy, has been exaggerated, Mr. Alston's opinion being that Smith's oft quoted statement on that point is qualified distinctly in the succeeding sentences. In fact, to Smith, with his legal bias, the constitution of a commonwealth consists practically of its courts; and it is only as parts of the judicial system that the King and Parliament receive, in this treatise, attention. In addition to these and other points, Mr. Alston discusses the use made of each other's writings by Smith in this work and by Harrison in his *Description of England*; the balance

of evidence appears to verify Harrison's statement that the borrowing was mutual.

The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands. A Political and Economic History and a Study in Practical Statesmanship. By J. Ellis Barker. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company; London, Smith Elder and Company, 1906, pp. xiv, 478.) This volume is a political pamphlet on a large scale rather than a serious exposition of political events. The purpose which induced Mr. Ellis Barker to consult over 2,000 works in Dutch, German, French, English, Italian, and Spanish, was to draw a lesson for Great Britain to profit by. As a preliminary step he sketches the story of the rise of the Netherland countships and duchies in the northern portion of the Austrian-Spanish realm, their revolt, the union of the seven confederated states, and their entrance into European politics as an important factor. In spite of his wealth of authorities, the conception of the actual train of events is not sound. It is hardly worth while to point out the many minor errors because, perhaps, they do not affect the truth of the general conclusion to which all the argument tends, namely, that the United Netherlands suffered material injury from the prevalence of sectional jealousy in her national councils.

Mr. Barker considers that Great Britain and her colonies to-day are in a similar position to that occupied by the United Netherlands and her distant possessions in the eighteenth century. From her own past, England has nothing to learn, but the history of her neighbor is full of information. Her danger signals may avert disaster if they be heeded in time. The author advocates a strong central government, a powerful military organization, and above all a subordination of commercial to state interests.

"The Dutch Oligarchs had allowed the huge economic fabric of the Netherlands to rest precariously upon a single pillar—foreign trade. That pillar rested on foreign soil. Foreign nations naturally took advantage of that position. They sawed through the pillar, brought down the economic edifice and divided among themselves the fragments of Dutch prosperity." This is the condition that Great Britain is urged to avoid. Her strength is not commensurate with her possessions as all national strength should be. Her strength has been dissipated in the pursuit of a policy profitable to the few only.

The volume closes with a fervent appeal to Great Britain to wrest herself from her state of chronic mis-government and to save her people from the sufferings that the shrinkage of a nation entails. The over-abundance of quotations, apt and inapt alike, are wearisome and weaken the argument which contains some wheat to a large proportion of chaff.

A reprint of Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, with an introduction by C. S. Gordon, has been issued in the "Tudor and Stuart Library" (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906, pp. xl, 261.) Henry Peachman, the

son of a clergyman, sometime rector of Leverton in Lincolnshire, was born near St. Albans in 1576. As the tutor of the sons of the earl of Arundel and of others of the English nobility, he travelled considerably on the Continent and enjoyed, for a time, comparative prosperity, but in the years before and during the Civil War, Peacham was forgotten by influential friends and died, presumably in poverty, in 1644. The *Compleat Gentleman* was printed first in 1622, and appeared, during the next forty years, in various revised and enlarged editions. It is a record of the manners of the Cavalier gentry before the Civil War, and it enjoyed the esteem of the courtiers of the Restoration. Its Puritan counterpart was Braithwaite's *English Gentleman*. Peacham was a survival of the best of the Renaissance, who believed, with the courtiers of Elizabeth, in the gentleman born, and in learning as the fountain of the graces. The themes of his book range accordingly from nobility in general to geometry and music, and even to the humble art of fishing; and his avowed purpose in it was to rescue young gentlemen from the common education, which was, according to him, "to weare the best cloathes, eate, sleepe, drinke much, and know nothing".

A more recent issue of the same series is a reprint of Sir Fulke Greville's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, with an introduction and notes by Nowell Smith, late Fellow of New College (Clarendon Press, 1907, pp. xxxii, 279.) Greville was a kinsman of Sidney and Essex, and a favorite of Elizabeth, of whom he was a devoted adherent. His *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* was first published by an unknown editor in 1652. Although the work is the first authority for some well-known stories of Sidney, it is not a regular biography. Greville's primary object in the work was to dedicate his poems to his distinguished kinsman, who was long since dead. This dedication developed into a treatise, of which much the greater part consists of reflections on the political problems of Elizabeth's reign and Sidney's views concerning them, and on Elizabeth's methods of government.

The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616. Edited from the MS. by Andrew Clark, Honorary Fellow of Lincoln College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, pp. viii, 380.) The MS. from which the bulk of this volume is taken is preserved in the library of the Earl of Macclesfield at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, and is a contemporary manuscript copy of Elizabethan and Jacobean ballads, which were originally printed in black-letter and issued in the perishable form of broadsides. The appendix of the volume contains some supplementary ballads from the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson poet. 185. While many of the ballads here printed are found—although frequently in the form of later exemplars—in the *Roxburghe Ballads* and the other great collections, yet a number appear to be unique specimens.

The editor deserves much praise for the pains he has taken to make this book serviceable to the student of Elizabethan social conditions.

In introductory notes based largely on the hitherto unsearched papers of the Essex borough of Malden, he cites facts which further illustrate the social questions referred to in the ballads, prove their historical accuracy, and "suggest that the incidents recorded in them were of everyday occurrence". Some of the ballads record historical events—the death of the Earl of Bedford in 1585; the Spanish sack of Calais, 1596; Essex's Irish campaign, 1599; Elizabeth's anniversary, 1600; the execution of Essex, the campaign in the Netherlands, and the Spanish invasion of Ireland, 1601; and the accession of James I., 1603. Other ballads allude to the grievances of the poor against the rich, including their loss of common rights; others censure the evil customs of the age, voicing the Puritan ideals of Sabbath observance, etc.; others refer to the trial and punishment of criminals; two contain the admonitions of a father and mother to their son, who is to be apprenticed to a weaver; while many pieces both grave and gay, although throwing no light on institutions or social conditions, yet have an interest to the historian as indicating the temper of the times.

Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma Vie et de mon Temps par le Marquis de Bouillé (Louis-Joseph-Amour) (1769–1812). Volume I. 1769–Mai 1792. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, par P. L. Kermaingant. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1906, pp. 511.) The editor of this volume has taken his task very lightly, confining his efforts chiefly to "seeing it through the press". The investigator who would use the text critically can look for little help from the editor. Information concerning the manuscript of the work, date of composition, and even essential details upon the life of the writer, must be grubbed out of the text, for the volume contains neither preface nor introduction.

The author of the *Souvenirs* was the son of the Marquis de Bouillé, who is known to fame in connection with the disastrous flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes. The son, also, had a part in that affair. Bouillé, the younger, was born in 1769 and died in 1850. An examination of the text shows that the writing of the *Souvenirs* could not have begun earlier than 1827 (Bouillé quotes, page 121, from a work published in that year); it was finished in August, 1828. It is possible that the writing did not begin before 1828. To attribute to a single year the inception and conclusion of the writing of this stout volume seems not unreasonable, if the manner of composition is taken into account. Although the book consists chiefly of the personal experiences of Bouillé, he did not depend wholly or even chiefly upon memory for his knowledge of the past. He had in his possession "des fragments, des notes, des observations", contemporary with the events described, letters written by himself and by others to him, and, finally, he had previously published a *Vie privé* of Henry of Prussia (1806) and an account of the flight of Louis XVI. (1823). These fragments he arranged chronologically and, to use Bouillé's own words, "Je les ai liés par quelques

détails sur ce qui me concerne". The *Mémoire sur l'affaire de Varennes* is reprinted in full (pp. 176-283), all passages of the original manuscript suppressed in 1823 being restored. At times the matter suppressed was only a phrase, at others it amounted to a page or more, and contained matter of considerable importance. For the most part, it consists of criticisms of Louis XVI. and of his brothers, or touches matters concerning them that it would not have been wise to publish in 1823. The publication of the complete text of the *Mémoire* would be a sufficient justification of the appearance of the *Souvenirs*.

For the student of the Revolution familiar with the printed sources of the period, the *Souvenirs* of Bouillé will not offer many revelations of first-rate importance, although the stray bits of information, the pen sketches of distinguished persons, the unpublished letters, his peculiar relations with the emigrant princes and with Gustavus III. (Bouillé was in Sweden at the time of the king's assassination), his very point of view are things that have their value for the investigator. On his return from Sweden after the king's death, Bouillé visited the king of Prussia and received a message for the princes at Cologne. The first volume closes with a vivid description of the frigid reception met with at the court of the emigrants, a reception so cold that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he delivered his message.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Recollections of James Anthony Gardner, Commander R. N. (1775-1814). [Publications of the Navy Records Society, volume XXXI.] Edited by Sir R. Vesey Hamilton, G.C.B., Admiral, and John Knox Laughton, M.A., Litt.D. (Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1906, pp. xx, 287, 4.) This volume differs in many respects from most of those issued by the Navy Records Society. Of history, as commonly understood, it contains little. The author lived in a critical time, and shared in some stirring naval incidents, but his account of them is meagre; and the interest attaching to his *Recollections* is entirely personal and social. Of the crude life in the naval service in his time, the book is a telling picture. Gardner, himself the son of a commander in the navy, was born in 1770. He first shipped in the *Panther* in 1782; he quit the sea in 1802, and died in 1846. From 1802 to the peace in 1814, he held land appointments in the navy; and after sixteen years on half-pay as lieutenant, he was placed on the retired list with the rank of commander in 1830. His *Recollections* were written in 1836, and corrected slightly in later years. The present edition is from a manuscript in the possession of his grandsons.

Die Weltwirtschaft. Ein Jahr- und Lesebuch, unter Mitwirkung Zahlreicher Fachleute herausgegeben von Dr. Ernst von Halle, Professor an der Universität Berlin. I. Jahrgang, 1906; III. Teil. *Das Ausland*. (Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1906, pp. 281.) A characteristic feature of this projected annual review of the world's in-

dustry is its judicious combination of statistics with textual comment and explanation. The review is by countries; and by reason of the difficulties inseparable from the inception of an enterprise, the reports from South America are, in this number, fragmentary, while those from Portugal, Central America, the West Indies, and parts of Africa, fail entirely. The review gains in variety and interest from the freedom allowed to each contributor in the method of marshalling his material and facts. The policy of the publication is to secure, as far as possible, reports on each country from its own citizens. For the United States Professor Emery, of New Haven, contributes, in the present volume, the general review, and the reports on economic policy, on the principal industries, and on export trade; the reports on agriculture, and on labor and capital are, respectively, by Professors Taylor and Commons, of the University of Wisconsin; while that on banking and exchange is by Professor Morton of Yale University. The report for the British Empire with the colonies, including a retrospect of earlier periods not given in the case of other countries, is contributed by Professor Hewins, of the Tariff Commission, London. No general summary of all countries is attempted in this volume.

A Conspectus of American Biography. Compiled by George Derby. (New York, James T. White and Company, 1906, pp. 752.) This volume, though half its pages are filled with other matter, is primarily the index volume to the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. The "other matter" is of various sorts, though chiefly consisting of official lists. Besides extensive lists of officials of the Federal government during its history, there are such lists as these: governors, United States senators, and chief justices of the several states, presidents of American colleges and universities; also officials of a great variety of organizations. Indeed a glance at some of the pages would incline one to believe that no organization, convention, or conference had been omitted. A further examination, however, leads to the conclusion that there are sins of omission as well as of commission. Likewise in the list of pre-eminent Americans, there is some darkness surrounding the reason for inclusion and exclusion and classification. The selection of notable sayings and sentiments of famous Americans will strike many persons as being haphazard, particularly as regards the proportions of space allotted to the respective worthies. Yet the volume will be found useful for reference.

The volume of Professor Jameson's *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. 411, 2 maps) devoted to the Spanish explorers in the southern portion of the United States, prior to 1543, is made up of the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, the Gentleman of Elvas's account of De Soto's journey, and Castañeda's history of the Coronado expedition. The translations are those with which students have long been familiar, although care has

been taken to compare these with the original texts, resulting in the improvement of some passages, and the restoration, so far as this is now possible, of the native names to the form recorded by the actual explorers.

The Introduction and Notes to the De Soto narrative are by Mr. Theodore H. Lewis, and to the remainder of the volume by Mr. Frederick W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Mr. Hodge has been able to identify a considerable number of Indian localities which had puzzled earlier writers who have dealt with the journeyings of Cabeza de Vaca, while his frequent visits to the Southwest have given him a familiarity with the country traversed by Coronado's followers which long ago placed him in the position of authority regarding the route of that expedition. Mr. Lewis has also won a position of very nearly equal rank as a court of last resort in matters relating to the much less easily followed route of De Soto, by his contributions to the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*. His notes to Professor Jameson's volume are a most useful summary of the results of his personal examination of a large part of the territory through which the inland discoverer of the Mississippi River must have wandered.

G. P. W.

Luis Gonzales Obregón has gathered together under the title *Los Precursores de la Independencia Mexicana en el Siglo XVI*. (Paris and Mexico, Bouret, 1906) various details and extracts from documents bearing upon the tendencies to separation from Spain evinced during the first half-century of the life of the colony of Mexico. On stray episode in connection therewith is the application of the "water-cure" to extract from one of Cortés's family a confession of participation in an alleged conspiracy to set up a separate government in Mexico. This work would be more valuable if these early symptoms of a desire for separation from Spain had been traced down to the actual revolts of the nineteenth century. Various essays (among them, one by Ferdinand Blumentritt) have been written upon the tendencies toward separation displayed from the first among the colonies of Spain in America, but the subject is one which lacks a comprehensive treatment.

José Luis Blasio, one of Emperor Maximilian's private secretaries, has written a gossip account of his relations with Louis Napoleon's puppet and victim under the title *Maximiliano Intimo: Memorias de un secretario particular*. (Paris and Mexico, Bouret, 1906.) Much of it is trivial, some passages violate good taste, but it presents on the whole a pleasing picture, with some new details of Maximilian's private life, also reproducing some little known letters bearing on events at the time of his execution.

The English author of a recently published biography, or rather panegyric, of General and President Díaz quoted considerably from what was alleged to be the "private diary" of Díaz kept during the

years of his military career, and opened for the exclusive benefit of this writer. The quotations were really from reminiscences of Díaz's military career related by him to one of his friends a score of years ago, and privately published by the latter. Their circulation has been limited, and the publication of extracts from them in this English biography seems to have inspired a reproduction in Spanish of selections from the reminiscences, together with what is termed "an essay in psychological history", viz., the anonymous author's rather prolix interpretations and interpolations, *Porfirio Díaz (Sept. 1830–Sept. 1865), Ensayo de Psicología Histórica*. (Paris and Mexico, Bouret, 1906.) We are given the hint that, for some reason or other, the reminiscences will probably never be made public in their entirety, at least in their original form. But the anonymous author partly promises to conclude the biography from the year 1865.

From Trail to Railway through the Appalachians, by Albert Perry Brigham, Professor of Geology in Colgate University (Boston, Ginn and Company, pp. 188) is an interesting, unpretentious effort to correlate, within a space suitable for youthful students, the geography and history of the eastern United States. The author, without underrating physiography, is of the opinion that geography in the schools should return somewhat to human interests. Beginning his narrative with Boston and the Berkshires, Professor Brigham passes in turn to the valleys of the Mohawk and Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna, Ohio, and the Great Valley and mountains of Virginia and the South. With anecdotes and with illustrations, many of the features and much of the life, past and present, of these regions, are presented in a form suitable to the readers for whom the book is designed. The narrative avoids the precise divisions of a text-book. Roads and the westward movement are its main topics; and the geography is not taught formally, but is interwoven with the story.

In connection with the bi-centenary celebration of the birth of Franklin, Dr. Julius F. Sachse has issued *Benjamin Franklin as a Free Mason* (Philadelphia, 1906, pp. viii, 150). The work, compiled at the request of the Masonic Grand Master of Pennsylvania, is an exhaustive treatment of the Masonic side of Franklin's career. As early as 1734, Franklin was elected Grand Master of Pennsylvania. In addition to his activity in the lodges of America, he was interested also in those of England and, still more, in those of France. Franklin carefully retained all his French lodge notices and correspondence, but of the American and English, next to none can be found.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766–1769. Edited by John Pendleton Kennedy. (Richmond, 1906, pp. xlv, 372.) Proceeding backward from the Revolution, the librarian of the Virginia State Library brings out the third volume of his handsome series of the journals of the Burgesses. He seems to count it as embracing the journals of five sessions; but as his phrases are obscure and in part

erroneous, it may be well to set forth the exact nature of the sittings of 1766-1769. A new House convened November 6, 1766, and sat until December 16, when it adjourned to March 12, 1767. On that date it re-convened, and sat till April 11, when it was prorogued. Since the interval in the winter had been due to adjournment and not to prorogation, all this constituted but one session. The second session of this assembly lasted from March 31 to April 16, 1768. It was then prorogued, and subsequently dissolved. This ended that assembly. A new House of Burgesses was elected in November, 1768, and sat from May 8 to May 17, 1769, when it was dissolved by Lord Botetourt. This, which Mr. Kennedy calls "the first session of the Assembly of 1769", was more properly the sole session of the first assembly of that year. What he calls "the second session of 1769" was the first part of the first session of a fresh assembly, November 7-December 21, 1769, for on the last-named day it adjourned, without being prorogued, till May 21, 1770, when it resumed its session, of the second part of which Mr. Kennedy gives the journal in another volume. If the editor had more completely grasped these distinctions, he would have made better work of his lists of members.

In these three sessions and a half, the Burgesses carried on some of their most important contests and discussions. What with the external conflicts aroused by the British revenue acts and the internal conflicts brought on by the defalcation of Speaker Robinson and the separation of the offices of speaker and treasurer, there was no lack of contentious matter for the training of young statesmen for an approaching revolution. Of these struggles, and of those over the Indian boundary line, with the Six Nations and the Cherokees, the editor gives an account in his introduction. It is not always clear and well written, but it embraces a number of highly interesting documents, some of which, we believe, have not before been published. It would have been instructive if we might have had a firmer treatment of the case of Speaker Robinson. In later times Jefferson and Edmund Randolph and the biographers of Henry and Lee seem to have read into the matter a legend of party contest foreign to ante-Stamp-Act Virginia. An agricultural state without violent divergences of interest will often present few traces of political party. Mr. Bryce, in his *Impressions of South Africa*, pointed out this fact in the case of the Orange Free State, and that its natural tendency is to throw power into the hands of the presiding officer of the popular assembly. This seems to be the explanation of Speaker Robinson, when coupled with the fact that he was also treasurer of the province.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. Volume VII., 1777, January 1-May 21. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 374.) In Mr. Ford's seventh volume the most important matters are those connected with the Articles of Confederation and with finance. The latter is illustrated

by many entries relating to the bills of credit of the Continental Congress and the states, loans, lotteries and prices. The conclusion of the former matter is not to be had till the journals for November appear, but its progress is shown by many entries, among the most interesting of which are the amendments presented by Thomas Burke of North Carolina, May 5. Portions of Burke's abstracts of the debates, from the *North Carolina Records* and from manuscript, are printed in the foot-notes to the records of certain days.

Naval Records of the American Revolution, 1775-1788. Prepared from the Originals in the Library of Congress by Charles Henry Lincoln, of the Division of Manuscripts. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. 549.) No one should suppose that the United States government possesses, indeed no one should suppose that there anywhere exists, any such body of records of the maritime warfare of the Revolution as it possesses for the warfare on land. The latter was waged in a continuous series of campaigns, each of which, however ragged in execution, had some degree of unity in plan and course. Not so the naval warfare. The efforts to establish a United States navy were unsuccessful. In view of the overwhelming sea-power of Great Britain, not only could there be no fleet-action, but before long it became apparent that individual American public vessels had but a very limited scope, and probably a brief career before them. Maritime endeavor was maintained on a large scale, but it was almost altogether confined to privateering, rich in profits, but not prolific of permanent historical record. The Library of Congress therefore, while it possesses the letter-book of the Marine Committee and its successors, the reports of various committees on naval subjects, and not a few interesting naval letters, confesses to having but a fragmentary body of material. More than half of the present volume is taken up with notes of the bonds of letters of marque, catalogued to be sure in such a manner as to bring out with extreme care and skill all the data they contain, but not capable of illuminating naval history beyond a certain degree. The other papers calendared are of more public importance, but must be supplemented by the John Paul Jones Papers, which Mr. Lincoln has already calendared in the same faithful and intelligent manner, and by the papers of Robert Morris and other uncalendared parts of the library's material. The mode of calendaring and the full index of names make the volume a guide to the careers of individuals as well as to the raw material of the naval history of the Revolution.

The Library of Congress has also undertaken the great task of calendaring the Washington Papers, *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, with the Continental Congress*, prepared from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of Congress by John C. Fitzpatrick, Division of Manuscripts (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. 741). When the Library published its *Calendar of Washington Manuscripts*, in 1901,

it had but a small collection, the great mass of his papers being then still in the custody of the Department of State. Now that nearly the whole is in the Library of Congress, a systematic attempt to make the most important portions available has been undertaken. Naturally a beginning was made with the most important of all, the correspondence of the General with the Congress from 1775 to 1783. This has been calendared in a chronological order, with a full alphabetical index, the whole, so far as a reader can judge, exceedingly well executed. The material is brought together from the various series of the Washington Papers, the Papers of the Continental Congress, and the Robert Morris Papers. There is a prefatory account of the manuscripts, a useful list of aides-de-camp and secretaries, and a series of facsimiles of their handwritings as seen in drafts among the papers calendared.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, seventh series, volume VI. (Boston, 1907, pp. xv, 472.) This is the second and concluding volume of the Bowdoin and Temple Papers, of which the first was published by the society in 1897. The manuscripts are a portion of the Winthrop Papers. The first volume ended with 1782, the present extends from 1783 to 1812, when the younger James Bowdoin died. The close relation existing between the Bowdoin family in Massachusetts and the Temple family in England brings into the first part of the volume many interesting letters illustrating the relations between the two countries in the years immediately after the peace, when the elder James Bowdoin was still living. But the best letters of this part are those which relate to the insurrection of Daniel Shays, which occurred while he was governor. The latter half of the volume is mostly occupied with the diplomatic career of the younger Bowdoin. Early in Jefferson's administration he suggested to Dearborn who, as the letters show, owed him money, that he should be appointed to London, as successor to Rufus King. He was appointed to Madrid. His health was not sufficient to enable him to go to Washington for his instructions, nor to go farther into Spain than Santander. He retired to Paris, where he remained more than two years, being joined in an unhappy union with Armstrong in the vain endeavor to obtain the Floridas from Spain through the aid of France. His own letters, made needlessly hard to read by the printing of *y^e* instead of "the", reveal no considerable diplomatic or political talents; but there is interesting matter in the letters of his correspondents.

El Clero de Mexico y la Guerra de Independencia. [Documentos Inéditos ó Muy Raros para la Historia de Mexico, publicados por Genaro García, Tomo IX.] (Mexico, 1906, pp. 272.) This volume contains about seventy-five documents emanating from or relating to the clergy of Mexico during the period between September 24, 1810, and September 1, 1811. The greater portion of them are printed from originals now in the Museo Nacional but formerly in the archives of the archbishopric of Mexico. None of these, it seems, have hitherto been

printed, and the volume is therefore a welcome addition to the available material on the period.

All ranks of the clergy are represented, over thirty documents coming from the parish curates. Almost without exception the documents exhibit the hostility of their authors, whether higher or lower clergy, toward the revolution then in progress. Remarkable among them is an emphatic pledge of loyalty to the Spanish government taken on October 27, 1810, by 289 ecclesiastics of the archbishopric of Puebla in a body. However, we should hardly be justified in accepting merely on the basis of this small collection of selected documents the editor's prefatory assertion that the lower clergy, "with rare exceptions", bitterly opposed the revolution. Viewed in the abstract, it would be strange if such leaders as Hidalgo, Morelos, Matamoros, Cos, Mercado, and Salazar had not a considerable following in their own class. Nor, if space were available, would it be difficult to present from documentary evidence strong indications that they had such a following. It must be remembered, too, that there were curate and friar insurgent leaders besides these more notable ones. From a careful examination of the *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia, de 1808 á 1821*, edited by J. E. Hernandez y Davalos, it may be seen that, within the period in question, the "loyal" clergy noted and deprecated the presence of numerous brethren among the Independents. In these documents the clergy are reported as bearing arms, encouraging the insurgents, burning edicts directed against Hidalgo, and taking part in the revolutionary local governments. A number of ecclesiastics were imprisoned in the Franciscan convent at Querétaro for complicity in the revolution; when Hidalgo's cause was waning, not a few clergy took advantage of the pardon offered by the viceroy; among the handful of men captured and taken to Chihuahua with Hidalgo were ten clergy; and in the list of suspects gathered from Hidalgo's examination there Salcedo included a number of others. And thus the citation of such indications might be extended to some length. (See Hernandez y Davalos, I. 12, 48, 74, 75, 98, 100, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 114, 198, 200, 216, 227, 236, 344, 346, 348, 379, 382; II. 65, 68, 70, 76, 77, 92, 93, 94, 127, 128; III. 232, 234, 235, 258, 403, 410.)

Yet, although it seems too strong to say that the insurgent curate was a rare exception, it is probably true that a large majority of the lower clergy opposed the revolution in this first stage. Señor García's volume, therefore, will be a valuable corrective to the somewhat prevalent idea that the lower, as distinguished from the higher, clergy, were quite uniformly supporters of the cause. Incidentally, the documents throw light upon numerous other phases of the revolution besides the part played in it by the clergy.

The brief editorial notes are confined mainly to geographical data.

Letters from Port Royal Written at the Time of the Civil War.
Edited by Edith Ware Pearson. (Boston, W. B. Clarke Company,

1906, pp. ix, 345.) This correspondence illustrates at first hand the Port Royal experiment with negro labor in the first stages of freedom. Port Royal, in ante-bellum days, was the name only of the island on which Beaufort is situated, but during the war it was applied, in the north, to the entire Sea Island district of South Carolina. When the Federal forces occupied this district in November, 1861, twenty-seven plantations, with their slaves, were abandoned precipitately by the planters. The writers of these letters were some half-dozen of the sixty-four volunteers from the North who were commissioned by the Federal government to take charge of the ownerless blacks. Under the supervision of these instructors, by the close of the summer of 1862, three thousand eight hundred negroes were at steady work on fifteen thousand acres of land. Many of the letters here printed are from one prominent among these instructors, Edward S. Philbrick, of Brookline, Massachusetts, who died in 1889. During the war, criticism was directed against him freely in the North for his formation of a company to purchase from the Federal government some of the abandoned plantations and for his employment of negroes on these estates. These letters present his side of the case and illustrate generally, amongst other matters, the local features of the government's disposition of these lands. The letters record, in the main, not matters political or military, but the daily experiences of the writers as housekeepers, teachers, superintendents of labor, and landowners. A few of the letters fall in the years 1866, 1867, and 1868; but the correspondence, which opens in February, 1862, closes practically in December, 1865.

The Tariff and the Trusts. By Franklin Pierce. (New York and London, Macmillan Company, 1907, pp. ix, 387.) This is a lively and forcible denunciation of the present tariff system of the United States. The vocabulary of polite malediction has been put to good service. In the author's opinion the Dingley tariff is an iniquity full of flagrant wrong; in a spirit of ardent patriotism, he endeavors to arouse his readers to an adequate sense of the grievous evils which burden the people. As the title indicates, the author finds in the tariff the chief cause for the oppression of corporate monopoly. It is here that the logic is weak; the analysis of the inconsistencies of the tariff is keen, and for the most part justified, but little evidence is given of the causal relation between the tariff and the great trusts which defy competition. Those who believe that trusts are fostered by many forms of privilege beside that gained through excessive taxation, will yet have to be convinced of the accuracy of the author's sweeping generalizations. There is an indiscriminating use of historical illustration, and by far too much weight is given to the influence of the tariff. The chapter on the tariff and public virtue is a vicious example of the practice of gathering together a few isolated cases of corruption and framing a general indictment. There is no institution in human society which can successfully withstand such a method of attack. In view, however, of the evils of the

present tariff system, the excessive ardor of the author is pardonable, and even the most stalwart supporters of the present system of protection ought to be awakened to new reflection by an examination of the work. Many of the illustrations are fresh, and the matter is always freshly put; successive chapters deal with the relation of the tariff to shipping, to manufactures, to laborers, and to farmers. Chapter VIII., pages 248-296, is the only one which deals strictly with American history, and for this the author relies largely upon Taussig.

D. R. D.

Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association, edited by John Hugh Reynolds, Secretary. Volume I. (Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1906, pp. 509.) In 1905 the legislature of Arkansas authorized the appointment of a History Commission to prepare a report on "all extant sources of information concerning the history of Arkansas", and to make recommendations as to a permanent provision for the historical interests of the state. The present volume contains the report contemplated in the act, together with a group of historical papers. After a brief sketch of the present condition of historical work in the state, and a summary of "what other states have done for their history", the report proceeds to set forth an account of the materials in foreign, federal and state offices outside of Arkansas, and of the materials within the state. Of this account, the latter part is the more important and the more adequate, and constitutes an excellent preliminary survey of the public records of the state. Following the description of material in the state and county offices is a report on the municipal archives, unfortunately incomplete owing to the failure of officials to respond to the repeated inquiries of the commission. The report of material in private hands is especially elaborate. Here is collected all available information concerning the papers of eminent citizens of the state, the collections of libraries, collectors and writers, and the files of newspapers. Finally should be noted chapters on aboriginal and Indian remains, battlefields, and historic homes, which conclude the report of the commission and Book I. of the volume. It is a most hopeful sign that in preparing to advance the historical interests of the state, Arkansas has followed the method pursued in Alabama and Mississippi of first making a systematic survey of the historical situation in the state, both as regards activities and material.

Book II. is composed of various papers, including an account of early Arkansas newspapers, a list of general and field officers of Arkansas Confederate and state troops, and the letters of territorial Governor Izard, 1825-1827, mainly to the Secretary of War, respecting Indian affairs, printed from a recently discovered letter-book.

The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada for the year 1906 (Toronto, Morang and Company, 1907, pp. xi, 225) follows the same lines and is of the same exhaustiveness as its predecessors. It is published in the series of *University of Toronto Studies*, the editors

being, as heretofore, Professor G. M. Wrong of the chair of history, and Mr. H. H. Langton, librarian, in that institution. This volume is the eleventh year of the *Review*. In its production the burden of the work has fallen, as in previous years, upon the editors. They have sought, however, where available, the co-operation of other scholars both within the Dominion and without. Of contributors from the United States, Professor Chamberlain of Clark University has supplied the entire section on archaeology, ethnology, and folk-lore, and Professor Ganong of Smith College the reviews of several works on the voyages of Cartier and Champlain. Lesueur's *Count Frontenac* is discussed by Professor Henry Lorin of Bordeaux, himself the author of an excellent work on the same theme; and the review of Siegfried's interesting French study of the two races of Canada is by the Beit lecturer in colonial history in the University of Oxford, Mr. W. L. Grant.

Los Pastores. A Mexican Play of the Nativity. Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, volume IX. Translation, Introduction, and Notes by M. R. Cole. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.) The body of this work consists of the text and translation of a Spanish miracle play, which in 1891 Captain John G. Bourke saw performed at Rio Grande City, Texas, and two years later at San Antonio, Texas. The play is of interest as a survival on American soil of a form of drama which we usually associate with Europe in the Middle Ages.

The subject-matter, mostly the conversation of the shepherds on their way to Bethlehem and at the adoration of the Babe, is of very uneven literary merit and contains frequent inconsistencies, and an unexpected amount of humor. Appendices include a synopsis of a version different from that of the main text, but also performed at San Antonio as well as at Puebla, Mexico; the Spanish text of a third version played by sheep-herders in the sheep-raising district of San Rafael, New Mexico; and parallel scenes from two *autos* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. The introduction, notes, music of the songs, and photographs of the actors in costume add much to the value of the work.

The origin of the play is unknown, but there is reason to believe that it was "an early adaptation, made by [Mexican] priests, from certain Spanish dramas which were popular at the time". The editor points out that "the Spanish ancestors of the modern Mexicans were peculiarly fond of sacred drama", and that from the earliest times Mexican priests and missionaries used this form of theatrical performance as a means of religious propaganda.

The translated text with the music and lantern-slide illustrations was presented at a meeting of the Boston Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society in 1902.

Apuntes de Libros y Folletos Impresos en España y el Extranjero que tratan expresamente de Cuba desde Principios del Siglo XVII hasta

1812 y de las Disposiciones de Gobierno Impresas en la Habana desde 1753 hasta 1800. Por Luis M. Pérez, A.M. (Havana, the author, 1907, pp. xv, 62, 16, vii.) This unpretending but learned pamphlet lists with true bibliographical care some 214 imprints relating to Cuban History, nearly all of which the compiler has seen in the archives of Santiago de Cuba and Havana, the Library of Congress in Washington, the New York Public Library, or that of the Sociedad Económica in Havana. The contents fall into two main sections, the one dealing with books and pamphlets on Cuba printed in Spain or in foreign countries, the other with official prints—documents, broadsides, etc. The compiler rightly emphasizes in his introduction the importance of these governmental publications for all who attempt to construct Cuban history on a solid basis. Appendices present, for similar reasons, titles of publications of the Real Sociedad Patriótica, 1792-1799, and of the Real Consulado, 1795-1800. In the introduction are several interesting paragraphs regarding Cuban bibliography.

Messrs. Ginn and Company have reprinted in two volumes (pp. 388, 438) the well-known *General History* of Professor Philip Van Ness Myers. The volumes are entitled respectively a *Short History of Ancient Times* and a *Short History of Mediaeval and Modern Times*; and they are designed for separate use as text-books in colleges and high schools. They comprise the revised text of the *General History*, with merely such changes in a few matters of detail as were necessary in order to make independent of each other the two divisions of the former book. Each volume contains an index.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Fredrik Nielsen, the Danish bishop and historian, died on March 24 at the age of sixty-one. Among his many historical and theological works are *A History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, in two volumes, of which an English translation was recently published by Dutton, and studies of various religious movements in England.

Dr. John Mackintosh, the author of a *History of Civilization in Scotland*, in four volumes, a volume on Scotland in the *Story of the Nations* series, and several monographs, died at Aberdeen on May 4, in his seventy-fourth year. He was a self-educated man, having been successively farm-hand, shoemaker, policeman, and stationer.

Albert Henry Smyth died on May 4, at the age of forty-four. At the time of his death he was professor of English in the Philadelphia Boys' High School, and curator of the American Philosophical Society. His chief work in the domain of history is *The Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, the tenth and last volume of which has just issued from the press of the Macmillan Company.

The annual meeting of the North Central History Teachers Association for 1907 was held March 29 and 30, at Chicago. The principal address was that of Professor Edward Channing on "Teaching of History in Schools and Colleges". Professor Channing's address was discussed by Professor McLaughlin of the University of Chicago and by Dr. Dunn of the Shortridge High School, of Indianapolis. One session was devoted to a discussion of the influence of foreign elements in the population on the teaching of history and civics, the most suggestive remarks, on the whole, being those of Miss Jane Addams, head of the Hull House settlement. Professor Van Tyne of the University of Michigan presented a paper dealing with the relation between the Continental Congress and the states; Professor Trenholme of the University of Missouri spoke of the field for historical research in English history, and Dr. Pooley, of the Missouri Normal School, dealt with the causes of emigration from the seaboard to the western states during the decade from 1830 to 1840. Dr. George C. Sellery of the University of Wisconsin was elected president for the ensuing year.

At a recent meeting of the leading Cambridge historians it was determined that there be raised as a memorial to the late Miss Mary Bateson a sum to be a partial endowment of a Mary Bateson Fellow-

ship at Newnham College, and that history shall always be one among the subjects for which it can be obtained. Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Lapsley, both of Trinity College, Cambridge, were appointed joint secretaries and treasurers.

Dr. F. J. Haverfield, the leading English authority on Roman Britain, has been appointed to the Camden Professorship vacant by the death of Professor H. F. Pelham.

Professor Paul Vinogradoff of Oxford University has been for some weeks in this country. He has lectured at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, the University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin.

The committee for the Berlin International Historical Congress has issued a circular preliminary to the detailed programme which will be sent out at the beginning of next year. The Congress will meet from August 6 to 12, 1908, and will be divided into eight sections: History of the Orient, Greece and Rome, Political History of Middle Ages and of Modern Times, Cultural and Intellectual History of the Middle Ages and Modern Times, Legal and Economic History, Church History, History of Art, Supplementary Branches (Archives and Libraries, Chronology, Diplomacy, Epigraphy, Genealogy, Historical Geography, Heraldics, Numismatics, Palaeography, Sphragistics). The proceedings will be conducted in the German, English, French, Italian, or Latin languages. The membership fee will be twenty marks. The executive committee consists of Dr. Reinhold Koser, director of the Prussian archives, Professors Eduard Meyer and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf of the University of Berlin. The secretary is Dr. Erich Caspar, Berlin, W. 15, Kaiserallee 17.

Under the auspices of the Société Préhistorique de France a third Prehistoric Congress will be held at Autun, in Burgundy, from August 13 to 18. The main topic of the congress will be primitive camps and fortifications, for the study of which Autun is the most important centre in France.

The Exhibition of the Order of the Golden Fleece, covering the period from 1429 till 1598, and comprising portraits, pictures, armor, medals, manuscripts, illuminations, books, etc., concerning the Knights of the Order, will begin in Bruges on June 15, and will remain open for three months.

A circular respecting advanced historical teaching in the University of London (London School of Economics) gives particulars of the courses offered by Mr. Hubert Hall, in which, during the last few years, a considerable number of American graduate students have received training. The instruction is of both a theoretical and practical character, including lectures on palaeography, diplomatic, and historical sources; the study and deciphering of medieval Latin and French manuscripts, and of vernacular and official writing to the eighteenth century; the inspection of manuscripts and books by visits to the public

archives and libraries; and individual direction. In the seminary historical texts are transcribed and edited under the supervision of the Lecturer. Two of these texts have been published by the School and a formula book of diplomatic documents and records is in preparation. Recently Mr. Hall took a party of students to Paris to inspect the Archives Nationales and other institutions under the guidance of several distinguished French archivists and professors. Next year it is hoped to pay a similar visit to Brussels and Marburg.

Lectures on the Method of Science (New York, Frowde, 1906), edited by T. B. Strong, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, exemplify the various methods used in diverse fields. Three of the lectures are "The Evolution of Currency and Coinage" by Sir Richard Temple, "Archaeological Evidence" by Professor W. M. F. Petrie, and "Scientific Method as Applied to History" by the editor.

The main text of Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut), has been completed by the issue of the sixth volume, treating of *Mitteleuropa und Nordeuropa*, up to the period of the Renaissance, which is dealt with in the seventh volume, published some years ago. A ninth volume, to be published this year, will contain some supplementary matter. A translation of the fifth volume (New York, Dodd, 1907) treats of South-Eastern and Eastern Europe.

Professor Karl Lamprecht has recently inaugurated a collection, *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig, Voigtländer), of which three fascicles have already appeared: *Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph und die Geschichtsphilosophische Bewegung seiner Zeit*, by E. Menke-Gluckert, *Die Entwicklung des ältesten Japanischen Seelenlebens nach seinen literarischen Ausdrucksformen*, by J. Leo, and *Die Entwicklung der allchinesischen Ornamentik* by Werner von Hoerschelmann.

Lavis and Parmentier's *Album Historique* (Paris, Colin) has been completed by the issue of the fourth volume, which illustrates public and private life in Europe and the European colonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The History of Medieval and of Modern Civilization to the End of the Seventeenth Century, by Professor Charles Seignobos, is being published by Scribners.

The more recent numbers in the valuable series *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* (Stuttgart, Enke), edited by Professor U. Stutz, are a study by the Zurich jurist Dr. R. G. Bindschedler, of the *Kirchliches Asylrecht (Immunitas ecclesiarum localis) und Freistätten in der Schweiz*, a contribution to general as well as to constitutional history, in which the author pictures the conflicts between the secular and ecclesiastical powers over the right of sanctuary in Switzerland from the earliest to recent times; *Hildebert von Lavardin (1056-1133) und das Kirchliche Stellenbesetzungsrecht*, by Dr. F. X. Barth; and *Das*

Devolutionsrecht, vornehmlich nach Katholischem Kirchenrecht, a prize work on the ecclesiastical *beneficium*, by Dr. J. Ebers.

Rev. J. N. Figgis and Mr. R. V. Laurence will shortly publish through Macmillan two more volumes by the late Lord Acton, one consisting of *Lectures and Essays on Liberty*, and the other including the hitherto unpublished lecture on the causes of the war of 1870, and papers on Wolsey, Charles II., Cavour, the Mexican expedition of Maximilian, and the American War of Secession.

The first volume of *The Research Library* to be published by Messrs. Routledge, is *The Commercial Relations of England with Portugal (1200-1807)* by Miss V. M. Shillington and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman. A paper by Miss Shillington on "The Beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance" appeared in the last volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* and the work of which she is joint author is largely based on manuscript authorities in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. An appendix of documents is included.

V. S. Gowen treats of the psychological aspects of the black death, the flagellants, the dancing mania, children's crusades, lycanthropy, witchcraft, commercial crazes and religious epidemics in the *Journal of Psychology*, January, 1907, pp. 1-60. A bibliography of 113 titles is included.

A paper on *Historical Jottings on Amber in Asia* by B. Laufer is included among the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, volume I., part III.

The Oxford University Press has published two volumes of *Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts*, Romanized and translated into English by F. V. Dickins, containing material of the greatest value for the institutional history of Japan.

In the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, volume XXXIV., part I. (August, 1906), J. C. Hall publishes a translation of "Go Seibai Shikimoku", the magisterial code of the Hojo Power-Holders, A. D. 1232, which is the earliest of the feudal enactments of Japan and "the taproot of the whole subsequent growth of Japanese feudal law".

The account of *Japanese Rule in Formosa* (London, Longmans, 1907, pp. xv. 342) by Yosaburo Takekoshi, member of the Japanese diet, while mostly dealing with events since 1895, contains some fifty pages relating to the earlier history of the country.

The (English) Historical Association prints as Leaflet No. 4, an address by the Right Hon. James Bryce on the "Teaching of History in Schools", delivered at the first annual meeting of the Association on February 8, 1907.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Vinogradoff, *Frederic William Maitland* (*English Historical Review*, April); G. W. Prothero, *Fred-*

erick York Powell (The Monthly Review, March); F. Rachfal, *Robert Fruin* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVIII. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Nemesis of Nations. Studies in History: Ancient World (London, Dent, 1907, pp. 360) by W. Romaine Paterson is the first of a series of studies analyzing the causes of the decay of ancient, medieval and modern civilizations. This volume deals with Hindustan, Babylon, Greece, and Rome.

Messrs. Leonard W. King and H. R. Hall of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum interpret the meaning of newly-found data in a richly illustrated volume entitled *History of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria in the Light of Recent Discovery* (New York, The Grolier Society).

A History of Babylonia and Assyria from the Earliest Times until the Persian Conquest, by Mr. L. W. King, will be published through Messrs. Chatto and Windus, London, in three volumes, with illustrations after all the principal monuments of the period in the British Museum and elsewhere. The first volume, which will be ready in the early autumn, will come down to about 2000 B. C.

Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, has published a monumental work on *The Egyptian Sûdân: its History and Monuments* (London, Kegan Paul, 1907, two volumes, pp. 682, 628) containing accounts of his four "missions" to the Sudan between 1897 and 1905, his explorations and those of previous explorers, and an elaborate history of the Sudan from the time of King Seneferu of the IV. Dynasty, to the present day.

Professor J. A. Montgomery has published the lectures delivered by him on the John Bohlen foundation in a learned work entitled *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect* (Philadelphia, J. C. Winston, 1907, pp. xiv, 358). The writer presents the results of the researches of many scholars in the history, theology, and literature of this sect.

Mr. Murray announces a book by Professor Ronald M. Burrows on the *Cretan Excavations and their Bearing on Early History* which will summarize the results of the excavations which have been in progress for six years at Knossos and other Cretan sites and are being continued under the direction of Mr. Arthur J. Evans.

Professor Fred Morrow Fling of the University of Nebraska has compiled *A Source Book of Greek History* (Boston, Heath, 1907, pp. xiii, 370) for employment in secondary schools. Helpful use is made of illustrations.

The first two volumes of L. R. Farnell's *The Cults of the Greek States* appeared in 1896. The Oxford University Press has recently issued the third and fourth volumes, dealing with the worship of Ge, Demeter and Kore-Persephone, Hades-Pluto, the Mother of the Gods

and Rhea-Cybele, Poseidon and Apollo. Another volume will follow on the worship of Hermes and Dionysus and on the minor cults.

In the *Revue Historique* of March-April, C. Jullian reviews the important works published in French in the last few years on the subject of Roman antiquity.

An English translation by Alfred E. Zimmern of two volumes of Guglielmo Ferrero's important work on *The Greatness and Decline of Rome* has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons (1907, pp. 336, 396). These volumes cover the period from the death of Sulla to the death of Caesar. The author is continuing the work down to the break-up of the Empire.

The second volume of *The Age of Justinian and Theodora, a History of the Sixth Century* (Macmillan, 1907, pp. 365-765), by W. G. Holmes, completes the work, the first volume of which was published two years ago.

Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam (Paris, Leroux), by M. René Dussaud, deals with the semi-nomad people to whom are due the Safaite inscriptions in the region southeast of Damascus, with the architectural remains on the Arabian-Syrian frontier, and with the history of the alphabet.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. L. Westermann, *Interstate Arbitration in Antiquity* (Classical Journal, March); J. Beloch, *Die Könige von Karthago* (Klio, VII. 1); B. Niese, *Über Wehrverfassung, Dienstpflicht und Heerwesen Griechenlands*, concl. (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIII. 3); G. Kazarow, *Zur Geschichte der Sozialen Revolution in Sparta* (Klio, VII. 1); T. Sokoloff, *Zur Geschichte des Dritten Vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts*, IV. *Die Delphische Amphiktionie* (Klio, VII. 1); W. W. Tarn, *The Fleets of the First Punic War* (The Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. XXVII., part 1., May 6, 1907); E. Kornemann, *Die Neueste Limesforschung (1900-1906) im Lichte der Römisch-Kaiserlichen Grenzpolitik* (Klio, VII. 1); P. M. Meyer, *Papyrusbeiträge zur römischen Kaisergeschichte* (Klio, VII. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In the April number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, M. A. Puech reviews the more important works published since 1901 relating to the history of Greek Christian literature.

A French translation of the first volume of Professor Hartmann Grisar's *Histoire de Rome et des Papes au Moyen Age*, which appeared in 1900, and has been issued only in German and Italian, has been published by E.-G. Ledos through the house of Desclée, Paris (1906, two volumes, pp. 465 and 456). The period covered is from the end of the fourth century to the pontificate of Gregory the Great. The translated text has been revised and in some points completed by the author.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Thurston, *The Influence of Paganism on the Christian Calendar* (The Month, March); H. Delehaye, *Le Témoignage des Martyrologes* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXVI. 1); H. Moretus, *Les Deux Anciennes Vies de S. Grégoire le Grand* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXVI. 1).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Emancipation of the Medieval Towns (1907, pp. 69), the latest number in Professor Earle W. Dow's *Historical Miscellany* (New York, Holt), is a translation by Professor F. G. Bates and Mr. P. E. Titsworth of chapter VIII. of the second volume of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale*. A translation of Lavissee's *Medieval Commerce and Industry*, also from the *Histoire Générale*, is in preparation.

Genséric (Paris, Hachette) is the title of a study of the Vandal conquest in Africa and the destruction of the Empire of the West, by F. Martroye, author of *L'Occident à l'Époque Byzantine*.

Professor Imbart de la Tour of Bordeaux has published under the title *Questions d'Histoire Sociale et Religieuse: Époque Féodale* (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. xvi, 295) studies on the commercial immunities granted to the churches; agricultural colonies and the occupation of desert lands in the Carolingian epoch; the *coutumes* of La Réole, etc.

Professor W. Sickel of Strassburg has made a contribution to the history of the Carolingian administration in his monograph on *Der Fränkische Vicecomitāt* (1907, pp. 87). The last chapter treats of the viscounts of Italy.

The Seven Liberal Arts, by P. Abelson, is a study in medieval culture, published in the series of contributions to education of the Teachers' College of Columbia University (1907, pp. 150).

The Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has published the first installment of E. Goeller's *Die Päpstliche Poenitentie: ihr Ursprung und ihre Entwicklung bis Pius V.* (Rome, Loescher). The first volume covers the period from Innocent III. to Eugenius IV.; the first part contains an historical account, the second, documents.

Father Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., whose contributions to the history of the Franciscans have been previously noticed in our pages, is publishing, through Tennant and Ward, *A Short Introduction to Franciscan Literature*.

M. Noël Valois devotes an important article in volume XXXIII. of the *Histoire Littéraire* (Paris, 1906, pp. 528-623) to the authors of the *Defensor Pacis*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: N. Paulus, *Die Ablässe der Römischen Kirchen vor Innocenz III.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 1); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Papstwahlen und das Kaisertum* (1046-1328), con. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXVIII. 1); E. Bern-

heim, *Die Praesentia Regis im Wormser Konkordat* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, May); P. Doncoeur, *Les Premières Interventions du Saint-Siège relatives à l'Immaculée Conception* (XII^e-XIV^e Siècle) I. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); G. Schnürer, *Neuere Quellenforschungen über den hl. Franz von Assisi* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 1); H. Niese, *Normannische und Staufische Urkunden aus Apulien*, II. (Quellen und Forschungen, X. 1); G. Arias, *Le Società di Commercio Medievali in Rapporto con la Chiesa* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXIX., fasc. III.-IV.).

MODERN HISTORY

The Rev. J. N. Figgis will shortly publish through the Cambridge University Press a small volume on political thought from the Council of Constance to Grotius, dealing with Luther, Machiavelli, the pamphleteers produced by the French religious wars and the Venetian controversy, and the work of Althusius.

Under the title *Factors in Modern History* (London, Constable, 1907, pp. 320) Mr. A. F. Pollard publishes ten essays, mainly in the life and growth of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on such subjects as nationality; the point of departure in modern history; the new monarchy; the coming of the middle class; State versus Church, etc. These studies were first given as lectures to the history teachers of London.

Messrs. James Maclehose and Sons announce the publication of an edition similar to that of Hakluyt's *Voyages of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, which gives an account of the social conditions prevailing in Europe in 1589-1598, but has never been reprinted in full since its original publication in 1617.

The tenth volume of *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. xxv, 936) is entitled *The Restoration*, and deals largely with the period from 1815 to 1845. It includes chapters on "The Spanish Dominions in America", "The Establishment of Independence in Spanish America", and "Brazil and Portugal".

Sicily and England: Social and Political Reminiscences from 1848 to 1870 is the title of a book soon to be published by Messrs. Constable containing studies of Sicilian exiles by Mrs. Tina Whitaker, the daughter of General Scalia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Duhr, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens aus Münchener Archiven und Bibliotheken* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); A. Bourguet, *Le duc de Choiseul et l'Alliance Espagnole: Après le Pacte de Famille* (Revue Historique, May-June).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A number of English archaeologists and antiquaries have recently organized The Manorial Society with the following objects: the compilation of an official roll of manors and of past and present lords

and chief officers of manors; a bibliography of manorial literature, which will, together with the society's collection of manorial books and manuscripts, be open to the inspection of members and correspondents; the compilation and publication of histories of manors, and the collection of information which may serve as material for such purposes; the circulation amongst members of copies, translations, and explanations of ancient documents of interest relating to manors, and an annual report of the transactions of the society; and genealogical work. The headquarters of the society are at 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E. C.

During the twenty-five years since the Wyclif Society was founded for the purpose of bringing within the reach of students the works of the Reformer, which until then had existed only in manuscript, some thirty volumes have been published, dealing with scholastic logic, philosophy and theology; the abuses in the Church, and the doctrines by which these abuses were upheld; and the theory of state government. What remains to be done, though comparatively little, is of much importance. Two treatises of moderate length will complete the *Summa Theologiae*; among what remains there is a very interesting series of tracts which according to the editor, Professor Loserth, of Gratz, will throw fresh light on the relations between Wyclif and the Pope. A very few years would see the work done if the society is well supported, but it is at present hampered from want of funds. A small number of copies of most of the society's publications is still in hand, and special arrangements can be made to supply these to libraries, colleges, or other subscribers wishing to have the complete works. The Honorary Secretary and Treasurer is Miss Dorothy G. Matthew, 56, Fellows Road, London, N. W.

In the Historical Bulletin of the *Revue Historique*, for March-April and May-June, M. Charles Bémont reviews the principal recent works relating to English History.

A French translation by M. G. Lefebvre of the first volume of Bishop Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England* has been published in the Bibliothèque Internationale de Droit Public (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1907). The work has been brought up to date by M. C. Petit-Dutaillis, who has contributed an introduction and very copious notes giving the latest results relating to the many subjects on which new light has recently been thrown.

The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for the October meeting of 1906 contains a comprehensive account of the Roman remains in Britain, by Samuel S. Green.

The Cambridge University Press issues a collection of *Ballads and Poems illustrating English History*, edited by Frank Sidgwick and intended for use in schools.

A few years ago Mr. L. O. Pike delivered at Oxford, at the request of the Regius Professors of Civil Law and Modern History, a lecture

on *The Public Records and the Constitution* (London, Frowde, pp. 39) which is now first published with a few slight alterations and a plan of evolution of the chief courts and departments of the government.

Sir James H. Ramsay will shortly publish through Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein and Company the third volume of his history, dealing with the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. and entitled *The Dawn of the Constitution*.

Dr. Wilhelm Busch has almost ready for publication the continuation of his important *History of England*, the first volume of which dealt with the reign of Henry VII. The second volume will treat of the first half of the reign of Henry VIII.

Rev. W. H. Frere and Rev. C. E. Douglas have edited a volume entitled *Puritan Manifestoes. A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt* (London, S. P. C. K., 1907, pp. xxxi, 155), which includes the "Admonition to the Parliament", 1572, and other rare kindred documents of Elizabeth's time.

Major Martin Hume is writing a book on *Elizabeth and Philip; or, the Whole Story of the Spanish Armada*, which will contain much new information and will form the first volume of a series, entitled *The Romance of History*, to be published by Messrs. Methuen, under the general editorship of Major Hume. The series will aim at combining the attraction of romance with the solid value of scholarly history.

A History of English Congregationalism by the late Rev. Dr. R. W. Dale of Birmingham, has been completed and edited by his son A. W. Dale, vice-chancellor of the university of Liverpool, and published by Hodder and Stoughton, London.

The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields (London, Constable, 1907), by Mr. Gilbert Slater, forms one of the studies edited by the director of the London School of Economics and Political Science. The author aims at showing that the enclosure of the common fields has resulted in the disappearance of small holdings; and that, in at least certain parts of the country, even in comparatively recent times, enclosure has produced rural depopulation and has converted a villager from "a peasant with a medieval status to an agricultural labourer entirely dependent on a weekly wage".

A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company (London, Blackwood, 1907, pp. 284) by J. S. Barbour, formerly accountant of the Bank of Scotland, gives for the first time a connected narrative of the several expeditions to Darien. The book includes 84 pages of appendixes and documents.

The eleventh volume of *The Camden Miscellany* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1907, pp. 210) contains (1) some unpublished news-letters of Gilbert Burnet, the historian, to Lord Halifax, 1679-1680, edited by Miss H. C. Foxcroft; (2) a collection of stories—incidents in English religious life, special providences, etc.—from the papers of the

Rev. Thomas Woodcock, a nonconformist of the seventeenth century, edited by Professor G. C. Moore Smith; (3) memoirs of Sir George Courthop (1616-1685), edited by Mrs. S. C. Lomas; (4) the Commonwealth charter of the city of Salisbury, September, 1656, edited by Mr. Hubert Hall.

A translation of Dr. A. von Ruville's *History of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* is announced for publication by Mr. William Heinemann. The German edition was reviewed in the January number of this journal.

Dr. William Hunt, President of the Royal Historical Society, has edited from an official and contemporary manuscript a confidential document on *The Irish Parliament, 1775* (Longmans, 1907, pp. 92), probably drawn up by Sir John Blaquiére, the chief secretary during the viceroyalty of Lord Harcourt, which states under the name of each member the various offices, sinecures, perquisites, etc., given to the member or his friends, either by the late lord lieutenant, Townshend, or by Harcourt himself. This list is followed by a table of borough-owners; a general index of the members with the character of their voting; a list of the House of Lords with comments very similar to those on the Commons; a note on revenue salaries; and an appendix added by Dr. Hunt, containing some important correspondence with Lord North and the secretary to the treasury relating to the withdrawal of troops from Ireland for the American War, now printed for the first time from the state papers in the Irish Record Office, with comments by the editor.

Mr. Murray is about to publish in two volumes Mr. Charles Stuart Parker's *Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, 1792-1861*, which is based on all the family papers and documents. The correspondence includes letters from and to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Lord Derby, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Disraeli, and John Bright.

Mr. Murray will publish, probably in October, *The Letters of Queen Victoria* in three volumes. The selection, which terminates with the Prince Consort's life, has been made throughout "to show the personality of the Queen, her method of approaching and deciding questions, her outlook, her sympathies, her shrewdness, her perseverance, her diligence".

A History of the County Dublin (Dublin, Thom) by Mr. F. Elrington Ball is based upon a thorough examination of great numbers of manuscript records. The fourth part, which is the last published, deals with the part of the county bordering upon County Kildare.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in the other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. XIII., 1613-1615; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581-1582, preserved in the Public Record Office.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Rev. H. S. Cronin, *The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards* (English Historical Review, April); A. O. Meyer, *Der Britische Kaisertitel zur Zeit der Stuarts* (Quellen und Forschungen, X. 1); G. B. Hertz, *England and the Ostend Company* (English Historical Review, April); W. S. McKechnie, *Thomas Mailand* (Scottish Historical Review, April); E. Dicey, *England's Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares* (The Empire Review, March).

FRANCE

In accordance with the recommendation of its committee on Archives, appointed last year, the Ministry of War has adopted new regulations very favorable to historians, concerning the communication to searchers of documents anterior to 1848, preserved in the military archives of Paris or of the provinces. Many documents of high interest, hitherto dispersed among the diverse services, have been turned over to the historical section of the general staff of the army, where they may be consulted in the ordinary manner. Inventories of the archives, of the technical sections of artillery, engineers, the army corps and of the military governments, and reports of military trials terminated before 1814 may be consulted by properly authorized persons.

The Direction of Archives has undertaken an *État Sommaire des Papiers de la Période Révolutionnaire Conservés dans les Archives Départementales*, to be completed in two volumes, embracing the papers included in class L (administrations of the department, districts and cantons).

The municipal council of Paris has decided to publish a scientific history of the city of Paris from the Gallo-Roman epoch to the time of Philip Augustus. The enterprise will be directed by MM. P. de Patchère (Gallo-Roman epoch), R. Poupardin (Merovingian and Carolingian epoch), and L. Halphen (the first Capetians).

M. A. Grenier has published some studies on the development of Gallo-Roman civilization in a Gallic province, under the title *Habitations Gauloises et Villas Latines dans la Cité des Médiomatrices* (Paris, Champion, 1907). The volume forms fascicle 157 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

Cronique Martiniane (1907, pp. lxxix, 133), the second number in the Bibliothèque du XV. Siècle (Paris, H. Champion), is an important text for the history of Charles VII. being a continuation by John the Clerk (who was in the service of Antoine de Chabannes, one of the most important military figures of the reign) of the *Cronique Martinienne*, the French translation of the Latin chronicle of Martinus Polonus. The editor is M. Pierre Champion.

The first part of Professor F. Strowski's *Histoire du Sentiment Religieux en France au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Plon) covers the period from Montaigne to Pascal.

The Vicomte G. d'Avenel's work on *Prêtres, Soldats et Juges, sous Richelieu* (Paris, Colin), deals with the social organization of the period and the relations of church and state.

Messrs. Scribner will shortly publish a translation of the *Memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne* née d'Osmond, reminiscences of the Revolution, Empire and Restoration, of which the first volume (1781-1814) has gone through five editions in France in less than that number of weeks.

M. Ernest Daudet, who two years ago published the *Mémoires du Comte Valentin Esterhazy*, has now edited with an introduction and notes the *Lettres du Comte Valentin Esterhazy à sa Femme, 1784-1792* (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. viii, 429), treating of social and military life in the last years of the monarchy; of Versailles and the king and queen; Coblenz and the émigrés; and the Russian court and Catherine II.

A superb album illustrating *La Dernière Année de Marie-Antoinette* (Paris, Welter, 1907) with facsimiles of sixty-three documents and prints of the period has been compiled by A. Marty. M. Maurice Tourneux has written the introduction.

A *Bibliographie de la Contre-Révolution dans les Provinces de l'Ouest ou des Guerres de la Vendée et de la Chouannerie* (Paris, Champion) is being compiled by E. Lemièr.

The second part of the history of *La Campagne de 1794 à l'Armée du Nord* (Paris, R. Chapelot), which is being published under the direction of the historical section of the general staff of the French army, will treat of *Operations*. The first volume, dealing with the plan of campaign, the Cateau, and Landrecies, and embracing a large number of documents and charts, has been written by Colonel H. Coutanceau and C. de la Jonquière (1907, pp. xiii, 817).

Frédéric Masson of the French Academy has published the eighth and ninth volumes of his work on *Napoléon et sa Famille*. They treat of the abdication of Fontainebleau and of Napoleon's efforts to obtain provision for all the members of his family.

M. E. Bonnal gives an account of the military reaction during the Restoration in his two volumes entitled *Royalistes contre l'Armée* (Paris, R. Chapelot, 1906).

The French government has recently appointed a commission to undertake the publication of the documents relating to the diplomatic history of the Franco-German war of 1870-1871. The members of the commission are: MM. Aulard, Émile Bourgeois, Joseph Reinach, L. Farges and G. Mandel.

Documentary publications: É. Deville, *Cartulaire de l'Église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger* (Paris, Roustan, 1907, pp. 500); E. Cabié, *Documents sur les Guerres de Religion dans le Sud-Ouest de la France et principalement dans le Quercy* (1516-1590) (H. Champion,

1907); P. de Vaissière, *Letters d' "Aristocrates"—La Révolution racontée par des Correspondances Privées, 1789-1794* (Paris, Perrin, 1907); A. Stern, *Le Prince Louis Bonaparte et la Prince de Metternich en 1838* (Revue Historique, March-April).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. d'Herbomez, *Philippe de Valois et la Maletôte à Tournai* (Le Moyen Age, March-April); H. Sée, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution*, con., (Annales de Bretagne, November); C. Pfister, *Nicholas Remy et la Sorcellerie en Lorraine à la Fin du XVI^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, March-April; May-June); J. Letaconnoux, *La Question des Subsistances et du Commerce des Grains en France au XVIII^e Siècle; Travaux, Sources et Questions à Traiter* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, March); Ph. Sagnac, *La Révolution et l'Ancien Régime* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); Ph. Sagnac, *Les Cahiers de 1789 et leur Valeur* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, February); Goldwin Smith, *The Lesson of the French Revolution* (Atlantic Monthly, April); I. H. Hersch, *The French Revolution and the Emancipation of the Jews* (The Jewish Quarterly Review, April); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Napoleon während der Schlacht bei Belle Alliance* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 1); Ph. Gonnard, *Les Impressions du Comte de Las Cases sur l'Empire Français en 1812* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, February).

ITALY AND SPAIN

The Prussian and Italian Historical Institutes in Rome are together bringing out a series of *Regesta Chartarum Italiae* (Rome, Loescher). The following volumes have appeared or are in preparation: *Regestum Volaterranum* by F. Schneider; *Regestum S. Apollinaris Novi* by V. Federici; *Regestum Camaldulense*, *Regestum Senense* and *Regestum Massanum*.

J. C. K. Sismondi's celebrated *History of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages* (New York, Dutton) has been entirely recast and supplemented in the light of subsequent historical research in one large, inexpensive and valuable volume by W. Boulting.

In order to determine how far the Lombard institutions were maintained or modified in Beneventum during the period from the Carolingian conquest to the arrival of the Normans, M. René Poupardin has brought together the scattered references to these institutions in his work on *Les Institutions Politiques et Administratives des Principautés Lombardes de l'Italie Méridionale. IX^e-XI^e Siècles* (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. vii, 184). The greater part of the volume is occupied with a catalogue of the *Actes* of the Princes of Beneventum and Capua, and with *pièces justificatives*.

The *Chronicle* of Dino Compagni, translated by Else C. M. Benecke and A. G. Ferrers Howell, has been published in the series of Temple Classics (Dent, London).

Mr. Murray announces for publication *Studies in Venetian History* by Mr. Horatio F. Brown.

The Società Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, whose organization was noted in the January number of the REVIEW (p. 456), has published the *Schema di Statuto* (Milan, Lanzani, 1907, pp. 15) approved in the session of the first historical congress of the *Risorgimento* held last November.

The Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Province e la Lombardia has recently initiated a new series, *Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente, 1800-1850*, of which the first volume contains two important studies: *Aneddoti Documentati sulla Censura in Piemonte dalla Restaurazione alla Costituzione*, by Antonio Manno, dealing with the censorship of the press in Piedmont from 1815 to 1848 and containing many unpublished documents; and *Alcuni Episodi del Risorgimento Italiano Illustrati con Lettere e Memorie Inedite del Generale Marchese Carlo Emanuele Ferrero Della Marmora, Principe di Masserano*, by Mario degli Alberti, relating to the years 1848-1849.

Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, the well-known author of *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, *England under the Stuarts*, etc., has published through Longmans a volume entitled *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, written in the brilliant style characteristic of the author, based upon a detailed study of manuscript and printed authorities, and supplied with seven maps and numerous illustrations.

MM. Ch. de Lannoy and H. Van der Linden have published the first volume of their *L'Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens*, which won the prize offered by the king of Belgium. This first volume, *Portugal et Espagne jusqu'au début de XIX^e Siècle* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1907, pp. 451, and four maps), does not aim at giving a history of the colonies themselves, but deals with the phases of expansion, administration of the colonies, the economic régime, Portuguese and Spanish civilization in the colonies, and the results of civilization for the mother countries.

Professor Konrad Häbler will contribute to Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte a Geschichte Spaniens unter den Habsburgern*. The first volume, *Geschichte Spaniens unter der Regierung Karls I. (V.)* (Gotha, Perthes, 1907, pp. 432), has already appeared.

Un Voyage d'Affaires en Espagne en 1718 (Strassburg, Noiriel, pp. 67) contains new extracts published by M. R. Reuss from the unedited memoirs of Jean Éverard Zetzner, of Strassburg, and throws light on the dangers of travel, on the private life of Spain, the operations of the Inquisition, and the details of commerce and banking. Extracts formerly published from the same work appeared in brochures under the titles *Idylle Norvégienne d'un Négociant Strasbourgeois* and *Londres et l'Angleterre en 1700*.

A history in two large volumes of *Le Règne de Charles III. d'Espagne* by M. François Rousseau, has been published by the house of Plon-Nourrit, Paris.

Documentary publications: E. Caspar, *Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien* (Quellen und Forschungen, X. 1); Duc de la Trémoille, *Madame des Ursins et la Succession d'Espagne: Fragments de Correspondance*, vol. VI. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 388).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Jordan, *Die Renaissance in Piacenza* (Archiv für Kultur-Geschichte, V. 2); R. M. Johnston, *A Memoir of Queen Mary Caroline of Naples* (English Historical Review, April); Andrew D. White, *The Statesmanship of Cavour* (Atlantic Monthly, March, April); G. Desdevises du Dezert, *De Trafalgar á Aranjuez (1805-1808)*, concl. (Cultura Española, February).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

Aus der Zeit des Humanismus, by E. Borkowsky (Jena, Diederichs, pp. 250), contains studies of ten typical men of the German Renaissance, Dürer, Erasmus, Celtis, etc., and of two typical cities—Nuremberg and Augsburg.

Deutsche Kultur im Zeitalter des 30 jährigen Krieges (Leipzig, Seemann, 1906, pp. X. 464) by B. Haendcke, Professor of the History of Art in the University of Königsburg, is a contribution to the history of the seventeenth century covering a period considerably longer than 1618-1648.

Since the beginning of the year there has appeared a new series of *Studien zur Geschichte des Neueren Protestantismus* (Giessen, A. Töpelmann), edited by Dr. H. Hoffmann and L. Zscharnack. Heft 1 relates to *Die Bedeutung der Deutschen Aufklärung für die Entwicklung der Historisch-Kritischen Theologie*, by L. Zscharnack; Heft 2, *Die Ethik Pascals*, by K. Bornhausen; while later hefte will treat of *Spalding*, *Herder*, *Schleiermacher*, by H. Stephan; *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch in der Zeit der Deutschen Aufklärung. Rationalistische Liedertexte*, by L. Zscharnack; *Die Deutsche Predigt im Zeitalter des Rationalismus*, by M. Schian; and *Kants Einfluss auf die Theologie*, by P. Kalwett. Another collection, *Kultur und Katholizismus* (Munich, Kircheim) is appearing under the direction of Professor Martin Spahn.

Mr. F. Loraine Petre, the author of a valuable work on Napoleon's campaign in Poland, now publishes *Napoleon's Conquest of Prussia, 1806* (London, John Lane, 1907, pp. xxiii, 311), which is believed to contain the first detailed account of the campaign of Jena written in English since the publication of the official documents in the French War Office.

Die Freie Presse in Sachsen-Weimar von den Freiheitskriegen bis zu den Karlsbader Beschlüssen (1907, pp. ix, 87), by Dr. Hans Ehrenreich, forms a recent number in the *Hallesche Abhandlungen zur Neueren Geschichte* (Halle, Niemeyer), edited by G. Droysen.

Field Marshal von Loë's *Erinnerungen aus meinen Berufsleben, 1849 bis 1867* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt) is especially valuable for the light it throws on the military situation in 1866.

Oskar v. Mitis has published the first fascicle of his *Studien zum älteren Österreichischen Urkundenwesen* (Vienna, Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, pp. 77).

The first volume of J. A. von Helfert's *Geschichte der Österreichischen Revolution im Zusammenhang mit der Mitteleuropäischen Bewegung der Jahre 1848-1849* (Berlin, Herder, 1907, pp. xx, 536) extends to the Austrian constitution of April 25, 1848. A second volume will complete the work.

The labors of the commission on the Roman Limes in Germany and Austria are well known. In the Memoirs of the Hungarian Academy, Gabriel Téglás, who has long been studying the part of the Limes situated in Hungary, sums up the results obtained by the Germans and Austrians and appeals to the Hungarian Academy and government to interest themselves in the research.

To replace the *Katholische Schweizerblätter*, the publication of which ceased in 1905, the Swiss Catholic Association has founded the quarterly *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* (Stans, H. von Matt) which will be concerned with the whole of the ecclesiastical history of Switzerland. The review is published by Monsignor J. P. Kirsch and M. A. Büchi, professors at Freiburg.

Documentary publications: *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Slavoniae*, IV. (1236-1255) (Agram, Trpinac, 1906); K. F. Schmidt-Lötzen, *Dreissig Jahre am Hofe Friedrichs des Grossen* [from the diaries of Count Ernst Ahasverus Heinrich von Lehndorff, court chamberlain of Queen Elisabeth Christine of Prussia] (Gotha, Perthes, 1907, pp. iv, 522).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Markgraf, *Der Einfluss der Juden auf die Leipziger Messen in Früherer Zeit*. I. (Archiv für Kultur-Geschichte, V. 2); A. Nägle, *Hat Kaiser Maximilian I. im Jahre 1507 Papst werden wollen?* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 1); L. Cardauns, *Zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen vornehmlich in Seinen letzten Regierungsjahren* (Quellen und Forschungen, X. 1); G. Guillot, *Léopold I^{er} et sa Cour (1681-1684), d'après la Correspondance Diplomatique du Marquis de Sébeville, Envoyé Français à la Cour de Vienne* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); H. Oncken, *Aus den Briefen Rudolf von Bennigsens*, XXV., XXVI. (Deutsche Revue, April, May).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The principal works relating to the history of the Netherlands published from 1902 to 1906 are reviewed by Th. Bussemaker in the *Revue Historique* for March-April.

In No. 18 of the *Werken* of the Utrecht Historical Society, third series, Professor G. N. Kernkamp has begun the publication of the letters of John de Witt, based upon the great collection of Wittiana made by Professor Robert Fruin. The portion of the statesman's correspondence published in 1729 embraced only the years 1652-1669, and was incomplete even for that period. No. 21 (1907, pp. civ, 574) contains the *Diarium van Arend van Buchell* of Utrecht (1565-1641) including his autobiography and memoirs of the principal events of his time.

Court Life in the Dutch Republic, 1638-1689 (New York, Dutton, pp. ix, 363) is an entertaining contribution to social history by the Baroness Suzette van Zuylen van Nyevelt.

Professors L. Leclère and G. des Marez of the University of Brussels have published in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* for March-April, 1907, pp. 401-464, and in separate form, a study of the historical, professorial, and political activities of their late colleague *Leon Vanderkindere, 1842-1906*. The monograph includes a bibliography of Professor Vanderkindere's works, arranged according to subject, and thus clearly indicating the remarkable range of his interests as well as his great productivity. A collection of the minor writings of Professor Vanderkindere has recently been undertaken.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A small club of scholars and bookmen, called Mikaelsgillet, has undertaken to prepare a Swedish version (the first in that language) of Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555). The first volume of the translation has just appeared. It will occupy three volumes; a fourth will consist of illustrative notes by some of the foremost Swedish scholars.

A translation of a German book by Richard von Mach on *The Bulgarian Exarchate: its History and the Extent of its Authority in Turkey* has recently been published by Mr. Unwin.

Reports on the work of the Roumanian Academy in 1905-1906 (Bucharest, typ. Göbl, 1906, pp. 58) announce the commencement of an edition of the second volume of the *Bibliographie Roumaine Ancienne (1508-1830)*, of which the first two fascicles cover the years 1717-1763; the printing of the first volume of the catalogue of Roumanian manuscripts; of the first fascicle of *Documents Historiques Roumains*, 154 pieces of the years 1576-1628; and of the tenth and last volume of the series of Acts and Documents relative to the history of the revival of Roumania.

The studies in diplomatic history published by P. Pierling under the title *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, Plon, 1907) treat of Peter the Great, the Sorbonne, the Dolgorouki, the Duc de Liria and Jubé de la Cour.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. B. Bury, *The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennetos* (English Historical Review, April); G. Cahen, *Les Relations de la Russie avec la Chine et les Peuplades Limitrophes à la Fin du XVII. Siècle et dans le Premier Quart du XVIII.* (Revue Historique, May-June); P. Hildebrandt, *Die Polnische Königswahl von 1697 und die Konversion Augusts des Starken* (Quellen und Forschungen, X. 1); G. Yakschitch, *La Russie et la Porte Ottomane de 1812 à 1826*, concl. (Revue Historique, March-April); A.-D. Xénopol, *Le Règne du Prince Alexandre Jean I. (Couza), traité d'après la Méthode des Séries Historiques* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); V. G. Simkhovitch, *History of the School in Russia* (Educational Review, May).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Leaflet No. 4 of the American Bureau of Industrial Research is a report of work for 1904-1906. The Bureau has been engaged for the most part in locating, collecting, and classifying material bearing upon the history of industrial democracy. Not only have libraries been ransacked, but a careful search has been carried on for materials at the headquarters of trade unions, employers' associations, and the like, and also in private hands. The general survey of the field has been made by J. R. Commons. Miss Helen L. Summer has been engaged in locating the materials in libraries, while J. B. Andrews has conducted a very successful search for materials in private hands, much of which has been turned over to the Bureau. A somewhat special field, that of the Southern states, has been in charge of U. B. Phillips, who has secured much material in the way of plantation records, private correspondence, and fugitive pamphlets. A collection of the documentary material is to be printed through the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution and the University of Wisconsin.

Dodd, Mead and Company, who have had in preparation for some time a catalogue of the library of Mr. E. Dwight Church, announce for early issue as Part I. a complete catalogue of the American portion of the library. The library contains many rare volumes of Americana, including a number of works printed before 1500, and several Columbus and Vespucci letters. There are complete sets of the great collections of voyages and travels, and a large number of early works relating to New France, to Virginia, and to New England.

The Library of Congress has published a *Preliminary Check List of American Almanacs, 1639-1900* (pp. 160), prepared by Hugh Alexander Morrison of the Library of Congress. This list, says the compiler, "is a contribution toward a check list, and is put into type for the purposes: (1) Of inviting additional titles, and (2) of enabling the Library of Congress to perfect its own files". The whereabouts of copies listed is indicated when known to the compiler.

Mr. Robert W. Neeser has in preparation, and in part ready for publication, *A Statistical and Chronological History of the United States Navy, 1775-1907*. It is in six parts: (1) administration of the Navy Department, and events and dates of reference; (2) engagements, expeditions, and captures of war vessels; (3) captures of merchantmen; (4) record of service and fate of each vessel; (5) statistical tables; (6) privateers, Confederate Navy, and state navies. An important part of the work will be a bibliography of all the publications by the government bearing on naval history, and of other printed material, and a complete inventory of the archives of the Navy Department together with an account of the naval material in other archives. Each event listed is accompanied by references to all printed and manuscript material bearing on it.

The Magazine of History prints in its January, February, and March issues a number of letters from Washington to George and James Clinton. In the January number is printed also "The battle between the Kearsarge and the Alabama", an address delivered in January 1906 before the Union League of Philadelphia, by Rear Admiral Joseph A. Smith, U. S. N., said to be the last survivor of that battle. In the February and March number A. Franklin Ross presents two installments of a paper on "The History of Lotteries in New York".

The American Historical Magazine in its March issue continues its articles on "The Van Rensselaer Family" and "The Physical Evolution of New York City in a Hundred Years". A very suggestive paper in this issue is "Some Lessons of History", by James Ford Rhodes.

Charles Scribner's Sons have just brought out, under the auspices of the Navy League of the United States, *A Short History of the American Navy*, by John R. Spears.

In the series of "Biographies of Leading Americans", which Messrs. Henry Holt and Company are publishing, the volumes on the "Leading Historians" will be edited by Professor W. P. Trent, the general editor of the series.

The annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held at Newport, Rhode Island, July 4.

A new volume in the "Citizens' Library" (The Macmillan Company) is: *The Spirit of American Government: A Study of the Constitution—Its Origin, Influence and Relation to Democracy*, by J. Allen Smith.

The inventory of the archives of the hôpital of Honfleur, recently published in the series of *Inventaires Sommaires des Archives Départementales* (Calvados, série H, supplém., t. II.) includes an analysis of the private papers of the Lion family, an important family of privateers of this port, whose commercial correspondence is full of interest for the history of maritime relations between the principal ports of the mother-country and the French colonies of America, especially for Santo Domingo.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

The fifth volume of the series "Prehistoric America", by Dr. Stephen D. Peet, has been published (Chicago, The American Antiquarian). It bears the title: *Myths and Symbols: or the Aboriginal Religions of America*.

The prize of the Duc de Loubat for the best work published in five years on the early history of America has been awarded by the French Academy to Mr. Henry Vignaud, first secretary of the American Embassy in Paris, for his well-known work on Christopher Columbus.

A new volume in Harper and Brothers' "Heroes of America" series is *Ferdinand Magellan*, by Frederick A. Ober.

The Macmillan Company have recently issued a reprint in two volumes of Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, together with his *True Travels, Adventures and Observations*, and his *Sea Grammar*.

It should have been noted in an earlier issue that the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania has republished in facsimile *The American Weekly Mercury*, volume III., 1721-1722. Two hundred and fifty copies were printed, after which all of the plates and negatives were destroyed. The volume contains an index.

A recent work which treats of an interesting phase of colonial history is *Early Concert-Life in America, 1731-1800*, by O. G. T. Sonneck, chief of the division of music in the Library of Congress (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel). In addition to presenting much interesting material respecting early public concerts in America, the author establishes the fact, contrary to the general belief, that concert-life was developed rather earlier in America than on the continent of Europe. The work opens with a chapter on Charleston, for, the author asserts, "New England's share in the development of our early musical life has been unfairly and unduly overestimated to the disadvantage of the middle colonies and the South."

The *Journal* of the Friends' Historical Society presents in its January issue some extracts from the letters of Edmund Peckover, written during a journey through America in 1742-1743.

The interesting article by Jonas Howe on "Major Ferguson's Riflemen—The American Volunteers", which has been appearing in installments in the *Acadiensis*, closes, in the April issue, with an account of the battle of King's Mountain. Facsimile pages are given of the diary of Lieutenant Allaire, of which much use is made throughout the article.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of Works Relating to the French Alliance in the American Revolution*, compiled by A. P. C. Griffin. The titles are arranged under several headings, such as "Works

relating to the French Alliance", "The French Fleet in the American Revolution", "The Siege of Yorktown". The bibliography includes United States Government documents and articles in periodicals.

The American Catholic Historical Researches in its April issue prints a list of the commissioned officers of the Navy of the Revolution, said to be a copy of the manuscript list sent to President Washington by Secretary Knox. In the same issue is considerable material and discussion bearing upon the attitude of Canada toward the Revolution. An article on "The Commodores of the Navy of the United Colonies" is reprinted from *Appleton's Magazine*.

A volume commemorative of Justice James Wilson is about to be published under the auspices of the St. Andrews Society of Pennsylvania, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the North Carolina Historical Association. The volume will be an edition *de luxe*, of from 300 to 400 pages. It will include, among other things, the several tributes and addresses delivered in connection with the recent memorial services; a monograph, "James Wilson as a Political Scientist", by Professor A. C. McLaughlin, and another, "Wilson's Contributions to the Science of Jurisprudence", by James DeWitt Andrews, LL.D.; a Wilson bibliography, by Professor A. B. Hart; and a reprint of Wilson's speeches in support of the constitution, delivered during the debates in the Pennsylvania Convention.

The Buffalo Historical Society has in preparation an edition of the letters and other writings of President Fillmore.

"Leaves from my Historical Scrap Book" is the title of a book by Barnett A. Elzas (Charleston, S. C., 1907). The table of contents, as given in the prospectus, shows one or two features that should be of interest. For example: "An Index to the Historical Material in the [Charleston] *Courier*, 1855-1860", and "Newspaper references to Judah P. Benjamin".

William McKinley; a Biographical Study, by A. Elwood Corning, with introductory address by President Roosevelt, has been issued by the Broadway Publishing Company.

An interesting and valuable monograph entitled *Our State Constitutions* (pp. 98), by James Q. Dealey, has been issued as a supplement to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1907. It is a comparison of constitutions as they stood at the close of the year 1905, and is intended as a guide to the study of the fundamental law of the states. The treatment is primarily comparative, but the lines of historical development, the social and political forces underlying constitutional provisions, are also pointed out.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Carnegie Institution has issued the first section of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's index to the economic and administrative material contained

in the public documents of the individual states. This first issue comprises the material relating to Maine.

The state of New Hampshire will issue about August 1, through the department of the editor of *State Papers*, the first volume of New Hampshire Probate Records, covering the period from Captain John Mason's will in 1635 to about 1720. Every will is to be printed in full, except the preamble, and followed by careful abstracts of all other documents connected with the case. The registers of Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, and Old Norfolk counties in Massachusetts, and York county in Maine, have been thoroughly searched for New Hampshire material. The entire publication of these probate records will extend to three or four volumes, and is in the hands of Mr. Otis G. Hammond, the assistant editor. Mr. Batchellor, the editor-in-chief, is devoting his time to the second volume of *New Hampshire Province Laws*, one volume of which, covering the period from 1679 to 1702, has already been issued.

Mr. Robert T. Swan, Commissioner of Public Records of Massachusetts, has issued his *Nineteenth Report* on the custody and condition of the public records of parishes, towns, and counties. There are numerous useful suggestions in regard to the care to be taken in the making of the records as well as in their preservation. There is a circular of specific directions to city and town clerks, and another explaining the method of dating prior to 1752. An appendix contains a summary of the laws relating to the public records.

The ninth volume of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, which will contain a check-list of all the Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1790, with indication of numbers in various libraries and with elaborate notes by Mr. Albert Matthews, is now all in type. It is expected to be issued in July.

The Essex Institute Historical Collections continues in the April issue the "Salem Town Records, 1659-1680", and prints, among other things, "Extracts from the Interleaved Almanacs of William Wetmore of Salem, 1774-1778", from the originals now in possession of Hon. George Peabody Wetmore of Newport, R. I.

Mr. D. B. Updike (the Merrymount Press, Boston) announces a new edition, in two volumes, of Updike's *Narragansett Church*, first published in 1847. The new edition is being prepared under the editorship of Rev. Daniel Goodwin, D.D., and, in addition to numerous annotations by the editor, will contain much additional matter, including a large number of portraits.

Mr. Charles Warren Lippitt, formerly governor of Rhode Island, prints in a small pamphlet (pp. 38, xxx) with the title *The Rhode Island Declaration of Independence, May 4, 1776*, an address intended to prove that Rhode Island was the first colony to declare itself independent of Great Britain.

Under the title of *A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of James Mitchell Varnum of Rhode Island*, James M. Varnum of New

York has published a pamphlet biography (pp. 42) of one of Rhode Island's Revolutionary heroes, with a bibliography. It has as a frontispiece a reproduction of the portrait of General Varnum owned by the author.

Among the manuscripts recently presented to the Connecticut Historical Society are the following: "Connecticut's Case" in the boundary dispute between Massachusetts and Connecticut about 1750; a number of letters of Thomas Fanning (1772-1783); about six hundred business letters written (1838-1848) to Edward Wessen, a manufacturer of rifles, Northborough, Massachusetts. At the annual meeting of the society, May 28, Samuel Hart, D.D., of Middletown, was re-elected president.

Olds Ulster, January to May, contains a number of interesting items of local history, besides much genealogical matter. Of the latter sort, "The Kocherthal Records" (early eighteenth century), beginning in the February issue, are of most importance. "The Newburgh Palatines" (March and April), and "The Palatine Exodus" (May), are most deserving of mention.

The "Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman", which has been appearing in the *German American Annals*, is brought to a conclusion in the January and February number.

Following are some recent accessions to the manuscript department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: papers of Ellis Lewis, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1854-1857 (commissions, letters, etc.); papers of George Bryan, president of Pennsylvania, 1778 (letters, broadsides, legal opinions, commissions); and a collection of papers of Rufus King. In the last named collection is one paper deserving of especial mention: "Plan for the Government of America, 1780".

In addition to the continuation of "Washington's Household Account Book" and "Account of Servants Bound and Assigned", the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January prints some letters and documents from the "Clymer Papers". The most noteworthy article is by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker on "Bebber's Township and the Dutch Patroons of Pennsylvania", prepared mainly from deeds and original documents in the writer's possession. Louis Richards gives a sketch of "Hon. James Wilson at Reading, Penna.", and John H. Hazelton discusses the historical value of Trumbull's painting "The Declaration of Independence".

Part four (April) of the *Pennsylvania German's* symposium on "German Migrations in the United States and Canada" includes "Pennsylvania German Colonies in Iowa", by D. S. Fouse; and "The Germans in Nova Scotia", by J. A. Scheffer.

There was recently presented to the Maryland Historical Society, by Mr. Richard D. Fisher, a volume of "transcripts of all the correspondence of the Eden Administration of the Province of Maryland now

existing in the British Public Record Office and the British Dartmouth MSS." A portion of this correspondence is printed in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. A paper of interest in this issue is: "Transported Convict Laborers in Maryland during the Colonial Period", by Mr. Basil Sollers.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society, volume X. (Washington, 1907, pp. 276), contains a biographical sketch of the once famous Ann Royall, by Miss Sarah H. Porter, and a diary for 1800, the first year of the new national capital, kept by Mrs. Thornton, wife of Dr. William Thornton, designer of the Capitol and commissioner of the federal city. There is also an illustrated account, by Mr. F. E. Woodward, of the boundary-stones of the District of Columbia.

The Bibliographical Society of America met in Asheville, N. C., May 25-28, in conjunction with the American Library Association and the National Association of State Librarians. Of chief historical interest was a symposium on "The First Presses of the Southern States". The first presses of Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama were described by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History: those of South Carolina by Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission; those of Tennessee by Mr. Edwin Wiley, of the Library of Congress, formerly of Vanderbilt University.

The Southern History Association in its *Publications* for January prints two interesting letters from George Canning (1822) to Stratford Canning, English ambassador at Washington, relative to the attitude of the United States toward Cuba. There is also an interesting sketch by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of a secret society known as "The Heroes of America", which flourished in North Carolina for a time after the close of the Civil War. The March number prints some Sumter letters, mainly letters from General Greene to Sumter taken from Greene's letter-books, but also one letter from Sumter to Joseph Martin, December 7, 1763, from the Draper collection. An item of some interest is: "French Immigrants to Louisiana, 1796-1800", material communicated by L. M. Pérez. It is presumed that this is from the Cuban archives, but unfortunately no indication of its source is given. Additional portions of the McHenry papers (January) and the Doolittle correspondence (January and March) are given.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April completes the list, begun in February, of works in the library relating to Virginia.

In the Historical Department of the Jamestown Exposition, directed by Mr. Albert Cook Myers, has been gathered together a remarkable collection of material relating to American colonial history. The collections for Pennsylvania and Virginia are particularly worthy of note. The latter embraces more than a thousand pieces, including many interesting autographs, documents illustrating various departments of the colonial government, local records and business papers of that period, and much Revolutionary matter.

Among the numerous books called forth by the Jamestown Exposition is: *The Birth of the Nation: Jamestown, 1607*, by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor (The Macmillan Company).

The Virginia State Library will shortly publish a bibliography of colonial literature, said to contain more than five hundred titles of Virginiana. The fourth volume of the *Journal of the House of Burgesses* will also shortly appear, and the fifth volume a little later. These two volumes cover the period from 1758 to 1765.

Mr. David I. Bushnell has recently discovered in the British Museum the original manuscript of "A Journal from Virginia, Beyond the Apalachian Mountains in Sept. 1671", a somewhat condensed and otherwise imperfect transcript of which was printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, III. 193-197, in 1853. The manuscript journal is printed in full in the *American Anthropologist* for January-March, important variations from the transcript being indicated in foot-notes. This issue of the *Anthropologist* is mainly devoted to articles concerning the Virginia Indians. We note as of especial historical interest these: C. C. Willoughby, "Virginia Indians in the Seventeenth Century"; and James Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present".

Apropos of the Jamestown Exposition, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April reprints from *Archæologia Americana*, vol. IV., "Newport's Virginia's Discovery, 1607". In the same number are presented, under the caption "The Starving Time", two letters from Lord Delaware to the Earl of Salisbury, 1610 and 1611. Of especial interest is a table taken from a collection of Virginia laws printed about 1758, showing the several assemblies that sat from 1661 to 1758. The table gives the number of acts passed, the names of the governors and the speakers, but only the beginning date of the session. A comparison of this table with that given in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1897 (the latter begins with 1680) shows that there were several assemblies during that period not noted in this table. On the other hand this table lists a few not given in the Report. There are also a few differences in dates.

The pages of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are mainly devoted to the publication of documents. Of new matter, the most important is "Letters to Thomas Walker Gilmer", including a letter of Charles A. Wickliffe, 1832, relative to the state-rights question, and one each from George W. Hopkins and Grenville T. Winthrop, September and October, 1841, touching the policy of President Tyler. "Explorations beyond the Mountains" is a reprint, from the *New York Colonial Documents*, of the journal of Thomas Batt (properly of Arthur Fallows) "from Virginia Beyond the Apalachian Mountains in Sept., 1671". As noted elsewhere, the original of this imperfect transcript has recently

been found, and has been printed in the *American Anthropologist* (January-March).

The History and Government of West Virginia (third edition, pp. 518), by R. E. Fast and H. Maxwell, has come from the press of the Acme Publishing Company (Morgantown, 1906).

The legislature of North Carolina has passed an act extending the duties and powers of the State Historical Commission. The commission is to consist of three members, serving without pay, for terms of six years each. The commission is authorized to employ a secretary and to hire an office until one shall become available in the state library building. Its duties comprise the collection and custody of all archives and other public records which shall be transferred from state, county, and town offices, the preparation of a biennial report, and the editing and publication of historical documents. The transfer of these archives is not compulsory, but it is to be at the discretion of the various officials in whose custody they are at present. An annual appropriation of \$5,000 is made available for the maintenance of the commission. Thus is opened the way for the development of an exceedingly valuable body of archive and other material, and the state of North Carolina is to be congratulated on the success of the efforts which have been made in its historical interests.

Charles L. Van Noppen (Greensboro) has in press the first volume of a *History of North Carolina*, by Samuel L. Ashe. The work is to be completed in two volumes and is to cover the whole period "from the days of Sir Walter Raleigh to the present time". As few state histories written on this scale have approached very near to our day, this work should prove interesting and serviceable.

A sketch of William R. Davie, by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, together with a number of Davie's letters annotated by Dr. Kemp P. Battle, has been published by the University of North Carolina.

The Historical Commission of South Carolina, which has the custody of all public records of the State of South Carolina save those in current use, has just issued two volumes of the early legislative journals of the province of South Carolina. Both are journals of the Grand Council, or upper house. The first covers the period from 1671 to 1680 and the second the greater part of the year 1692. These fragments of the original set of journals of the Council for the first quarter of South Carolina's history are all that are now known to be in existence. The commission is annually given, by appropriation of the General Assembly, a fund with which to publish historical materials. Other publications will follow as rapidly as they can be prepared for publication.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for April continues its publication of the letters of Lafayette and Henry Laurens, and prints the concluding portion of "An Order Book of the 1st Regiment, S. C. Line, Continental Establishment".

The *Fifth Annual Report* of the director of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi has just come from the press. The report summarizes the work of the department since 1902, and describes in detail what has been done in recent months toward securing transcripts of documents in foreign archives pertaining to the territory of Mississippi. The volume contains a calendar of the "Correspondance Générale—Louisiane", 1678-1763 (pp. 61-152). As the result of Dr. Rowland's mission to Europe, copies of four volumes of the West Florida correspondence have already been received from the Public Record Office in London. The Department will publish a carefully edited volume of these important documentary materials early in 1908.

Dr. Rowland has also brought out a handbook of Mississippi history in three volumes. The material is arranged in cyclopedic form, and consists of sketches of counties, towns, institutions, and important events, and a large number of biographical sketches. In the preparation of this work extensive use has been made for the first time of the state archives.

Volume IX. of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society, edited by Professor Franklin L. Riley of the University of Mississippi, has recently come from the press. This volume of 589 pages contains the most important contributions to different phases of state history which have been completed since the appearance of volume VIII. of the series. Of the nineteen articles making up the contents of the volume we have space for the mention of only a few. "The Enforcement Act of 1871 and the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi", by J. S. McNeilly, is a valuable chapter in Ku Klux history. "A Contribution to the History of the Colonization Movement in Mississippi", by Dr. F. L. Riley, consists in the main of the correspondence of Dr. John Ker, vice-president of the American Colonization Society and of the Mississippi Colonization Society. An interesting reprint is J. F. H. Claiborne's "A Trip Through the Piney Woods", first printed in the *Natchez Free Trader and Gazette* in 1841-1842. Another reprint is James Hall's "Brief History of Mississippi Territory", printed in 1801. An article of value because of the insight which it gives into pioneer life is Dr. Gideon Linceum's "Life of Apushimataha", written in 1861. Other articles that may be mentioned are two on reconstruction in Mississippi, by G. J. Leftwich and W. C. Wells, and a sketch of "The Public Services of E. C. Walthall", by A. W. Garner.

In the January issue of the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, Ernest W. Winkler concludes his paper on "The Seat of Government of Texas", tracing the steps in the permanent location of the capital, from 1837 to 1840. In the same number is "A Study of the Route of Cabeza de Vaca" by James Newton Bassett, aiming to supply an examination of materials bearing upon the location of the route which have been neglected in previous studies.

In its April issue *The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly* concludes "The Autobiography of Allen Trimble".

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April has an article on "Welsh Settlements in Ohio", by William Harvey Jones. An account of the annual meeting of the society is given in this number. In the department "Editorialana" are reprinted two sermons of the Reverend Morgan John Rhys, preached before the officers and army of General Wayne, at Greenville, July 4 and 5, 1795.

We welcome the *Quarterly Publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, of which the four numbers constituting volume I. (1906) have appeared. The first number (January-March) consists of the "Personal Narrative of William Lytle". The writer was a youthful emigrant from Pennsylvania to Kentucky in 1780, and was engaged in a number of expeditions against the Indians, among them the expedition under Logan against the Mac-o-chee Indians in 1786. The narrative ends abruptly in 1788, in the midst of the so-called "Grant's Defeat". In the April-June issue are printed some letters of Hiram Powers, the sculptor, to Nicholas Longworth, 1856 and 1858. The issue for July-September is devoted to "Selections from the Towner Papers" (which are in the manuscript collections of the society), arranged and edited by Isaac J. Cox. The selections here printed are letters of four brothers Findlay, all of whom were more or less engaged in politics about 1830. They illustrate the substratum of politics in the Jacksonian era.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for March presents an article: "The First Thoroughfares", being number 1 of a series dealing with the history of internal improvements in the state. A map, showing the stage-coach routes in 1838, accompanies the article.

Number 2 of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, vol. IV. is composed of a paper on "The Word Hoosier", by Jacob Piatt Dunn, and a sketch of "John Finley", by Mrs. Sarah A. Wrigley (his daughter). Finley, it appears, did not coin the word Hoosier in his poem "The Hoosier's Nest", but found it in verbal use when he wrote (about 1830). "The Hoosier's Nest" is here printed in what is probably its original form.

Among the recent manuscript acquisitions of the Chicago Historical Society are these: Thirty-two documents relative to the "Mormon War" in Illinois (June, 1844), the gift of Dr. O. L. Schmidt; day-book of the *Chicago-American*, 1837-1841; record of arrivals and clearances of vessels at the port of Chicago, 1838. The society has in press "Father Pierre-François Pinet, S.J., and His Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago, 1696-1699", by Frank P. Grover; and "Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, a Biographical Sketch", by Henry E. Hamilton.

The Chicago Historical Society has issued a "Biographical Sketch of Hon. Joseph Duncan, Fifth Governor of Illinois", by E. W. Blatch-

ford; and a "Biographical Sketch of Hon. John Peter Altgeld, Twentieth Governor of Illinois", by Edward O. Brown.

"The Old Kaskaskia Records", an address read before the Chicago Historical Society, February 2, 1906, has been published by the society. The finding of these records was noted in the issue of the REVIEW for April, 1906.

The next publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints will be of a document entitled *Invitation Sérieuse aux Habitants des Illinois*, signed "Un Habitant des Kaskaskia", reprinted from the copy of 1772 in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The Union Cause in Kentucky, 1860-1865, by Captain Thomas Speed, adjutant of the twelfth Kentucky infantry, has appeared from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The May *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains sketches of governors Stephenson and Leslie, by Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, a paper on the separation of Kentucky from Virginia, by Z. T. Smith, and a "talk" on the life and work of George Rogers Clarke, by Colonel R. T. Durrett. Branches of the society are being organized over the state.

Mr. Joshua W. Caldwell has revised and enlarged his work *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* (Cincinnati, The Robert Clarke Company).

Investigators of Western and Southwestern history have long felt the need of a comprehensive guide to the extensive manuscript materials in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This want has been met by the society in its *Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections*, recently issued under the editorship of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites (Madison, 1906, pp. viii, 197). By far the most important collection of manuscripts in the society's possession is that known as the Draper Manuscripts. The description of this collection occupies, in the volume before us, 104 pages, whereas all the other manuscripts belonging to the society are described in 14 pages. There is an appendix containing summarized statements concerning important historical manuscript collections elsewhere in the Old Northwest and in other states adjacent to Wisconsin. The accounts given of these collections, "as reported by their custodians", are, with one or two exceptions, rather summary. It is to be hoped that these several agencies will prepare for the benefit of investigators a more detailed account of the manuscript materials in their possession.

We have received the *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin Historical Society for 1906. The "Green Bay and Prairie du Chien Papers" (99 folio volumes), bearing upon the Fox-Wisconsin valley, have been bound. As was noted in the January issue, the society has acquired from the estate of Morgan L. Martin a quantity of valuable papers, which will in many essential points supplement the Green Bay and Prairie du Chien

Papers; and also the papers of Moses M. Strong (about 230 volumes), relating chiefly to the settlement of Wisconsin, but also containing political documents of historical value. There are several articles of interest in the volume, among which may be mentioned "Marquette's Authentic Map Possibly Identified", by Louise P. Kellogg; "Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632-1832", by P. V. Lawson; "The Founding of Milwaukee", by E. S. Mack.

The Wisconsin Historical Society is issuing a special series of volumes of Colonial and Revolutionary documents contained in the Draper collection in the society's possession. The matter of selecting and editing is done by Secretary Thwaites and his editorial staff, but the cost of printing is borne by the Wisconsin Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. The first volume, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (1774), edited by Dr. Thwaites and Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, was published two years ago. The second, to be published next winter, will be entitled *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio*. The documents of which the volume will be made up, largely letters and reports of the militia officers in the outlying forts to the commandant at Fort Pitt, and his orders and replies, will illustrate Revolutionary movements in the Pittsburgh region and western Virginia. A third volume in this series will cover the militia operations from 1775 until the summer of 1778, when a body of regulars was sent from the East to aid the frontiersmen in the desperate struggle to hold their line.

The Wisconsin legislature has passed an act authorizing any state official to deposit permanently with the Wisconsin Historical Society, in the latter's capacity as trustee for the state, any records or archives not specifically required by law to be retained in the office of such official as a part of the public records. The society is required to classify and arrange the material so as to make it available for public use, and also, on application of any citizen of Wisconsin, to furnish certified copies of any document.

The General Assembly of Iowa, before its adjournment in April, 1907, appropriated \$12,000 for the care and preservation of the public archives for the biennial period from July, 1907 to July, 1909, and added \$4,500 to the permanent annual support of the State Historical Society of Iowa. Mr. John C. Parish has been appointed assistant editor for the society.

Under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Iowa the fiftieth anniversary of the constitution of Iowa was celebrated at Iowa City, March 19 to 22. Addresses delivered were: "A Written Constitution in Some of its Historical Aspects", by Professor A. C. McLaughlin; "The Relation between General History and the History of Law", by Eugene Wambaugh; "The Romance of Mississippi Valley History", by Dr. R. G. Thwaites; "The Constitutional Convention and the Issues before it", by Emlin McClain, justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa.

In connection with this celebration a neat pocket edition of the constitution of 1857, with an historical introduction by B. F. Shambaugh, has been issued by the society.

In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April is printed a "Bibliography of the Iowa Territorial Documents", by T. J. Fitzpatrick. The bibliography is intended to include all publications issued by the state during the Territorial period, 1838 to 1846, and consists mainly of legislative documents. Hugh S. Buffum continues his paper "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa", and D. E. Clark writes of "The Beginnings of Liquor Legislation in Iowa".

Among the articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for April may be mentioned "Memories of a Swedish Immigrant", by C. J. A. Ericson, and "At Lincoln's First Inauguration", by Charles Aldrich. There is also a brief discussion of "The Constitution of 1857 and the People", together with some account of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the state constitution.

The leading article in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* for October, which now appears as a quarterly, is "William Clark: Soldier, Explorer, Statesman", by R. G. Thwaites. The article is accompanied by a portrait of Clark, and also one of Dr. Thwaites. "A Batch of Old Letters, 1840-1854" contains some letters of interest. We note particularly the letter of B. F. Stringfellow to Governor Reynolds, September 20, 1842, and that of James S. Rollins to Major John Dougherty, December 11, 1854. The latter illustrates the political ferment of the time.

The Arkansas Historical Association has in preparataion, under the editorship of Professor J. H. Reynolds of the University of Arkansas, a volume of material pertaining to military affairs in Arkansas during the Civil War, mainly the records of the Military Board of Arkansas. The legislature has appropriated \$1,600 for the work.

We note the appearance of the first volume of the *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota* (Bismarck, pp. 500). Among the addresses and papers in the volume are: "The Uses of an Historical Society", by Professor A. C. McLaughlin; "The Icelandic Settlement of Pembina County", by Sveinbjorn Johnson; "Foreign Immigration into North Dakota", by Jesse A. Tanner; "Leaves from Northwestern History", by Linda W. Slaughter. The last paper consists mainly of the records of missionary enterprises, particularly those of Father Genin, 1864 to 1899. The volume contains also a list of the newspapers in the possession of the society. There is an index to the volume, but a more complete table of contents would be of real value.

The principal articles of historical interest in the April number of *The Washington Historical Quarterly* are: "Cook's Place in Northwestern History", by J. N. Bowman; and "The Protestant Episcopal as a Missionary and Pioneer Church", by Mrs. Thomas W. Prosch.

A document of interest is the diary of John E. Howell, an emigrant from Missouri to Oregon in 1845. The reprint of George Wilkes's "History of Oregon, Geographical and Political" is continued.

Internal Taxation in the Philippines, by John S. Hord, Collector of Internal Revenue in the Philippine Islands, appears as no. 1 of Series XXV. of the Johns Hopkins University Studies. The author sketches briefly the old system, the introduction of the new law of 1903, and analyzes the results.

Antonio De Morga's *History of the Philippine Islands*, edited by J. A. Robertson, is announced by the Arthur H. Clark Company for separate issue.

Aguinaldo et les Philippines ("Les Hommes de Révolution") by M. Henri Turtot, with preface by M. Jean Jaurès, has recently appeared (Paris, 1906, Léopold Cerf).

By a recent Order in Council of the Canadian government the "Historical Manuscripts Commission of Canada" has been instituted. It is attached to the Ministry of Agriculture, of which department the Canadian archives have always formed a part. Its members are appointed by that Minister, who, together with the Archivist of the Dominion, is *ex officio* a member. There are to be seven other members, of whom five have been appointed: Professors Charles W. Colby of McGill, George M. Wrong of Toronto, and Adam Shortt of Queens University, Mr. Joseph Édouard Roy, and the Abbé Gosselin. The function of the commission are to advise with the minister as to collection, care, custody, and publication of historical materials relating to Canada.

The newest number of the Harvard Historical Studies is *The Seignorial System in Canada: a Study in French Colonial Policy*, by W. B. Munro.

The Quebec Landmark Commission, consisting of Messrs. F. Lange-lier, E. E. Taché, and William Weed, has published its first report, bearing date December 22, 1906, the principal recommendation of which is that the territory between Wolfe's Cove and the citadel be permanently reserved as a park, commemorating the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. It is earnestly to be hoped that the recommendation will be carried out. As is well known, the present reservation does not embrace the battle-field, the site of which has been definitely determined only within recent years. Most of the territory to be included within the proposed park is already public land, and the principal obstacles appear to be the jail, unfortunately built a few feet from the spot where Wolfe died, and a rifle factory, marking Montcalm's left. It is urged that these be removed to other locations, thus making possible the preservation almost in its original condition of one of the most striking battle-fields of the world.

Wilmot and Tilley, by James Hannay, is a new volume in "The Makers of Canada" series (Toronto, Morang and Co.).

The leading article in the May number of the *American Political Science Review* is: "Responsible Government in the British Colonial System", by Stephen Leacock. The paper deals with the circumstances under which the right of self-government was acquired by the Province of Canada, and is concerned chiefly with the period from 1838 to 1849.

Mr. W. F. Ganong's *Additions and Corrections* to his monographs on place-nomenclature, cartography, historic sites, evolution of boundaries, and settlement-origins of the Province of New Brunswick has appeared as a reprint from the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (Ottawa, 1906, pp. 157, viii). There is added also a title-page, preface, and table of contents to the entire series.

Dr. Hiram Bingham has returned from his six-months trip in South America the purpose of which was announced in these columns in January. Together with Dr. Hamilton Rice, F.R.G.S., who accompanied him throughout the trip, he spent ten days on Crab Island in locating the exact spot where the Scots Darien Colony landed in 1698, and then proceeded to Caracas where some time was spent in examining a valuable collection of books and other material on South American history, the greater part of which Dr. Bingham was able to acquire. From Caracas they went to Valencia and spent over a week in surveying the battle-fields of Carabobo. From this point to Bogotá the trip was made on mules and the party followed the route taken by Bolivar during the wars of liberation. In addition to much topographical data Dr. Bingham was able to secure about 3,000 volumes and pamphlets and the expedition may well be regarded as of first importance for the study of South American history in the United States.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Thomas Chalmers, *Congregational Churches in New Hampshire* (Granite State Magazine, February); J. P. Hoskins, *German Influence on Religious Life and Thought in America during the Colonial Period* (The Princeton Theological Review, January, April); G. F. H. Berkeley, *The History of the French Canadians and its Lesson*, II. (Westminster Review, May); Ida M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in our Times* (running in the American Magazine); Morris Schaff, *The Spirit of Old West Point* (Atlantic, April, May, June); Captain A. T. Mahan, *Our Navy Before the War of Secession* (Harper's, May); J. V. Quarles, *Abraham Lincoln* (Putnam's Monthly, April); D. H. Bates, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office: Recollections of the United States Military Telegraph Corps* (Century, May, June); John S. Barnes, *With Lincoln from Washington to Richmond in 1865* (Appleton's Magazine, May).

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